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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

DE BELLO BELGICO. THE HISTORY OF THE Low-Countrey WARRES.

VVritten in *Latine* by
FAMIANVS STRADA;
In *Engliſh* by
Sr. *ROB. STAPYLTON* Kt.

Illuſtrated with divers Figures.

LONDON.
Printed for *Humphrey Moſeley*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the ſigne of the *Princes Arms* in St. *Pauls-Churchyard*.
MDCL.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

HENRY,

Lord Marqueſſe of *Dorcheſter*, Earl of *Kingſton*, Viſcount *Newark*, Lord *Pierrepont*, &c.

MY LORD,

YOur Lordſhip, the beſt judg of Writers, will not I hope condemn me, for inſcribing your name to the Hiſtory of Famianus Strada. *He is indeed a Modern* Roman, *but in happineſs and freedom of expreſſion, ſo like the Ancients,* Livy, Salluſt, *and* Tacitus : *that 'tis no injury to the paſt, or preſent World, to ſay, their Age produced not his Superiour, nor ours his Equal; ſince thoſe that have not arrived to his perfection may be good Hiſtorians; thoſe that have, eminent. The Fame of ſo great an Authour, made me ambitious to interpret him to my Countrey : not conſidering (for I as willingly acknowledg my Errour as his Merit) that I was to Copie a Principal, comprehending new and various Narrations, Princes Letters, Speeches, Debates and Reſults of Cabinets and Councel-tables, Battells, Deſcriptions of places, Chara-*

cters of Perſons, and very prudent Obſervations, ſummed up in brief ſentences. Beſides, I found all theſe apparelled in the moſt captivating Figures of the Latine *tongue: not like the* French, Spaniſh, *or other Languages of Commerce, eaſily reducible to thoſe now ſpoken; but hard to be rendred in any; eſpecially in* Engliſh. *Yet after I had ingaged, that I might play my game to the faireſt, I borrowed the invention of* Alexander Farneze, *when he diſſected Don* John *of* Auſtria *in the* Low-countreys: *and had him ſhewed in* Spain, *new-joynted skinned and almoſt ſpirited, to* Philip *the ſecond. In imitation whereof, I took to pieces the actions of Don* John, Alexander Farneze, *and the reſt of their famous friends and enemies, as they were deſcribed in* Italy: *and preſent them* here *to your Lordſhip, like the parts of Don* John's *body,* intire, *although not* breathing. *For which I can make no Apologie, but that 'tis the fortune of this Hiſtory to be dedicated to Princes. And when the firſt Dedication was made to the Duke of* Parma; *it concerned me to addreſs the ſecond to a perſon of like honour: and my Genius directed me to ſuch a one, in whom Eminence of Dignity is joyned with Eminence of knowledg, that affording me Patronage; this, reputation. For what* Ammianus Marcellinus *reports of Phyſitians, that they were held* learned, *if they had once been at* Alexandria; *we know to be true of Books if they come but to have your Lordſhips Approbation: which is the higheſt aime of*

Your Lordſhips

humble ſervant,

Robert Stapylton.

FAMIANUS STRADA
to the Reader.

VVHo ever thou art, that ſhalt vouchſafe to take my Book in thy hands, before thou peruſe it, give me leave to preface a few things. Thou haſt here a Hiſtory of mine, which I cannot exſpect ſhould be either praiſed or pardoned for expedition, being nine years old, before I ſent it to the Preſſe: yet for that very procraſtination, I may hope another as great a favour from my Reader: becauſe it was out of my reſpect to him, that I ſpun out time in poliſhing my work. For albeit, many years ago divers perſons (to whoſe Abilities no leſſe then to their Honours, none in *Rome* but yields) having read the firſt part of my Annals, gave them farre more then common approbation; yet they could not perſwade me (that know how great the difference is betwixt Humanity and Judgement) to haſten the publiſhing of them: or, now they are publiſhed, not to be an earneſt Suiter to my Reader for ſome favourable Regard, due to my Modeſty, reverencing others judgements. This Civilitie I the rather hope, for that my fortune is ſomewhat better, then ordinary Hiſtorians: For I give thee Princes Letters, moſt of them writ with their own hands. I give thee Embaſſadours private inſtructions, ſecret Councels of Warre, Cauſes of Deſignes, Notes brought in by Spies, clandeſtine conſpiracies of Towns, and many other Particularities, which either by Pieces, or collected into Diaries, have been diſcovered to me by the very men employed. And were it not to treſpaſſe upon the Readers Patience, I could (which many times I do) to moſt of my Relations, annex the copyes of the Letters, produce the credit of the Originals themſelves, to prove matter of Fact; as evidently, as Deeds ſigned, ſealed, and witneſſed. But all theſe, as they have in a manner

opened to me a Door to look into Councel-chambers, and Cabinets: So the divulging of them, and eſpecially explaining of Individualls (without which *Polybius* thinks Hiſtory but a mock-monument) muſt needs be ſo much ſweeter to the Readers longing, by how much they comparing common Notions (which they have read in others, and therefore I forbear to mention) out of them and me together will frame a more copious Hiſtory. This likewiſe is the cauſe, that makes me ſometimes give an Account of particular Accidents; that the *Low-countrey* warre, no leſſe known from the mouth of Fame, then penns of numerous Writers, might be varied by ſuch Additionals, pleaſing for newneſſe, and not inconſiſtent with a particular Hiſtory. This hath likewiſe made me, that as I have paſſed over ſome things curſorily, and unleſſe ſome peculiar paſſage were to be added to others Relations, almoſt quite omitted them: ſo many times to bring higher deductions, I thought would be more acceptable, and not done without many great examples. For among the Writers of the *Romane* Annals (to ſay nothing of the *Grecians*) *Tacitus*, and *Salluſt*, how often do they piece out the ſmal threads of their work, and cover them as it were with an embroiderie. *Tacitus* in his Hiſtories (the five books omitting his Annals you may ſoon run over) refutes thoſe Authours, that ſay the chief Officers of *Otho's* and *Vitellius* his Army deliberated, Whether it were not better, that they, refuſing to fight for *wicked* Princes, ſhould chooſe a *good one*; and taking his hint from thence, ſpeaks at large, Of mens old and inbred Ambition to compaſſe the Sovereigne power, Of its Originall in the Citie of *Rome*, Of the contentions between the Senatours and Plebeians, Of *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*: at length, *But* (ſayes he) *the repetition of our ancient and preſent manners, hath very farre tranſported me, now I return to the courſe of my Hiſtory*; Proceed. Where he deſcribes the burning of the *Capitol* by the Souldiers, and ſubjoyns his own complaints upon it, accurately ſetting down, Who it was that vowed it, who built it, who dedicated it; and who, when it was deſtroyed, repaired it; though they were paſſages familiar to the people. What of *Serapis*? whoſe pedigree he draws, and with a prolix Digreſsion commemorates what opinions the *Ægyptian* Prieſts held of her, not thinking it a wrong to Hiſtory. But he never conceived an Hiſtorian might

Polybius lib. 3.

Tacitus.

Lib. 3.

Lib. 4.

might be freer, then in his deſcription of the ſiege of *Hieru-ſalem*. From whence he takes occaſion to ſpeak of the Originall and Manners of the *Iews*, ſo profuſely, and ſo far, deriving them even from *Saturn*; heaping ſo many ſeveral things together; Of *Moſes*, Of that Peoples Religion, Of their Meats, Of the Sabbath, Of Circumciſion, Of the Eternity of the ſoul, Of Balſom, Of Brimſtone, and other ſpecialties; as if he wrote the Hiſtory of that Nation. And yet *Tacitus* keeps within compaſſe, if you compare him with *Salluſt*, that is ſo frequent in Excurſions. Nay, he himſelf doth not diſſemble it: For having taken a large, and indeed unneceſsitated ſcope, at laſt ſounding a retreat, he ſayes, *But I have gone too careleſſely, and too farre, being nettled and vexed at the Manners of the Town. Now I come to the matter.* Nor did he keep to it for all this; but in the diviſion of the Kingdome between *Jugurth* and *Adherbal*, he amply diſcourſes of *Africa*, and its Inhabitants from their very beginning. Again, licentiouſly inveighing againſt the Manners of *Rome*, he copiouſly relates the cauſes of Faction between the Senate and the People, and with a check for his own flying out, he brings himſelf again into the way. Yet what he adds to this Digreſsion upon the By, concerning the *Leptitans*, exceeds the other by many degrees. For having mentioned the citie of *Leptis*, when he had ſpoken of its Founders, of its ſituation, and Language, he wheels about, and for a Corollary brings in an old Hiſtory, not at all appertaining to the *Leptitans*. *For* (ſayes he) *becauſe following the buſineſſe of the* Leptitans, *I am come into this Region, I think it not amiſs to ſet down a noble and memorable action of two* Carthaginians. Which told, neither ſparingly, nor timorouſly, he goes on again. But why do I quote ſo many Preſidents, when that one of *Catilines* Conſpiracy evidently ſhews, what liberty a Hiſtorian may aſſume? the Writer whereof ſo freely digreſſes, and hath ſo many Out-lets, and Parergons, that the additionall Matter is much more then the fourth part of the Hiſtorie. Which being granted, ours likewiſe, in caſe it be any where redundant, will (I hope) be fairly interpreted by the Readers. As likewiſe that, which I have not forborn, whilſt I compare the *ancient* with the *modern* times; that is, like to like: Which, as I am not ignorant the *Latines* ſeldome do, ſo I know it is familiar with the *Greeks*. Indeed *Polybius*, not more properly

Lib. 5.

Salluſt.

ly the Writer then Maſter of Hiſtory, whilſt he at large compares the Form and Situation of *Sicily* with *Peloponneſus;* the Fleets of *Carthage* and *Rome*, with thoſe of *Antigonus*, *Ptolomey*, *Demetrius*, and others of former Ages; whilſt he reſembles the Republicks of *Rome* and *Carthage*, to generous birds fighting even to their laſt breath (to omit the reſt of the ſame kind, which, if you read but his firſt Book will preſently occurre) truly, he needs not fear that goes in the ſteps of ſo authentick an Example. Thus having rightly premoniſhed and prepared Thee, I will no longer ſtay Thee at the Threſhold of my Work.

The

The Hiſtorie of the *LOW-COUNTREY* VVARRES.

The firſt Book.

The Propoſitio of the work.

I Enter upon the Hiſtorie of a Warre, doubtfull whether to call it, The Warre of the *Low-Countrey-men* and the *Spaniards*, or almoſt of all *Europe*: For to this hour we ſee it manag'd by the Arms and Purſes, at leaſt, by the Deſignes and Counſels of ſo many Nations; as if in the *Low-Countreys* onely, the Empire of *Europe* was to be diſputed. Wherein many, I preſume, will be concerned, to read what their Countrey-men, what their Kinſmen have acted in the field. The reſt, though unconcerned, may yet deſire to know, from whence a few *Belgick Provinces* have had the confidence and ſtrength, to fight for threeſcore years together, with a moſt Potent King, on equall terms; from whence, upon the coaſt of *Holland*, out of a few fiſher-boats, there hath ſprung up a new State, which growing daily ſtronger in Arms, will now brook no Superiour by Land, and can have none by Sea: That in mighty fleets have ſent Plantations to the remoteſt parts of the Earth: That by their Ambaſſadours, making Leagues with Princes, carrying themſelves as not inferiour to Kings, have got a Principality more then ever *Europe* knew. From whence the *Belgick* ſoil, among the continuall tempeſts and ſtorms of Warre (ſuch as in far ſhorter troubles, have laid other Regions waſte and barren) affords ſo great plentie of all things, as if the place were as violently bent to maintain a War, as the People; ſo that directly you would think, *Mars* onely travels other Countreys, and carryes about a running Warre, but here ſeats himſelf. Some indeed have fancied, the King of *Spain* out of Policy to ſpin out the Low-Countrey War: for as a Prince (the great body of whoſe Empire muſt be ſpirited with a great ſoul) they conceiv'd he trains his *Militia* in theſe Provinces, afterwards to diſpatch them (as the Turk doth his *Janizaries*) into ſeverall Climates. As if his enemies ſhould not be taught in the ſame ſchool; and ſure it were more to his advantage, their arms ſhould ruſt with idleneſs, then ſhine with exerciſe.

How ſatisfacto ry it will be to many.
How rare to al

A great State out of ſmall beginnings.

The ſtrange fer tility of the ſoyl even in the time of Warre.

The King of Spain fights in jeaſt, as ſome think.

But fa'ſely.

Now the reſemblance of our *Age* with the *time-paſt*, will give the ſilent com-

comparers no little pleaſure. The Readers of our Annals muſt needs remember, now *Arminius*, now *Civilis*, thoſe two Whirlwinds of the *Low-Countreys*, the *Oranges* of their times. The like *principles* of *Rebellion* will preſent themſelves: *pretending*, and withall *ſhaking off* obedience to *Tiberius* and *Veſpaſian:* courting the *People* with *hope* of liberty: the Provinces ſuddenly conſpiring againſt the *Romane* Garriſons: arms firſt taken up in *Holland:* aided by the *Germans*, *French*, and *Brittons:* the *Romane* Legions tired out with dubious fortune: moſt things ſet a foot again by arts ſo like, ſo much the ſame, that unleſs you knew the difference by particular names, you would think your ſelf preſent in the old *Belgick* tumults. For in humane things, however *times* and *perſons* die, ſtill the ſame *Cauſes* and *Events* revive. Albeit as we have exceeded the Ancients in the quarrel of Nations and Religions; ſo we edge our ſpleen more ſharply upon this Whetſtone, and execute our hatred with greater animoſity. What have our Low-Countrey Armies left unattempted? Beyond Poetick miracles, we have not onely fought with mighty Rivers, but breaking the Cloyſter of the Sea, we have challenged *Neptune* himſelf? Our Foot invade the Ocean, as if it were firm ground; we let in the Sea to make the Land navigable, fighting in all the elements at once. And truly, (unleſs mine deceive me, as every ones judgement ſometimes fails him) never was warre continued with higher courages or attempts: nor have ſtronger ſieges baffled the forces of great Cities: or with dayly ſlaughter was ever more bloud drawn and ſpent on both ſides. Though the bodies of gallant men have floated on the rivers of *Simois* and *Scamander*, celebrated in Poets fables, and others famed for too true ſlaughter of the *Romanes*; yet more and more daring men have been caſt up by the *Moſe*, the *Rhine*, and *Skelde*, and the reſt of the Low-countrey Rivers, ſo often diſcoloured with humane bloud, and ſtrewed with mangled limbs of ſouldiers, ſwelling with the ruines of great ſouls. How many forreign armies have miſcarried here? how often was the *Belgick* Sea covered with ſhips, the Land with horſe and foot? and, all theſe armies loſt, greater forces have been raiſed again among our neighbours, and furiouſly overſpread the field? Yet after the expence of ſo many nations, the wealth of Kings exhauſted, the force of *Europe* joyned againſt it, this *Troy* hath held out many a ten years Warre, and yet not taken. But the more earneſt I am in deſigning ſo great a work, the more perhaps I ſhall expoſe the Hiſtorians confidence to cenſure: who being a ſtranger to publick buſineſs, a man of the old learning, not converſant with his own times, will be argued by many as diſproportioned to the greatneſs of this Warre; and being a Clergie-man, they will affirm it misbecomes him to treat of arms. I ſhould give eaſie ear unto them, if all the writers of Hiſtory had fought with their wit, lead up Companies or commanded Armies; or that we had not divers, in the account of every age and nation, that being Church-men have handled theſe military arguments. And indeed, ſince there is ſuch weight in the truth of Hiſtory, from which nothing takes off more then affection in the writer; whence ſhould we rather fear the faith of a relation, from one that is a party and hardly diſpenſes with love and hatred? or from one that centred in the middle, and profeſſing holineſs of life, either untouched with any factious deſires, or above them; and either keeps at diſtance the occaſions of a lie, or beats it from him? That I may ſpeak ſomething for my ſelf, I hold not the ſubject of this Warre inconſiſtant with my courſe of life, Religion being the cauſe of both; nor do I conceive my ſelf unfit either to report the matter of fact, or to find out the cauſes. For though an exact knowledge of Councils, and inſpection into Cabinets, could not be ex-

Cor. Tac. lib. 1. & 2. Ann. & lib. 4. Hiſt.
The ſimilitude of accidents between the antient and theſe times.

But our natures are the worſe.

Witneſſe the Low-countreys at this day.
Hom. Iliad. 21. Of the Duell between Achillis *and the River* Scamander

Virg. 1. Æn.
Gallanter men loſt in the Low-countreys then either by the Greeks *or* Romans.

The Authours character of himſelf.
Objection.
It misbecomes a religious man to know things profane, and a Prieſt to write of arms.
Anſwer.
There are examples to the contrary Tit. Liv. Cor. Tac. Dion. Halicar. *and other Authours.*
Moyſes. Beroſus, Joſephus, Euſeb. Cæſar. Oroſ. Vill. Tit. Jov. Bemb. Mariana Maſſeius, &c. *and reaſon it ſelf.*
Beſides, Strada *ſaith his Argument is joyned with Religion.*



The Emperour Charles the 5th.
Prince of ye Low=Countreys.

Ro Vaughan sculp

exſpected from one of a ſequeſtred life, or from the genius of a man that loves to dwell with himſelf, at leaſt never comes in Princes Courts and liſtens to their whiſpers; my intelligence hath been abundantly ſupplyed, out of the memorials and originall letters of men that either have themſelves done the buſineſs, or commanded ſuch as did: So that I believe few have come better furniſhed at any time for the compiling of an Hiſtory; and though I am a ſtranger to the Court and Camp, a man (as you may term me) of the ſhade, yet I dare promiſe to produce more Cabinet counſels, then all the Civill and military news-men. But it were ſuperfluous to make a paſſionate Preface of what faith, what freedome I ſhall uſe, ſince all men equally pretend the love of truth, and oftentimes none do engage their faith with more formality, then ſuch as will be ſure to break it. For our age hath almoſt loſt the liberty of ſpeaking, by the common fault of Writers, whoſe ambition having an eye upon the frowns of Princes, laying the fault on times and manners, bring flattery into faſhion. I build upon my own conſcience, which I often examine, yet find it not inſlaved to the commands of Princes, or mercenary to their bounty. And I entreat them that vouchſafe to peruſe my work, that ſuch a mind as they juſtly require of me in writing, neutrall and free, ſuch a one they themſelves will have in reading, uningaged to faction. Leaſt the meat be raſhly blamed for curdling on a foul and ſickly ſtomack.

And his intelligence out of Originall notes and Expreſſes.

The Authours integrity.

And freedome not byaſſed towards any faction.

The ſame affection he deſires in his Reader.

Onely thou, O God of Peace and Warre, (for aſwell the writers of, as the actours in, buſineſs ought to begin with Prayer) do thou guide my mind and pen, that not truſting in Prudence that ſearches humane ſecrets, but in Wiſdome that aſsiſts thy throne, I may perfect a Hiſtory worthy the purity of life which I profeſs, equall to the greatneſs of the work I have deſigned, nor leſſe then the exſpectation that hath long ſince called me forth.

This prefaced, he begins with imploring Divine aſſiſtance. See Plinies Panegyrick pag. 1.

1555.

THe bloudy Warre that grievouſly diſtempered Europe, ſtill continued between the *Emperour Charles* the fifth, and *Henry* the ſecond, King of *France*, to whom their fathers with their Crowns had left their enmities and animoſities; But *Mary* Queen of *England*, immediatley upon her marriage with *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, began ſeriouſly to mediate a Peace; and followed it ſo well, as this year 1555. the Emperours and Kings Commiſſioners met at *Callice*; and though the exſpected Peace was not then concluded, yet there was laid a foundation for Peace, in a five years truce. Then the *Emperour*, calling his ſon *Philip* out of *England*, reſolved to execute what he had long determined, the reſignation of his Crowns, and be Authour of a Prodigie unknown in Princes Courts, When he might reign to give it off. This ſecret divulged through the Low-countries, brought men from all parts to *Bruxels*, and on the twenty fifth of *October*, the day appointed for meeting of the three Eſtates, the Knights of the order of the Golden fleece, and the Magiſtrates, The Emperour in the great Hall of his Pallace, commanding *Philip* King of *England*, *Maximilian* King of *Bohemia*, and *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of *Savoy* to ſit on the one hand, and on the other, *Elianor* and *Mary* Queen *Dowagers* of *France* and *Hungary*, with another *Mary* Queen of *Bohemia*, and *Chriſtiern* daughter to the King of *Denmark* Dutcheſſe of *Lorrain*. Firſt he created his ſonne *Philip*, maſter of the order of the *Golden-fleece*; then he commanded *Philibert Bruxellius*, one of the Lords of his great Councel, to ſignifie his pleaſure to the

The Emperours *reſolution to reſign his Kingdoms.*

A full preſence of Princes.

Elianor *and* Mary *ſiſters to* Charles *the fifth.*

King Philip *made maſter of the Order of the Golden fleece.*

The Low-countreys and Burgundy reſigned to him in Bruxellius *his ſpeech.*

Eſtates of *Flanders*. The ſumme of his ſpeech was this, *That the Emperour being admoniſhed, by his dayly decay of health, which had much broke and brought him low, to ſettle his affairs in this world: reſolved to transferre that weight, which he could no longer ſupport as became his own and the Empires dignity, upon his ſonne, both in vigour and wiſdome able to bear ſo great a burthen. Therefore* Ceſar, *wiſhing it may be for the happineſs of himſelf and the Provinces, reſigned his Dominion of the Low-countreys and Burgundy, releaſed the People of their oath of Allegiance, and voluntarily gave the right and poſſeſsion of the Low countreys and Burgundy to his ſonne* Philip *King of England.* Whileſt *Philibert* was gravely ſpeaking this, The Emperour riſes on the ſudden, and leaning on the ſhoulders of *William* Prince of *Orange*, interrupted his ſpeech, and out of a paper he brought to help his memory, as the Regiſter of the Empire, he himſelf began to read in French, What he had done from the ſeventeenth year of his age to that day, nine expeditions into *Germany*, ſix into *Spain*, ſeven into *Italy*, four into *France*, ten into the *Low-countreys*, two into *England*, as many into *Africa*, eleven Sea-voyages, Warres, Peace, Leagues, Victories: and ſet forth the particulars rather magnificently, then proudly. Moreover, *That he had propoſed to himſelf no other end of all theſe labours, but the preſervation of Religion & the Empire. Which hitherto whileſt his health permitted, he had by Gods aſsiſtance ſo performed, that* Charles *the Emperours life and Reign could offend none but his enemies. Now, ſince his ſtrength and almoſt life was ſpent, he would not prefer the love of Empire before the ſafety of his People. In ſtead of an old Bed-rid man, the greateſt part of him already in the grave, he would ſubſtitute a Prince in the ſpring of his youth, of active ſtrength and courage. To him he deſired the Provinces to pay their obedience, likewiſe to keep Peace among themſelves, and be conſtant to the Orthodox Religion; Laſtly, That they would favourably pardon him, if he had treſpaſſed in his Government. For his own part he would alwayes remember their fidelity and ſervices in his prayers to God, to whom alone he reſolved to live for the ſhort remainder of his dayes.* Then turning to his ſonne, he ſaid, *If theſe Provinces had deſcended upon thee by my death, I had yet deſerved ſomething at my ſonnes hands, for leaving him ſo rich and improved a patrimony. Now, ſince thine Inheritance is not a neceſsitated but a voluntary act, and that thy Father hath choſen to die before his time, that he may antedate the benefit of his death; all the intereſt thou oweſt me for it, I aſsign it to thy Subjects, and require thee to pay it in thy love and care to them. Other Princes rejoyce they have given life to their ſonnes, and ſhall give Kingdoms. I am reſolved to prevent fate of this gaſping and poſthumous favour: eſteeming it a double joy, if I may ſee thee not onely living, but live to ſee thee reigning by my gift. This example of mine, few Princes will imitate, for I my ſelf in all antiquity could hardly find one to follow. But ſure they will commend my reſolution, when they ſee thee worthy to be made the firſt preſident. Which thou wilt be, if thou firmly retein the wiſdome thou wert bred to, the fear of the Almighty, and* (which are the pillars of a Kingdome) *the patronage of Religion and the Laws. One thing remains which thy Father makes his laſt wiſh, That thou maiſt have a ſonne grow up worthy to have thy Government transferred upon him, but yet have no neceſsity to do it.*

Interrupted by Charles *the fifth who repeats all his own actions.*

The Prince of Orange *in his Apologie of the year* 1571.

The end of all Ceſars *deſignes.*

Why he reſignes his Kingdoms.

What he requires of the Low-countreys.

What he promiſeth to them.

The Emperours ſpeech to his Son before he gave him poſſeſſion.

Having ſpoken this, he embraced his ſonne, that was upon his knees, ſtriving to kiſs his hand, and piouſly and fatherly praying God to bleſs him, his tears broke off his words, and drew tears abundantly from the eyes of the beholders. King *Philip* humbly kiſſing his Fathers hand, then riſing to the Eſtates, excuſed his ignorance in the French tongue commanding *Anthony Perenott Granvell*, Biſhop of *Arras*, to ſpeak for him; who in a moſt learned Oration interpreted the Kings mind, as gratefull to his father, ſo like-

Biſhop Granvell *anſwers for* K. Philip.

wiſe affectionate to the Low-coutrey-men, by his fathers precept and example. *James Maſius* an eloquent Civill Lawyer anſwered in the name of the three Eſtates. Laſtly, *Mary* Queen of *Hungary* reſigned the Government of the Low-countreys, which ſhe had managed five and twenty years for the Emperour her Brother. So for that day the Seſſion was adjourned. Two moneths after in a farre greater Aſſembly (for fame had further ſpread it ſelf) the Emperour gave to his ſonne *Philip* at once, the poſſeſſion of all his Kingdomes, Provinces, and Iſlands, aſwell in our World, as beyond the Line. Finally, not long after, he ſent the Crown and Scepter of the Empire (all he had then left) to his Brother *Ferdinand* (created many years before King of the *Romans*) by the hands of *William* Prince of *Orange*, who they ſay, at firſt declining the Ambaſſage, told the Emperour, in King *Philips* preſence, that he hoped better things from heaven, then to ſee his Maſter take the Imperiall Crown from his own head, and ſend it by him to another; whether it was love to the Emperour (of whoſe grace and bounty he had many proofs) or flattery to King *Philip*, whom he knew deſigned for the Empire by his father, who often to that purpoſe had treated with his Brother *Ferdinand*. For *Ceſar* to confirm the Spaniſh power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* by acceſſion of the Empire, had many times by *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, ſounded his Brother *Ferdinand* if he would ſurrender the Kingdome of the *Romanes* to *Philip*, among other propoſals promiſing to ſhare the Empire with his Brother, that ever after there ſhould be two *Ceſars* of equall authority. But all this moved not *Ferdinand*.

Maſius for the Eſtates replies to the Emperour and King.
Qu. Mary *ſurrenders her government of the Low-countreys.*
Shortly after the Emp. gives up all his Dominions to his ſon.
Jan. 17. 1556.
And ſends his brother the Imperial Crown by the Prince of Orange,
Who would have excuſed himſelf from being the meſſenger.
Mary *ſiſter to* Charles *the* V, *and* Ferdinand
1556.

Charles the fifth, from ſo great an *Emperour* now no body, leaving the Court to the new Prince, ſtaid a while in a private houſe, till the fleet was ready: then loſing from *Zeland*, with his ſiſters Queen *Elianor*, and Queen *Mary*, he ſailed with a proſperous wind into the port of *Lareda* in *Biſcany*. To follow him out of the Low-Countryes, will not be (I ſuppoſe) to wander from the Hiſtory, ſince by continuing a relation of the laſt paſſages of a Prince of the Low-Countreys, and the laſt Prince born a Low-Countrey-man, I may appear to be in the Low-Countreys ſtill. However, I preſume the Reader will approve the bringing to light of this great retirement, and ſecret of State, wherein I ſhall inſert many things (that would have been ill loſt) into the Low-Countrey Annals, taking off ſomewhat from the following ſad diſcourſe, by the preſent commemoration of this ſofter ſtorie.

The Emperour ſails out of the Low-Countreys,
Auguſt 1556.
Septemb.

The *Emperour* was ſcarce landed, when a tempeſt riſing in the Harbour, ſcattered his whole fleet, and ſwallowed up the Admiral herſelf that carried him: as if ſhe bad farwell to *Ceſar* and his fortunes. It is reported, that when he came aſhore, falling upon his knees, he kiſs'd the earth, and ſaid, he did his duty to the Common Parent, and that as he came naked out of his mothers wombe, ſo he willingly returned to this mother naked. But when he came into *Biſcany*, and from thence went to *Burgos*, being met upon the way by very few of the *Spaniſh* Nobility (not to be attracted by *Charles* alone, unattended with his Titles) then he firſt found his nakedneſs. Whereto was added, that his Penſion of a hundred thouſand Duckets (reſerved out of his vaſt revenues, for part whereof he had preſent uſe, to reward his ſervants, and diſmiſs them) was not paid him, but he forced to wait for it at *Burgos*, not without ſome indignation, till at laſt the mighty ſumme was tendered. Which affront as he could hardly diſſemble, ſo it gave many men colour to report, that the Act was ſcarce paſſed, when *Charles* repented him of the reſignation of his Kingdoms. Though others ſay, he changed his mind upon the very day of his reſignment; becauſe many years after, when Cardinal *Granvell* remem-

He arrives in Spain, *the ſtorm ſparing him, but not his ſhip.*
His words when he landed.
His admired conſtancy put to the Teſt by the Spaniſh *Lords.*
But eſpecially by his ſon.
Which a little moved him.
Whereupon ſome thought he wavered in his reſolution.

membred King *Philip* of the anniverſary day of his Fathers reſignation; the King preſently replied, And this is likewiſe the anniverſary day of his repentance for reſigning. Which ſpread by uncertain rumour, went for currant news, perſwading the world the Emperour was not conſtant, ſo much as for a day, to his unexampled reſolution: Unleſs perhaps King *Philip* thought not that commendable in his Father, which he himſelf meant not to imitate. For my part, in all my ſearch into the books and diaries of his retirement in the two years time of his private life, I find no mark of this kind of repentance; nor would it have ſhewed handſome, if the lively image of ſuch magnanimity, ſhould be preſented to ſucceeding ages, dreſſed up in the rags of penitence. But now, carried in his cloſe chair to *Validolid*, he ſtaid there a while with his Grand-child, *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, whoſe nature did not pleaſe him very well. Thence he retired to S. *Juſtus*, a Monaſtery of *Hieronomites*, the ſeat he had long ſince choſen. It ſtands upon the confines of *Portugal* and *Caſtile*, not far from the Citie of *Placentia*, in a healthfull air, made ſo by the ſweetneſs of the Vale, and circling Hils; but eſpecially by the temperate Winters. Into this place (it is reported) *Sertorius* that moſt valiant General retreated, when he fled the *Romane* Army, and that here he was treacherouſly ſlain. Here, at the laſt, the Emperour *Charles* ſet bounds to his ſea of cares, and erecting his true *Hercules* Pillars, built himſelf a houſe joyning to the Monaſtery; the model whereof was upon his command, ſent him a year before into the Low-Countreys, and approved of. It contained but ſix, at moſt ſeven Cells (for it pleaſes, as one ſaith, to know every thing that Princes do) of twenty foot in breadth and length, right Convent lodgings; from whence was a proſpect, and ſtairs landing in a little garden, watered with a ſpring, planted with Citron and Lemon trees, that ſhot up their flowers and fruits to the very vvindovvs. And this vvas the *Mauſoleum*, vvherein that mighty Emperour, not contented vvith one World, encloſed and buried himſelf alive; and to this narrovv compaſs vvas that Gyant leſſened, that boaſted to ſtretch his hand further then *Hercules*. So eaſily vvill Nature ſhrink into her ovvn ſtature and condition, if pride that puffs up and diſtracts her, do but once evaporate.

But thoſe Cenſurers were miſtaken.

The Monaſtery of S. Juſtus.

Sex. Aur. Vict. in Caius Cæſ.

The Emperours new habitation.

Febr. 1557.

Coming to this Monaſtery, of threeſcore ſervants, choſen out of his vaſt Retinue, he ſent the greateſt part to *Serandilla*, the next Tovvn, intending to uſe them, if there ſhould be occaſion; keeping onely twelve men about him, and one horſe. Nor was his furniture better then his attendance, but all meaſured by the ſtrict rule of neceſſity. And truly it was a miracle to ſee *Charles* the Emperour enamoured with ſolitude, to forget his cares, to be conſtant to his reſolution, and ſo much eſtranged from his old cuſtomes and almoſt nature; that neither gold, which then in abundance the *Spaniſh* fleet brought him from the *Indies*; nor the noiſe of War, which had wont to be carried through *Europe* by his Armies and Generals, by Sea and Land; could any way unfix his mind, for ſo many years paſt uſed to the ſound of War; or diſturb his quiet, though upon the hearing of various events.

His family, and how accommodated.

His contempt of the world.

This Imperial Hermit ſo ſpent his time, that he daily beſtowed part of it upon his ſick and languiſhing body, part upon God and his Soul. For ſometimes he rode up and down the grounds, with one footman; ſometimes he quartered his garden into little beds, ſet flowers, and planted trees with his triumphant hands, as once *Diocleſian* did at *Salon*, when he likewiſe had reſigned his Empire. He often practiſed to make Watches (whoſe wheels he governed with more eaſe, then Fortunes wheel) learning the art of *Jannellus Turrianus*, the *Archimedes* of his time: making many experiments of his water-

How he diſpoſed his time.
His riding to take the air.
His gardening.
His making of clocks or watches.
Jannell. Turrianus, *whoſe Mathematicall inventions he much delighted in.*

Water-works. Nay, 'tis ſaid, the *Aquaduct* of *Toledo,* which *Jannellus* had then modelled, was much advantaged by the Emperours ingenious phanſie. And ſuch a form as they together had conceived in that two years retirement, ſuch was *Turrianus* his water-work, which after the Emperours deceaſe, by a new miracle of Art, drew up the river *Tagus* to the top of the mountain of *Toledo.* This was the man that, in the Emperours ſolitary life, daily recreated his ſpirits, (much taken with ſuch novelties) by ſhewing unheard of Engines and Inventions: For often, when the Cloth was taken away after dinner, he brought upon the board little armed figures of Horſe and Foot, ſome beating Drums, others ſounding Trumpets, and divers of them charging one another with their Pikes.. Sometimes he ſent wooden ſparrows out of his chamber into the Emperours Dining-room, that would flie round, and back again; the Superiour of the Monaſtery, who came in by accident, ſuſpecting him for a Conjurer. He likewiſe framed a Mill of iron that turned it ſelf, of ſuch a ſubtile work and ſmalneſs, that a Monk could eaſily hide it in his ſleeve, yet daily it ground as much wheat, as would abundantly ſerve eight perſons for their dayes allowance. But theſe ſports were more frequent at the Emperours firſt coming. Afterward, warned by his diſeaſe, that ſtill rung the larum of death, he more ſparingly gave them admittance, onely at ſuch houres as his pain left him: for now he made it his firſt care, often to come to Church at times appointed for the Monks to ſing Prayers: He often read Saints lives, and diſcourſed of holy things more frequently, then he accuſtomed: he waſhed out the ſtains of his Conſcience, by Confeſſion of his ſinns, and ate the bread of Angels, though ſometimes not faſting, for which he had a diſpenſation (by reaſon of the weakneſs of his ſtomack) granted by the Pope. Nay, with a diſcipline of platted cords (ſo much prevailed the example of others, and a mind once conquerour over it ſelf) he put himſelf to conſtant ſharp penance for his former life. Which Diſcipline King *Philip* ever had in great veneration, and a little before his death commanded it to be brought to him, and as it was ſtained in the bloud of *Charles* his father, he ſent it to his ſonn *Philip* the third: and they ſay, it is ſtill preſerved among the pious monuments of the Houſe of *Auſtria.* Laſtly, upon occaſion of thoſe funerall Obſequies, which he celebrated for his Mother, on the Anniverſary of her deceaſe, a new deſire ſet him a longing (if it were lawfull) to celebrate his own funeralls: adviſing hereupon with *John Regula*, a Father of the Convent, and his Confeſſour: when he told him, it was (though without preſident, yet) a pious and meritorious act; he commanded immediately, that all funerall preparations ſhould be made. A Herſe was therefore ſet up in the Church, torches lighted, and his ſervants in black ſtood about it, the Service for the dead being mournfully ſung by the Religious men. He himſelf ſurviving his own funeralls, beheld in that imaginary laſt office, the true tears of his attendance: He heard the Hymn, wiſhing him happy reſt among the Saints; and he himſelf ſinging with them, prayed for his own ſoul: till coming near him that officiated, and delivering him the torch he held lighted in his hand, with eyes lifted up to heaven, he ſaid, *Thou great Judge of life and death, I humbly beſeech thee, as the Prieſt takes from me this wax-light I offer; ſo thou at laſt in thine own good time, wilt graciouſly pleaſe to receive my Spirit, which I commend into thy hands, arms, and boſome.* Then, as he was, in a looſe mourning garment, he lay down upon the floor, all the Church beginning to weep a freſh, and as he had been laid forth to take their laſt farwell. It ſeems, the Emperour by theſe feigned Rites, plaid with approaching death: for two dayes after his perſonated Obſequies, he fell into a fever, which by little and little conſu-

His extraordinary care of his ſoul.

Joſeph Seguenza *in the Hiſtory of his Order, l.* 1.

By the Bull of Julius III. 1554. *Marc.* 19

He diſciplined himſelf.

His whip reverenced by his ſon.

Aug. 30. 1558.

Immediately he falls ſick.

Barthol. Miranda.

Soon after he died.

Sept. 21. 1558.

His funerals uſhered with Prodigies in heaven.

Obſerved by *Jan. Turrionus* Preſent at the Emperours death.

And in earth.

conſuming him, the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* gave him all the ſupplies by the Chriſtian Church appointed for the ſtruggling ſoul, and the Monks that came frequently out of their Cels into his Bed-chamber, prayed God to ſend their Gueſt a happy convoy to the manſion of the Bleſſed; and on the Eve of the Evangeliſt S. *Matthew*, in the eight and fiftieth year of his age (whereof he onely lived two years, with a great ſence of Piety and Religion) he departed this life. His death was attended with conſpicuous ſignes in Heaven and Earth: For a while after he ſickned, there was ſeen a blazing ſtar in *Spain*, at firſt ſomewhat dimm, but as his diſeaſe increaſed, ſo it grew in brightneſs, and at laſt ſhooting its fiery hair point blank againſt the Monaſtery of S. *Juſtus*, in the very hour the Emperour died, the Comet vaniſhed. Nor happened this without admiration; in the Emperours garden ſprung a Lilly, which at the ſame time put forth two buds: The one, as it is uſuall, blowing in the Moneth of *May*: The other (though as well watered) gave no ſigne of laying its great belly all the Spring and Summer: but that night wherein the Emperours ſoul put off the garment of his body, the Lilly ſuddenly breaking her Challice, with an unſeaſonable and unexſpected Spring, began to blow. It was likewiſe obſerved by all, that this Lilly laid upon the high Altar for men to view, was received as a happy and white omen.

How long he reigned.

Thus *Charles* the fifth, when he had enjoyed his Fathers kingdomes fourty yeares, the Empire ſix and thirty, and himſelf two, after the reſignment of all theſe, left it doubtful, whether he merited more honour in ſo long governing the Empire, and many Kingdoms, or in relinquiſhing them all together. Yet, I am not ignorant, this Act was then diverſly cenſured; and at this day, the Emperours reſignment is an argument for Rhetoricians to declaim upon in the Schools, and Politicians at Court. But omitting the conceptions of theſe men, and ſuch builders of Caſtles in the air, I will give you the common aud moſt probable opinions.

Diverſe reaſons commonly given for his reſignement.

Many had one reaſon before their eyes, to wit, his infirmity of the gout, which from his fiftieth yeare gave him no intervals, but continually tormented and forced him (as he profeſſed at his ſolemn reſignation) by a ſafe prevention, both for his own and his kingdomes good, to transfer the weight of that Government, which he knew himſelf no longer able to ſuſtain, upon a man in the full ſtrength of youth and courage. The ſubtiler people, that dive into the ſecrets of buſineſs, and ſleight all that is viſible, ſuſpected that the Emperour, terrified with the fortune of *Henry* the ſecond of *France*; held it ſafer to encounter him with the youth of his ſonne, ambitious and capable of government, then with his own declining years and victories. They likewiſe obſerved, that from the time he tried in vain to recover the Town of *Metz*, from the *French*, and ſate down before it with an army of one hundred thouſand men, whereof he loſt no fewer then fourty thouſand; he contracted ſuch inward grief: eſpecially having been forced a while before, by *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, to ſave himſelf by an unhandſome, at leaſt unaccuſtomed retreat: That for ſome dayes he kept his chamber, and ever after his diſeaſe grew ſharper. Nay, it was commonly believed, that *Ceſars* fortune glutted and grown coy, began to retire, and that the happy genius of this ſo long unconquered Emperour was fled to *Henry* the French King: *Ceſar* himſelf not able to diſſemble it, being heard to ſay: *It ſeems, Fortune is the young mans miſtreſs.* And therefore for his *Device* of Hercules pillars and the motto, *More beyond*; there was painted a Crab-fiſh, the word, *More on this ſide* a jeer agreeable with the times. Some ſaid, The Emperour did like a wary Gamſter at Dice, who having drawn a great ſumme of monie in many houres play,

His fear of fortunes mutability

Peter Mexius *in the life of* Charles *the* V. Thuanus, *l.* 26.

1552.

Hipp. Chizzal. *in his book intituled*, The letters of Princes.

play, held his hand betimes: and ſuffered not himſelf to be ſtript of all his victorious heap at one throw. Contrary to this was the ſenſe of others, That imputed *Ceſars* act to his immenſe ambition. For being of a ſpirit, as covetuous of fame as ever any ſince the firſt *Ceſars* times, when he conceived it arrived at the higheſt point of Glory, by ſo many victories over all kinds of enemies, and theſe carried with ſo ſtrange a fortune, that hardly any one took the field againſt him, whom he ſaw not vanquiſhed, nay (which we ſeldome read) bound and Captive: at laſt he laid down and ſpurned away the greateſt Crowns and Scepters of *Europe* and *America*; by this unuſuall Conqueſt, aiming at new Titles of Honour, not eaſie to be equalled by Poſterity. An obſcure report was likewiſe ſpread abroad, That the *Emperour* was moved with the Complaints of his ſonne *Philip*, dayly wounded with the ſcorn and riming Libells of the Engliſh, That brooked not in their Iſland a Spaniſh Lord: the Common People therefore called him not the King, but the Queens Husband: upon this accaſion, he more paſſionately repreſented to his Father his fortune and condition, to work him the ſooner to reſign the Low-countreys, having had ſome intimation of the Emperours intent: and like Children born of young Parents that come old to their inheritance, impatiently exſpected the good houre. But there are that make another conſtruction, and affirm, the *Emperour* pitched upon this Reſolve, touched onely with Religion, and pricked in Conſcience about many things, for which he thought it beſt to make his peace betimes with the Divine Majeſtie, before he was ſummoned to give in his accounts: for the Emperours ſpirit, not altogether deaf to Piety, was ſtruck with a ſad remembrance of divers actions, That he had made a League with *Henry* King of *England*, excommunicated for his ſake by the Biſhop of *Rome*. Wherein, the injury he received by King *Henries* divorce from the *Emperours* great Aunt, Queen *Katharine*: and his conſtant promiſe never to hold amity with any heretical Prince, unleſs reconciled to the Church of *Rome*: were both weakly undervalued to advance his inexpiable hatred to the *French*. Beſides to have medled in the cauſe of Religion, taking upon him the *Popes* office, and commanding a book to be publiſhed in *Germany*, which contained a confeſſion of Faith: to the obſervance whereof all ſhould be obliged, till the Council of Trent were ended. Which Book, though in many places it was agreeable to the Catholick Church, yet ſome were contrary, as the marriage of Prieſts, and receiving the Communion under both kinds: for being penned by a Juncto of Catholicks and Hereticks, as it often happens, it pleaſed neither ſide. Laſtly, at the ſtorming and ſack of *Rome*, he conſented to the *Popes* impriſonment, and would have had him carried into *Spain*, but that publick infamy forced him to decline it. Yet would he not own the wofull plundering of the ſacred City: nay when the news was brought him into *Spain*, he prohibited by Proclamation, the publick joy for his ſonne *Philips* birth, and putting on mournings, commanded an adjournment of the Courts of *Juſtice*. But what it was in him, not onely not to do juſtice upon thoſe that robbed the Town and Churches, but alſo to uſe their ſervice for ſeven moneths together; to keep the *Vicar* of *Chriſt* Priſoner in the in the Caſtle of S. *Angelo*, yea cloſe priſoner, and in ſo wretched a condition, that an old herb-woman becauſe pitying his cries ſhe hid ſome Lettice in the Caſtle-ditch which a boy was to give him up by a cord: The Captain of the Guard meeting her, furiouſly with his own hands hanged her upon the Caſtle gates, crucifying the eyes of the poor Biſhop with that horrid ſpectacle. Finally the Emperour having no ſenſe of his ſo great calamitie, compelled the *Pope*, as if he had been a profane enemy, to purchaſe his liberty with a huge

His immoderate deſire of glory.

Francis *King of* France. Henry *King of* Navarre Clem. 7. *Biſhop of* Rome P. M. Gul. el. *Duke of* Cleveland. J. Fred. *the Electour of* Saxony. Erneſt *Duke of* Brunſwick. Phil. Landgrave *of* Hellen.

His Sonnes complaints.

Adrian. *l.* 13. *of his Hiſtory* Thua. *l.* 16. Gabrera *upon* Phil. 2. *l.* 1. *c.* 5. & 8.

His neceſſity to make his peace with God.

1543.

For entering into a league with Hen. 8. *of* Eng. *contrary to his engagement to the* Pope. Jov. *l.* 43, 44, 45

For determining matters of religion.

For impriſoning the Pope.

6. *May* 1527.

Guic. *l.* 18.

21. *May* 1527.

Jov. *l.* 26.

ranſome. No doubt but ſuch wicked deeds, as they were prejudged by a common execration, ſo *Charles* the fifth acknowledged and condemned them in himſelf, and their ſting, left in his ſoul, cauſed that Prince (otherwiſe religious) to do this laſt act for pacifying the offended *Deity*. Yet ſome there are that excuſe the *Emperour* in point of crime, and lay much of the fault upon the Age, the Warre and an armed multitude, whoſe fury, once awaked, is not ever to be governed by one mans hand. This I find, was moſt of the diſcourſe of theſe times touching the Reſignment of *Charles* the fifth: and at this day it is credited or ſlighted with like faction and ignorance of truth. For my own part though I know great deſigns are driven on by many cauſes, as great ſhips, by many oars; yet I cannot perſwade my ſelf, the fear of mutable fortune, or any lighter cauſe, contributed to *Ceſars* determination. Foraſmuch as almoſt ten years before his death, about the very harveſt time of his Victories, in his laſt Will and Teſtament made at *Auſpurgh*, he mentioned the Reſigning of his Kingdomes, and long before that time, I am well aſſured the Emperour was minded to diveſt himſelf of all the cares and baggage of the world, the better to make his ſpeedy retreat to heaven. This was onely imparted to *Francis Borgia* Duke of *Gandia*, who afterward entered into the Society of *Jeſus*, with a ſevere injunction, that he ſhould not reveal that intention to any living, which the *Emperour* reſolved to execute, aſſoon as the Warre gave him any time to breathe. Nor when he had ſurrendered the Empire were things in ſuch a condition, to make him repent his fortune: for a while after, the ſiege of *Metz* was raiſed, *Terwin* a ſtrong Fort in the Low-countreys, and *Hedin* where antiently the Princes of *Artois* kept their Courts, were taken, and upon both places many of the *French* Gentry ſlain. Nay in *Italy*, part of the Iſle of *Corſica* was in deſpight of the enemy preſerved for the *Genoueſes*, and (which was yet happier) the Citie *Siena* was taked, the *French* beat out of it, and almoſt out of all the Dutchy of *Florence*. But I believe what he had often deſigned was then reſolved, when his diſeaſe came to that height, that he often fainted away: eſpecially, when he heard of his mothers death, he began to make ſure account his own fate drew nigh: ſo that he was many times perſwaded he heard his mothers voice, calling her ſonne to her. Which opinion took the deeper impreſſion, becauſe *Veſalius* phyſitian to the *Emperour*, ſtuck not to tell him (with ſtrange freedome in a man of his profeſſion) that his life could not continue. So as the *Emperour* made haſte to do, what he had ſo often determined, leſt death that followed cloſe, ſhould prevent him. And at that time was often heard to repeat the words of one of his Commanders (whoſe worth I better know, then his name) that being an old Officer of Horſe, and reſolving to leave the world, when he petitioned the *Emperour* for a diſcharge from ſervice, who urged him to give a reaſon for his new reſolution, they ſay his anſwer was, *That between the buſineſs of life, and day of death, a ſpace ought to be interpoſed*. Which ingenious ſentence printed it ſelf in the *Emperours* heart, that had been long upon the like meditation. But then, when the end of his life was viſible, he held it his beſt courſe to lay hold upon that ſpace, beyond which there is nothing. Wherein, neglecting the affairs of others, he might onely regard his own concernment: reſcue himſelf from external cares, repreſenting and confining himſelf onely to himſelf, before the hand of neceſſity ſhould arreſt and carry him to Gods Tribunall, guilty, in ſo high a degree, of mortall happineſs. To that purpoſe he retired into this ſanctuary, where ſolitude gave him leaſure: and the ſanctity of the place, encouragement and aſſiſtance. Indeed, he that obſerves either his magnanimity in reſigning his vaſt Empire by ſea and land, not leaving a ſpan of ground ſubject

To do pennance for theſe crimes he left the world.

It is probable there was a concurrence of many cauſes. But no raſh ones or unworthy the greatneſs of his Imperiall majeſty.

1541.
1542.

1553.
June.
July 1553.

1554.
1555.

The fear of death was the cheif motive of putting his Reſolve in execution.

1555.
Andreas Veſalius.

He was quickned by a noble ſaying of one of his Commanders.

It is concluded the Emperours *reſolution came from heaven.*



Philip the Second King of Spaine,
Prince of the Low-countreys.

Ro. Vaughan ſculp

ſubject to his power: or his conſtancy to the cloyſtered and private life he had undertaken, in that two years time, wherein he extended his victory over himſelf: or his holy end, which did not ſurpriſe him, but came when he was prepared (which is the hardeſt task) for death in life: He, I ſay, muſt needs acknowledge it to be no trifling cauſe, or unworthy of ſo great a ſoul; but an excellently pious and indeed a heavenly motive that brought the Emperour to this Reſolve.

But whatſoever it was, King *Philip*, after his Fathers deceaſe, diſpoſing of his new Dominions, inſtead of *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, ſubſtituted in the government of the *Low-Countreys* and *Burgundy*, *Emmanuel Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*; who, beſides his nearneſs of bloud to *Charles* the fifth, had given him many proofs of his experience in the Warrs, eſpecially in thoſe Provinces, againſt the *French*. Nor were his great abilities leſs uſefull to King *Philip*, in the War that welcomed him to his new Principality. For though the Kings, *Henry* and *Philip*, in the beginning of this year, by the mediation of *Mary* Queen of *England*, had made a five years truce at *Cambray*; yet by reaſon of the Warre, flaming between the *Pope* and King *Philip*, the Truce within the year was broken: the *Spaniard* laying the fault upon the *French*, and the *French* upon the *Spaniard*. King *Henry* called into *Italy* by the *Caraffi*, embraced the ſpecious pretence of protecting the *Pope*; but peradventure he looked not ſo much upon the *cauſe*, as upon the *iſſue* of the War, eaſily believing he ſhould conquer this new and unexperienced Prince, having at more then one Battel overthrown ſo old a Souldier, and ſo great a Conquerour as his Father. And now the *French* having paſt the *Alps* under the Duke of *Guiſe's* Command, fought for the *Pope* in *Italy*; and at the ſame time, entring the *Low-Countreys* under the Conduct of *Collígni*, plundred the Province of *Artois*. Whileſt King *Philip* (the Duke of *Alva* ſtrongly proſecuting his affairs in *Italy*) on the one part prevailed with his Wife, to denounce War againſt King *Henry*: on the other part, he commanded *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*, to make an inrode into *France*; by whoſe valour and conduct, he won that memorable Victory at S. *Quintins*, which put all *France* into a ſhaking fit, inſomuch as the greateſt part of their Gentry being priſoners to the *Spaniard*, the reſt marched into *Italy*; it was the common fear, if the Conquerour came on, he would eaſily poſſeſs himſelf of *Paris*; moſt of the Townſmen being fled to the neighbouring cities, as if the *Spaniard* were at their gates. But King *Henry* commanding the Duke of *Guiſe* out of *Italy*, and raiſing a great Army, (which is ordinary in *France*, where the children are bred ſouldiers) he ſoon interrupted the *Spaniſh* triumph: for immediately he took *Calice*, (which Port the Kings of *England* uſed to call, *The Portall of France*, and ſo long as they enjoyed it, they ſaid, They wore the keyes of *France* at their girdle) being all the remainder of their two hundred years conqueſt, that was kept by the *Engliſhmen* upon the continent of *France*, which Kingdome in a few dayes they were forced to reſtore to its ancient bounds, retiring to their own within the Sea. But ſhortly after the Die of War ran on the *Spaniſh* ſide: For King *Philip* perceiving the *French* Army to be divided, proud of their number and ſucceſs, having in hope devoured all the Low-Countreys; he himſelf divided his own forces, part he ſent againſt *Paulus Termus* (burning and ſpoyling the Sea-coaſt of *Flanders*) under the Command of *Lamorall* Count *Egmont*, the gallanteſt of all the Low-countrey-men, who was Generall of his Horſe at the battel of S. *Quintin*, and a great cauſe of the victory. The other part of his Army he ſent into *Savoy*, to attend the motion of the Duke of *Guiſe*. Count *Egmont*

The new Kings firſt care.

The Duke of Savoy *made governour of the Low-countreys.*

The Truce between France *and* Spain *broken.*

Febr.

On what occaſion.

Thuan. *l.* 22.

Decemb.

The French *invade the Low-Countreys.*

Ferdinand *of* Tolledo *Duke of* Alva.

June 1557.

Aug. 1550.

The Spaniard *firſt was conquerour at* S. Quintins.

Preſently after the French *recovered* Calice.

Jan. 1558.

The Spaniard *hath another victorie at* Graveling.

Fortune ſeconds valour.

July 1558.

mont fighting a battel before *Graveling*, a port of *Flanders*, with great valour and fortune won the day: For whileſt the old ſouldiers of both Armies fought doubtfully for ſometime; on a ſudden the *French* gave ground, and loſt the battel: for ten *Engliſh* ſhips, as they ſailed by, ſeeing the fight, ſtruck into the mouth of the river of *Hay*, and with their Cannon ſo galled the *French* on that ſide, where they held themſelves to be impregnable; coming upon them with ſuch an unexſpected and therefore a more dreadfull ſtorm from ſea, that the Foot being diſordered, their fear was infuſed into the Horſe, ſo as their Army being routed, there ſcarce remained one of the whole number to carry home news of the overthrow. For part were ſlain in the fight, the Duke and his great Officers taken priſoners; the reſt were either knocked down as they ſwam, by the *Engliſh* (beſides two hundred taken alive, and preſented to the *Queen*, for witneſſes of their ſervice at the battel) or by the Boors, in revenge of the plundering and firing of their houſes, killed without mercy. To their misfortune was added, that the reliques of the Army, ſcattered in places they knew not about *Flanders*, had their brains beaten out by the women, that came upon them with clubs and ſpits, and (which is a more dangerous weapon) armed with the furie of their ſex; ſome almoſt railing them to death; others pricking their bodkins into them, with exquiſite barbarity pulled them to pieces with their nayls, as the *Bacchanals* tore *Orpheus*. Thus *Henry* of *France*, looſing two battels in one year, ſeeing his old ſouldiers ſlain, and (which is of ſadder conſequence) the nobleſt of his ſubjects taken priſoners, which are the ſtrength of the *French Militia*; He willingly embraced that peace, which ſo long as fortune ſmiled upon him, he had ſleighted: And King *Philip* moved by the acceſsion of *Calice* to the Kingdome of *France*, and his experience of the War, had the like inclination to Peace. Juſt as we ſee, after the clouds have fought, and are broken, the Sun breaks forth: nor ever ſhines a greater hope of Peace, then when a War is ſeriouſly proſecuted, fury being as it were glutted and weary with the ſlaughter. The honour of this Peace was attributed to *Chriſtiern*, Dutcheſs of *Lorain*, mediating between the two Kings, as coſen-germane to King *Philip*, and by late affinity gracious with King *Henry*. Nor is it unuſuall to employ that Sex in ſuch tranſactions; for it is held a point of Civility to yield to their ſolicitation. The news of this Peace (which after long diſpute opened it ſelf with the Spring) in the city of *Cambray*, was received with ſo great a joy of the Chriſtian world, weary of the tedious War, that higher expreſſion of contented minds are ſcarce recorded in the memory of man. They that compared this peace, with that concluded between the fathers of theſe Kings, above thirty years before, mediated likewiſe by Princeſſes, and concluded (where this was) in the Town of *Cambray*, a place deſtinated (as it ſeems) for peacemaking; ſhall find then no common joy, becauſe divers Princes were not parties to the League, and the warr in *Italy* ſtill continued. Whereas all the Princes of *Europe* being equally comprehended in this Peace, an equall joy ſpread it ſelf through all nations, filling every mind with great hope of long friendſhip between the Kings: which afterward fell out accordingly. A Marriage was likewiſe made, the better to confirm the Peace; which notwithſtanding continues among Princes, no longer then ambition ſuffers it, to which for the moſt part Kings are more truly married.

The womens crueltie to the French.

A Treatie of peace between the Kings.

Concluded by mediation of the Dutcheſs of Lorain.

At Cambray, *the Peace-making city.*

April 1556.

To the generall contentment.

Charles *the* V. & Francis *the* I. *Aug.* 1529.

Alice *the Kings mother, and* Margaret *the Emperours aunt*

The Peace confirmed by marriage.

Of the King of Spain *to the* French *Kings daughter.*

King *Philip* (*Mary* Queen of *England* being dead the year before) was offered a wife that had been promiſed to his ſon *Charles*, Prince of *Spain*; *Iſabella* King *Henries* daughter, eleven years of age, who becauſe ſhe was born

when

when the peace was begun with *England*, and married to make a peace with *Spain*, they called her Princeſs *Peace*. In like manner *Emman. Philibert* married King *Henries* ſiſter *Margaret*, and had in portion with her all thoſe towns beyond and on this ſide the Alps, which *Francis* the firſt, and *Henry* himſelf had taken from him. But never did *France* celebrate ſo joyfull a Wedding with ſo ſad a cloſe. Among other preparations there a *Tournament*, that is a fearfull pleaſure and an honourable danger: wherein one cannot think them to be in jeſt, that fight: nor to fight, when they ſee all intended but for ſport. It is an exerciſe the *French* exceedingly affect, and they account it noble, as being a bold and warlike nation. The Liſts now ſet up, and ſcaffolded like a ſtage, were filled with the beſt Tilters in Chriſtendome; (for *France* challenged *Europe* at the breaking of a ſpear.) The two firſt dayes the King himſelf ran and had the Victory, but when he came the third time in all his glory into the Liſts, againſt the advice of the Lords, encountring the Captain of his Guard, before his Bever was down, a ſplinter of his Launce flying in his face, ſtruck out his right eye, and ſhooting into his brain (the Queen and Queen-mother with the Kings children beholding thoſe unfortunate Revells) he preſently fell in a ſwound, and being caught in mens arms the whole ſtage running bloud, which but now rung with joyfull acclamations and applauſes, ſuddenly turned into mournings and lamentations. The fifth day after, this Prince no leſs valiant then religious, and every way worthy a better fate, departed his life. And before the eyes of an infinite multitude, which it ſeems he had proudly invited to his own funerals, he acted to the life, without ſcene or fable, the Tragedy of mortall happineſs. They ſay, one that caſt his nativity (as theſe kind of Predictions are commonly produced, after the event) foretold this very accident. For Queen *Katharine* of *Medices*, deſirous to know the fate of her children of the Aſtrologer *Gauricus*, he anſwered her, the Kings head would be endangered by a Duell. Others ſay, the very night before his misfortune, the Queen had the manner of his death preſented in her dream. But ſome who wiſely obſerved, not without admiration of Divine juſtice, that the King, who in the beginning of his Reign, gave way to a *ſerious* Duell, between two young Gentlemen of great families, and with the Lords of his Court ſate to behold it: ſhould in an unfortunate *mock*-Duell looſe both his life and Kingdome. Howbeit he was then penitent for the fact, and had made a vow never after to allow of any more ſuch fighting: and if in this laſt *Tournament* he ſinned in the vain oſtentation of his ſtrength, no doubt but he abundantly redeemed it, in that admirable and Chriſtian conſtancie of his ſoul in her extreameſt agony. Sure he had contributed much to the religious meekneſs of the *French*, if he had buried this barbarous Recreation in his tomb.

The King of France *his ſiſter married at the ſame time to the* Duke *of* Savoy

A Tournament *at the wedding.*

Where the King is victor.

Gabriel Count de Mongomary, *but ſoon after wounded.*

Dies July 2. 1549.

His death foretold.

Luc. Gaur. Thuſ. *l.* 22. Lod. Guicciard. *l.* 3. *The hiſtory of the* Netherlands.

1559.

Anonym. *in that Hiſt.* Thua. *l.*3. & 22. Viduſ. Cavocius *&* Francis Vivonus.

The judgement of prudent men upon the Kings fate.

A ſtrange conjuncture this year of Princes funerals.

This year (that I may enlarge my Hiſtory a little) was fatall (if we may ſo call it) to many and great Princes, that dyed one after another: eſpecially ſince no contagion reigned among the People, very few vulgar corpſes being then buried: yet, in the compaſs of one year, moſt of the Lords of *Europe* were entombed. There dyed the *Emperour Charles* the fifth, and *Henry* the ſecond of *France*, *Chriſtian* King of *Denmark*, and *Chriſtiern* alſo King of *Denmark*, the laſt onely ſurviving four and twenty dayes. Queen *Elianor* ſiſter to Charles the fifth, married firſt to *Emmanuel* King of *Portugall*, then to *Francis* the firſt of *France*, *Mary* who followed her brother *Charles* the fifth within leſs then a moneth, and a Queen of *England* of that name, and *Bona Sforza* mother to *Sigismund Auguſtus* King of *Poland*, the

1559. other two were wives to Kings, one to *Lodowick* of *Hungary*, the other to *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*. There died Pope *Paul* the fourth, attended by the funerals of ten *Cardinals*, two Princes *Electors*, the Archbiſhop of *Cullen*, and the Prince *Palatine*, *Laurentius Priulus* Duke of *Venice*, and *Hercules Eſte* Duke of *Ferrara*: not to name inferiour Princes, whoſe continued Obſequies filled the Annual Regiſter, ſo as that ſeaſon ſeemed to be Deaths greater *Harveſt*, when he cropt the heads of Nations, as *Tarquin* ſtruk off the Poppy-heads. King *Philip* therefore, having now concluded a Peace, departed with his *Queen* from *Savoy* into *Italy*, (for King *Henries* death had altered no part of the agreement) and before his going into *Spain* to take poſſeſſion of his Kingdomes, he thought it beſt to ſettle not onely the Civil and Military, but likewiſe the Eccleſiaſticall State of the Low-Countreys.

King of Rome.

Of Belgium, *or the Low-countreys. Its Name.*

Belgica, by Forreiners called *Flanders*, from the nobleſt part of it, and the *Low-Countreys* from the low ſituation, or (as the *Germans* will have it) from affinity with their language and manners, is known by the name of the lower *Germany*: it is indeed a little parcel of *Europe*, as not much exceeding the fifth part of *Italy*, nor above a thouſand miles in compaſſe: yet I hardly know any Countrey more rich, or populous: The *Prince* making as much of *Flanders* as the Kings of *England* (ſet by the revenues of the Church) uſed to do of that large Iſland. It containeth Cities, or Towns equall to Cities, above three hundred and fiftie: great Villages (to omit the leſſer) above ſix thouſand three hundred: beſides Forts, that ſtand ſo thick, as if the ground were ſown with them: Yet the ingenioufneſs of the People, and their contrivance is ſuch, as their variety and plenty of manufactures are more then can be uſed, in the narrow bounds of this one Nation. The world hath not a more induſtrious, richer, or conſtanter *Militia*; ſo as *Mars* ſeems here to ſet up ſchool, and teach the Art of War, to people that come hither from all climates. Then what unknown ſea-coaſts and Regions beyond the Line, hath not the *Hollander* diſcovered? as much as Nature by Land contracts their limits, ſo much by Sea have they opened to themſelves larger Countreys, which they have ſubdued and peopled, extending as it were the *Suburbs* of the ſeventeen *Provinces*. The Cloth and Stuff they make, not onely fill (as great as it is) all *Europe*, but far and wide, through every Nation of *Africa* and *Aſia*, they daily bear about the Low-Countreys: Nay, the *Weſt-Indians*, trucking for their Linen and Woollen, have learned the names of the Low-Countrey cities. To conclude, we ſeldome at this day admire the workmanſhip of any Engines, which the Low-Countrey men have not either invented, or brought unto perfection. Heretofore their wits were indeed kept under and depreſſed, when their fortune was as low as their Countrey: Now there is an other age, and other manners. Their love to learning, their skill in Sea-fights, their gainfull trade of Navigation, the well-ordering of the Common-wealth by themſelves created, their ſtupendious Fire and Water-works (proofs of no dejected natures) are ſcarce any where to be matched; I am ſure ſo many together are not to be ſeen in all the reſt of *Europe*, as in this little plot of the Low-Countreys. It is likewiſe proper to this Nation (if left to themſelves) to hate fraud, and by that credit which they know they themſelves deſerve, to meaſure others. They are not greatly taken with preſents, at leaſt not long, uſing benefits like flowers, that pleaſe while they are freſh: their ſenſe of injuries is the ſame; which they preſently forget, and eaſily paſs over, unleſs they conceive themſelves ſleighted, then their fury is implacable. They have likewiſe a ſhrewd gueſs of their own ſtrength, ſeldome undertaking any thing they do not

Greatneſs.

Wealth. Guicciardine *in his deſcription of the Low-countreys.* *Cities, Towns, Villages. Forts.*

Militia.

Navigation.

Trade of clothing.

Inclination. Adv. Jien. *in his Tract of* Holland, *attributes it to the air they live in.*

The Character of a Low-countrey man.

not compaſs. Yet no people under heaven drive on a ſubtiler traffick, either by Sea or Land, inhabiting both the Elements, and not obliged by the Laws of either. In this they exceed, that how great ſoever their gains or loſſes are (a Common caſe with Merchants) they paſſe it over with ſo little and dull a ſenſe of joy or grief, as you would think them *factours* for others, & not *owners* of the goods, I ſuppoſe out of the native temper of their minds, and the air of their Countrey that quickens them with colder ſpirits. But in maintaining their liberty, they are very fierce, for they hold it an honour to undervalue all things in reſpect of that: wherein they ſometimes come nearer to licentiouſneſs, then liberty. The whole Region of *Belgica* is divided, according to their own calculation, into ſeventeen *Provinces*, which not long ago were either by affinity, or traffick, or arms, aſſociated under the Government of one Prince. *Philip* was the firſt of all the Dukes of *Burgundy*, under whoſe protection many more *Belgick* Provinces put themſelves, then ever ſubmitted to any other. For *Burgundy*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Limburgh*, *Lucemburgh*, *Artois*, *Haynolt*, *Namurs*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Frizeland*, the *Marquiſate* of the ſacred *Empire*, were ſolely in his poſſeſſion. To theſe his ſonne *Charles* joyned *Gelderland* and *Zutfen*, both which he firſt bought of Duke *Arnold*, who disinherited his ſonne *Adolph*, that kept him ſix years a Priſoner: then after the death of *Arnold* and *Adolph*, he fought for them with the ſonne to *Adolph*, and wonne them in the field. But Duke *Charles* being ſlain at the battel of *Nantes*, and the *French* King *Lewis* the *Eleventh* proſecuting the Warre againſt *Mary* Daughter and heir to *Charles*, this Principality was leſſened by the loſs of *Artois* to the *French*, and many other little Towns in *Burgundy*. And though *Maximilian* by his victory at *Guinigate*, a little after his marriage with *Mary*, reſtored divers of them to the Low-countreys: yet when a peace was made between him and the *French*, and *Margaret* Daughter to *Maximilian*, and *Mary* eſpouſed to *Charles* the *Dolphin*: the Counties of *Artois* and *Burgundy* were, in the name of her Dowre, cut off again from the Low-Countreys. But *Margaret*, being refuſed by *Charles* when he came to the Crown, after that refuſall had revived the Warre, *Charles* poſting into *Italy* to the Conqueſt of *Naples*, made a Peace with *Maximilian* and his ſonne *Philip*, returning *Margaret* and the Provinces he had with her to the Low-Countreys; onely he kept the Forts in his hands which his ſucceſſour *Lewis* the twelfth, wholly bent upon the deſign of *Millain*, rendered of his own accord. But thoſe of *Gelderland* and *Zutfen*, ſubmitting to their Lords, and troubling the Low-countreys with incurſions, eſpecially the parts about *Utrecht*: *Charles* the fifth having overthrown *Charles* Duke of *Gelderland*, entered upon them again, by the right of Conqueſt. But in regard the Warres, often renued upon this occaſion, had been exceeding chargeable: the *Emperour* annexed the Provinces of *Utrecht* and *Overyſell* to the Low-Countreys: (*Henry* Baviere Biſhop and Lord *Utrecht* willingly reſigning them) and defending *Groin* againſt thoſe of *Gelderland*: adding *Cambray* and *Cambreſey* to the Province of *Artois*, enlarged the *Belgick* Dominion. At length, after his victory at *Pavia* (by an agreement made between the *Emperour* and the King) the Low-Countreys were freed from the juriſdiction of the *French* King, who formerly was their Lord Paramount: ſo that *Charles* the fifth of all the *Belgick* Princes had the greateſt and moſt abſolute command. Now moſt of theſe Provinces, as once they had ſeverall Lords, ſo after they were ſubjected to one, almoſt each of them had their ſeverall and reſpective Laws and a peculiar form of government. Which they ſay was the Principall cauſe that *Charles* the fifth, (when he

Belgium divided into 17 Provinces.

Which came to one Prince three wayes.

Philip *the* Good *had them by affinity.* *Meyer l. 17.*

Charles *the* Souldier *by Purchaſe and the Sword* Pont. Heut. *l.* 1.

But he loſt ſome of them.

Paulus Æmil. *l.* 10. *and* Pont. Heut. *l.* 2.

Part Maximilian *recovered by arms.*

The ſame Authour in the ſame book and lib. 5.

Part *by Treaty* Guic. *lib.* 1. 4. 8. Belcar. *l.* 8.

Charles *the fifth poſſeſſed himſelf of all together.* Pont. Heut. *lib.* 11. *and* 9.

The ſame l. 11. *and Meier.*

Guic. *lib.* 16. *and* Pont. Heut. *lib.* 11.

And thought to have made a Kingdom of them, Guic. Meyer.

why he did not.

he was exceedingly deſirons to mould theſe Provinces into a Kingdome, which had been attempted by his great Grand-father) gave off the deſigne, becauſe they were ſo different in manners,language,cuſtomes, and emulation incident to neighbours, that he thought it hardly poſſible to reduce them to one kind of government, whereof a Kingdome muſt conſiſt, none of the Provinces conſenting to yield precedence to any of the reſt, or to ſubmit to the Laws of others as their ſuperiours. From hence was derived the cuſtome for the Low-countrey *Princes*, beſides Goveruours of towns, to place a Governour in every Province that ſhould miniſter juſtice according to their Laws and Cuſtomes. And King *Philip* was well pleaſed to have in his power the diſpoſall of the Provinces, in moſt of which the Governours places were void: That he might remunerate the valour and ſervice of the Lords ſo often tried in the late Warres. He therefore pickt out the flower of the *Belgick* Nobility: chooſing none, but ſuch as either *Charles* his Father or he himſelf had made companions of the order of the *Golden-fleece*.

The diſtribution of the Provinces 1546. 1556. *The government whereof King* Philip *gave to the Lords.*

Lucemburgh, a Province bordering upon *France* and *Lorrain*, and therefore more famed for ſlaughter then riches, he gave to *Erneſt* Count *Mansfield*, who had formerly been Governour thereof. He was born in *Saxony:* for his military experience and fidelity to *Charles* the fifth and King *Philip*, equally beloved of both. *Namures* and *Lymburgh* neighbours on either hand to *Lucemburgh* (very ſmall Countreys, but fruitfull) he beſtowed, the one upon *Charles* Count *Barlamont*, that,with his four ſonnes ſpirited like their father, had been alwayes paſſionately for the King: the other he gave to *John* Count of *Eaſt-Frizeland*. But *Haynolt*, the ſeminary of the *Belgick* Nobility, was not at this time given to the Marqueſſe of *Berghen* op *Zoome*, what ever others write, but to *John Lanoi* Lord of *Molembaſe*, who the next year dying, *Margaret* of *Auſtria* Dutches of *Parma*, ſupreme Governeſs of the *Netherlands*, by her ſpecial letters to the King, obtained that Province for *Iohn Glimed* ſon in law to *Molembaſe* and Marqueſs of *Berghen*, more gracious with *Charles* the fifth then with his ſon. In *Flanders* (which they ſay is one of the Nobleſt and moſt potent Provinces of Chriſtendome) and *Artois* bordering upon *Flanders*, he conſtituted *Lamoral* Prince of *Gaure* Count *Egmont* a great Commander. That part of *Flanders*, which becauſe they ſpeak *Walloon*, or broken *French*, is called *French-Flanders:* and the City of *Tournay* thereunto appendent, had for their Governours the *Momorancies*, *John* and *Florentius*, this Lord of *Mountain*, that of *Courir*. But over *Holland* and *Zeland* and the parts adjacent that is the *Diſtricht* of *Utrecht:* Provinces of great ſtrength by Sea and Land, the King placed *William* of *Naſſau* Prince of *Orange*, of great authority in the Low-Countreys, yet no Low-Countreyman. To the government of *Weſt-Frizeland* and *Overyſell* the King advanced *John Lignius* Count *Arembergh*, conſpicuous for his loyalty to his Maſter and his experience in Warre. *Gelderland* and *Zutfen* formerly annexed to *Gelderland*, were at this time diſtributed like the other Provinces among the Low-Countrey Lords, as all Writers affirm. Yet, by their leave, the truth was otherwiſe: for the King at his departure thence diſpoſed of neither of theſe Governments. I ſuppoſe it was, becauſe *Philip Momorancie* Count of *Horn*, ſtood in competition for them, who had once been Governour of both: to whoſe pretenſion it was conceived *Anthony Granvell* Biſhop of *Arras* was an adverſary: the *King*, who confided in this mans judgement, but yet would not be preſent when the other ſhould receive offence, went into *Spain*, leaving theſe Provinces without a Governour: that ſo he might ſpin out the expectation of Count *Horn*, and weary him with a tedious ſuit. And now tired

Lucemburgh *to Count* Mansfield. 1559. Namure *to Count* Barlamont. Lymburgh *to the Count of* Eaſt-Frizeland Haynolt *to* John Lanoi *Lord of* Molembaſe. *But he ſhortly after dying, it was beſtowed on the Marqueſs of* Berghen. Flanders *and* Artois *to Count* Egmont. French-Flanders *to* John Momorancy. Tournay *to his Brother* Florence. Holland *and* Zeland *to the Prince of* Orange. 1559. Frizeland *and* Overyſell *to Count* Arembergh. Gelderland *and* Zutfen *be as then aſſigned to no one.*

red indeed and hopeleſs to get it for himſelf, he altered the name, and petitioned in behalf of his Brother the Lord *Montin,* intreating the Dutcheſs of *Parma,* the *Governeſs,* that ſhe would pleaſe to write to the King in favour of his Brother. She did ſo, putting in his name among divers others, by her commended to his Majeſtie: but at the ſame time in cypher, ſhe wiſhed the King to approve of none for that Command, but onely *Charles Brimed* Count of *Megen,* who was immediately choſen. In no leſs an errour are they that affirm the King in this diſtribution, to have aſſigned to the Prince of *Orange,* the Dutchy of *Burgundy,* apperteining to the *Belgick* Princes: when his Majeſtie approved and confirmed the preſent Governour thereof, *Claudius Vergius* Lord of *Champlitt:* and it was the year following, when *Claudius* died, that her Excellence of *Parma,* by her letters to the King, obtained *Burgundy* for the Prince of *Orange.*

But afterwards he ſent from Spain *a Patent to Count* Megen *to be Governour of both.* Marc. 25. 1560. *And another to the Prince of* Orange, *after the death of* Vergius, Jan. 16. 1559. *to govern* Burgundy.

The Provinces thus diſpoſed (for *Brabant* is never commanded by any but the Prince and his Vicegerent, the ſupream Governour of the Low-Countreys) the King began to order the *Militia,* and leaving *Spaniſh* Garriſons upon the Borders, he thought of diſpoſing the Horſe, the proper *Militia* of the Low-countreys. They ſay it is very ancient, and was far more numerous. *Charles* the fifth leſſened it to three thouſand; but then he encreaſed it in the choiſe of Noble and valiant perſons: he armed them with half pikes and carabines, which ſo well they handled, as the Low-countrey Troops were famous over *Europe. Philip,* by his fathers example, dividing the Horſe into fourteen Troops, appointed over them ſo many Commanders of the greateſt of his Lords, (*viz.*) all the ſaid Governours of Provinces, (*Courir,* and the Count of *Eaſt-Frizland* excepted) *Philip Croi* Duke of *Areſco, Maximilian Hennin* Count of *Bolduke, Anthony Ladin* Count *Hochſtrat, John Croi* Count *Reux, Henry Brederod* Earl of *Holland*; all but the laſt being Knights of the Golden Fleece. Theſe ordinary Troops the King uſed to draw out of their Quarters, according to the emergencies of Warr. And King *Philip* by experience found theſe to be his greateſt ſtrength and beſt Bulwark againſt the valour of the *French.* But the command of the Sea, and the Royall Fleet, he left ſtill in the hands of the old Admiral, *Philip Momorancy* Count *Horn*; *Philip Staveley* Lord of *Glaion,* he made Maſter of the Train of Artillery, both highly meriting in Peace and War, and therefore at the ſame time admitted by his Majeſtie into the order of the Fleece.

Brabant *reſerved for the Supream Governour of the Low-countreys.*
The ordering of the Militia. *Eſpecially of the Horſe.* *Whoſe troops were famous throughout* Europe. *Their Commanders.*
The Admirall.
Generall of the Ordinance.

There yet remained a part of the Republick, by how much the more noble and ſacred, by ſo much the more tenderly to be handled. To the ſeventeen Provinces full of People; becauſe foure Biſhops (they had then no more) were not thought enough, the King reſolved to increaſe the number. I find it was endeavoured by *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy,* Prince of the Low-Countreys, he that inſtituted the Order of the Golden Fleece, and dying bequeathed the eſtabliſhment thereof to his Son *Charles,* ſirnamed the *Fighter* [or *Souldier*] from his continuall being in arms, which altogether tranſported, and took up the mind of this warlike Prince. Nor had *Philip* (grandchild to *Charles* the Fighter, Son to his onely daughter and *Maximilian* King of the *Romanes*) more leaſure to purſue it, by reaſon of the new troubles of the Kingdoms, which he had in right of his wife *Joan,* daughter and heir to *Ferdinand* the Catholick King. And though *Charles* the fifth ſonne to *Philip,* made it his buſineſs, and put ſome threds into the loom; yet the great diſtractions and war of the Empire intervening, the work was often at a ſtand: and war upon war riſing in *Europe* and *Africa,* rather deprived him of the

The diſpoſition of Biſhopricks, whereof there were onely four in all the 17 *Provinces.*
Many therefore had wiſhed their number might be encreaſed.
Which Charles *the fifth went about to do.*
The reaſon why he deſiſted.

the *means* then *affection* to accompliſh it. Unleſs, perhaps, the Emperour grew ſlack, leſt the erection of new Biſhopricks, ſhould ſtraiten the juriſdiction of his uncle *George* of *Auſtria*, Archbiſhop of *Leige*. Yet among his laſt commands, he particularly left this in charge to his ſonne *Philip*. I my ſelf have read a letter written in King *Philips* own hand to his ſiſter of *Parma*; wherein he ſayes, *He is induced, at that time eſpecially, to increaſe the number of Biſhops, becauſe the Cities and Towns of the* Netherlands *daily grew more populous, and* Hereſie *from their* next Neighbours *crowded in, and got ground of them: and that his Fathers Counſel and Command, had made deep impreſsion in his mind, who taught him this, as the onely way to preſerve Religion in the Low-Countreys.* The King therefore, aſſoon as he was reſpited by the War, ſent to *Rome Francis Sonnius*, a Divine of *Lovain*, a great learned man, (who not long before had diſputed at *Wormes* with *Melanchthon*, *Illyricus*, and others (by command from the Emperour *Ferdinand*) giving him in Commiſsion, together with *Franciſco Varga*, the Kings Ambaſſadour, to acquaint *Paul* the fourth with his deſires. After ſome moneths, when the buſineſs had been debated by a Court of ſeven Cardinals, it was accordingly granted: The *Pope* inclining of himſelf to deſtroy hereſie, and neglecting no occaſion of gratifying King *Philip*, to whom he was lately reconciled. So that he appointed fourteen Cities in the *Low-Countreys* (beſides the foure former) for Biſhops-ſees, whereof three were honoured with the Prerogative of Archbiſhopricks, that is, *Cambray*, *Utrecht* upon the *Rhine*, and *Maclin* preferred before the others at the Kings requeſt: which ſeated in the heart of *Brabant*, near the Princes Court at *Bruxels*, he had deſigned for *Anthony Perenott Granvell*, purpoſely tranſlated from the Church of *Arras* thither, becauſe that mans being near the Court, ſeemed to concern the publick. In this manner the *Popes* Bul was penned, and ſent by his *Nuntio*, *Salvator* Biſhop of *Cluſino*, and *Francis Sonnius* going for the Low-Countreys, who was enjoyned to ſee the Decree executed; but in other things belonging to the revenues and limits of Juriſdiction, they were to do what to themſelves in their diſcretions ſeemed meet. King *Philip* having received anthority, made an excellent choice of men for the new Myters; all famous for the learned books they had written, as likewiſe for their virtues and deportments in the Councel of *Trent*. Such Biſhops the *Pope* joyed to approve of, and the people were aſhamed not to admit. And becauſe the King would no longer defer his voyage into *Spain*, he left the care of limiting and endowing the new Churches to *Granvell* and *Sonnius*: for the Popes *Nuntio* was to follow his Majeſtie.

His ſon Philip *attempts it. Treats about it with the Pope.*

Concludes with him.

Fourteen Biſhopricks were to be added to the four former. Whereof three Archbiſhopricks.

The men choſen for thoſe Dioceſes.

Before his departure, the King ſummoned the Eſtates of the *Low-countreys* to *Gant*: many were of opinion, he would there declare a Governour for the *Low-Countreys*, which he had till then declined: though others imputed the cauſe of that delay to the Kings nature, perplexed and doubtfull whom to truſt with the Government. Which procraſtination daily added to the number of Competitours, and to the diſcourſes of lookers on. Many of which, according to their ſeverall dependencies, made ſure accompt their friends and Patrons ſhould carry it: and together with this belief cheriſhed their own hopes. Divers that aimed at no private advantage, did not ſo much name a *Perſon*, as a *Governour*: being ambitious to be Stateſmen, though it were but in giving imaginary votes: as if they ſhould have their part in the Government, if they could but think of diſpoſing the Provinces, and fill a vacant place, by predeſigning him that ſhould be choſen. But Count *Egmont* was the man, on whom the *Low-Countreys* fixt their eyes and wiſhes

Of the Governour of the Low-countreys.

Various conjectures (as is uſuall with the people) who ſhould be the man.

The major part conceive, Count Egmont *will be elected, a man of much fame and merit.*

wiſhes, a Prince conſpicuous for his experience in the Warrs, and very active either in the field againſt the Enemies, or at home in private Tiltings and for ſhooting in a piece at marks (an art of great account with that People) ſecond to none. Beſides, he had a naturall affability, and (which is rare) a Popularity conſiſtent with Nobility. But he was particularly famous for the late victory at S. *Quintins*, a great part whereof the King acknowledged himſelf engaged for, to Count *Egmont*: and for a later day at *Gravelin*; ſince when the Low-Countrey-men had not wiped the enemies bloud off their ſwords. In which expedition aſmuch as he tranſcended the other Lords that had command in the Army, eſpecially the *Spaniards*, ſo much (with all forreiners but them) he gained glory to his Nation; and to himſelf the favour of others, by his own to them. So that if a Governour for the Low-Countreys might have been voted by the ſouldiers love, and the peoples conſent, no man ſhould have been preferred before Count *Egmont*. But on a deeper ſea, and with a more popular wind ſailed the Prince of *Orange*. The greatneſs of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, equall fortunes; the principality of *Orange*, ſubject to none: beſides his other large poſſeſsions both in *Germany* and the *Low-countreys*; and his powerfull alliance to moſt of the great families of the North, his mother *Juliana* being a woman of a miraculous fecundity: for of her children, whereof the greateſt part were daughters, ſhe lived to ſee one hundred and fifty that asked her bleſsing. Add to this his own merit; his dexterity of wit, and ſtaiedneſs of judgement, far riper then his years: and his abilities both as an Ambaſſadour and a General. Then the great opinion the Emperour *Charles* the fifth had of him, who employed him in his weightieſt affairs. Upon theſe and ſuch like conſiderations, how could the Prince of *Orange* go leſs in his hopes, then to be Governour of the *Low-countreys*, a place which his couſen *Engelbert* Count of *Naſſau* enjoyed about an hundred years before: Yet doubting the Kings inclination, he had divided his ſuit: that if he himſelf ſhould meet a repulſe, yet *Chriſtiern* Dutcheſs of *Lorain* might prevail, whoſe daughter he hoped to marry, intending (for that was his drift) that his mother in law ſhould have the *Title*, but he himſelf the *Power*. And indeed the Dutcheſs of *Lorain* was every way capable of the place, as being daughter to *Iſabella*, ſiſter to *Charles* the fifth, and having merited the favour of her couſen-german the King, by the Peace which ſhe lately had concluded with the *French*, upon conditions more advantagious to the *Spaniard*: for which ſhe was much honoured by the Low-countrey-men. But whileſt on ſuch kind of conſiderations, mens hopes and diſcourſes were protracted and ſuſpended; behold upon the ſudden came news, That *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Dutcheſs of *Parma*, was ſent for out of *Italy* to govern the *Low-countreys*. Which though it happened unexſpectedly, yet could be no wonder to ſuch as rightly judged. For on the one part, it was in reaſon to be thought, the King at that time would not eaſily truſt the government of the *Low-countreys*, in the hand of a Low-countrey-man. Such as looked into it, might ſee cauſe ſufficient. Particularly, Count *Egmont* had a bar, by the unhappy memory of *Charles Egmont* Duke of *Gelder*; who being of the *French* faction, and a profeſſed enemie to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, *Charles* the fifth confiſcated his Eſtate, and forced his heir to render *Gelderland* and *Zutfen*. And divers reports going of the Prince of *Orange's* Religion (in which kind a ſuſpicion onely was enough to quaſh his ſute) the King would be ſure never to commit the *Low-countreys* to the faith of one gracious and powerfull with the *Germane* Hereticks, both as a neighbour and a kinſman, which might open them a paſs into

Many think the Prince of Orange *will carry it, a man of greater power and wealth.*

Not undeſerving

But he doubts a repulſe.

Chriſtierna *of* Lorain *is alſo deſigned for the place.*
With generall approbation.

But Margaret *of* Parma *is preferred before them all.*

What hindred Count Egmont.

What the Prince of Orange.

What Chriſtiern *of* Lorain.

the ſeventeen Provinces. Nay, even to the Dutcheſs of *Lorain* the rumour of a Treaty of marriage betwixt her Daughter and the Prince of *Orange*, was very diſadvantagious, in her pretenſion to the government: though it made more againſt her, that ſhe had married her ſonne *Charles* Duke of *Lorain*, to the daughter of *Henry* King of *France*. For they ſay, Biſhop *Granvel* adviſed the King to look to it, leſt if ſhe were Governeſs, the *French* coming in mixt with the *Lorainers*, might peſter the *Low-countreys*. Perhaps he himſelf being a *Burgundian*, gave his Majeſtie this counſel, for fear the *Burgundians* ſhould be ſubject to the *Lorainers*, their ancient enemies. Or rather, finding the King inclined to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*; he endeavoured to expreſs his zeal in preferring her, and ſo to predeſerve her favour. But to chooſe her, there was a concurrence of many reaſons. Before I particularize them, let me ſpeak a little of the Dutcheſs her ſelf, and give you an account of her birth and education; together with her deportment before ſhe came to govern the *Low-countreys:* Since the beſt Hiſtorians uſe, not onely to deſcribe the *Actions*, but likewiſe the *Fame* of Perſons: and are tied by the rules of Hiſtory, not to omit the Characters of their *Lives* and *Manners*.

Cic.l.2. de Oratore.

Of Margaret *of* Parma.

Her Mother.
Her mothers Parents.
Education.

Margaret eldeſt child to *Charles* the fifth; born four years before he was married, had a mother of the ſame name, *Margaret Vangeſt* (as long after it came to light) daughter to *John Vangeſt* and *Mary Cocquamb* of *Aldenard*, perſons of good quality in *Flanders:* Both which dying of the ſickneſs, left *Margaret* then but five years old, to her fathers dear friend, *Anthony Lalin* Count *Hocbſtrat:* who with his wife, *Elizabeth Culemberg*, bred her as their onely child. When ſhe was grown a woman, not onely as a great Beauty, but as one that conſecrated her beauty with modeſtie, ſhe was pretended to by many noble Suiters. But ſhe daſhed all their hopes with the rub of chaſtity, intending within a few dayes to be a Nun. In the mean time, being invited to a Wedding, and dancing there among other young Ladies of her qualitie; ſhe found by too late experience, that ſuch as expoſe their beautie, ſet to ſale their chaſtity, eſpecially if a great Chapman be at hand. For the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, in his paſſage by *Aldenard*, honouring this wedding with his preſence, *Margaret* that came along with the Counteſs of *Hochſtrat*, ſurpaſsing all the other Ladies in his eye, was highly commended by his Imperial Majeſtie, who while he commended, ſeemed to long for her: Inſomuch as one of his followers (of that ging of Courtiers, that have no way to merit their Princes favour, but by ſlaviſh arts) catched her up in the dark, and brought her to the Bed-chamber. By her the Emperour had this *Margaret* we write of. The Buſineſs was many years concealed by *Ceſars* command, eſpecially becauſe the ſame Courtier accidently had told him, that he took a great deal of pains to perſwade the Virgin, but could not get her for his Imperial Majeſty, without force and threatning: At which the Emperour was ſo moved, that giving the man a ſound check for it, he vowed, if he had known as much before, he would never have touched the maid; and therefore commanded her delivery ſhould be kept private; as well to preſerve the Mothers honour, as his own. For the Emperour was not prodigall of his fame in this kind, nor with pomp and ceremony brought his by-blows on the ſtage. But the ſecret lay not long in the Embers, being goſſiped out by a woman, employed as a neceſſary inſtrument in ſuch caſes: She imparted it to her husband, he, with the ſame ſecreſie told it to a friend of his (for every one hath ſome he truſts, as much as others can truſt him) juſt like the rain on the houſe top, which falling from one tile to another, and ſo from gutter to gutter, at laſt is

Perfections.

The Emperour falls in love with her.

Delivered of Margaret *Anno* 1522. *whom Ceſar conceals for her mothers credit and his own. But at laſt it was diſcovered.*

is ſpouted into the high way. For when many are of counſel in a buſineſs, what was every ones ſecret, becomes a rumour to the people. Nor did the Mother think it amiſs, after ſhe was known to have a child, that the father of it ſhould be likewiſe known, as if her fault ſhould be leſſened by the greatneſs of his name. And ſhortly the child appeared to be of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by her Princely education.

The Low-Countreys were then governed for *Charles* the fifth by his Aunt *Margaret*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian* the firſt and *Mary* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*. The *Emperour* bred the Infant in the Court of his Aunt, under whom he himſelf in his infancy had been educated. Till ſhe was eight years old, the child was foſtered in the boſome of that Princeſs. After whoſe deceaſe, ſhe was ſent to *Mary* Queen of *Hungary* ſiſter to *Charles* the fifth, who being left a widow by King *Lewis*, had the government given to her. And her neece *Margaret* grew ſo like her, not onely in her private and publick virtues: but by obſervant imitation, the child had the happineſs to get her very ſenſe and propenſions, her gravity and meen. The *Governeſs* was much delighted in the ſport of Hunting, whereupon they commonly called her the Foreſtreſs: as the true Neece to *Mary* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, that conſtantly followed the Chaſe, till by a fall from her horſe ſhe got her death. This Fate appears not onely to be her own, but to relate to *Maximilian:* whoſe other wife *Blanca Sforza*, while ſhe was hunting, was likewiſe thrown from her horſe and killed. The Dutcheſs of *Parma* was ſo taken with this ſport, and had ſo hardened her body with exerciſe, that ſhe fearleſs galloped after her Aunt over the lawns and through the woods, before ſhe was ten years of age. As ſhe grew in years, ſhe grew to exceed her Miſtreſs in horſemanſhip, ſhe was then betroathed the ſecond time, to *Alexander Medices* of *Florence*, ſhe and her firſt husband *Hercules* Prince of *Ferrara* having never bedded. For the *Emperour*, that he might win *Alphonſo* father to *Hercules* from the *French*, from whom he was offered great conditions by *Pope Clement* the ſeventh: Courted him upon the ſelf ſame terms, confirming him in the Principality of *Mutina* and *Regio*, and eſpouſing his Daughter *Margaret*, then hardly four years old, to *Alphonſo's* eldeſt ſonne, *Hercules*. By theſe eſpouſals the Emperour gained *Alphonſo*, as the neceſſity of his affairs required. But a while after, he being drawn again to ſide with the *French:* and his Sonne *Hercules* married to *Renata* Daughter to *Lewis* King of *France*. The *Pope*, upon his reconcilement with the Emperour, among other articles of Peace, agreed that *Alexander Medices* (ſon to that *Laurence* whom *Leo* the tenth, depoſing *Feltrio*, had created Duke of *Florence*) ſhould be ſettled by the Imperiall Army in the Florentine Principality: and that to confirm him therein the Emperour ſhould beſtow upon him his Daughter *Margaret* in marriage. Which conditions *Ceſar* willingly ſigned; partly out of reſpect to his *Holyneſs*, whoſe injury he ſeemed to cancell by this benefit: partly in hatred to the *Florentines*, that entering into the *Lotrechian* aſſociation againſt the Emperour had put their City under the *French* Kings protection. *Alexander* was forthwith poſſeſſed of *Florence*, and the *Florentines* diſpoſſeſſed of their liberty. But the marriage was not compleated till ſeven years after, *Pope Clement* being then deceaſed. Nay the match, by occaſion of the *Popes* death, came into a poſſibility of breaking, upon the ſolicitation of ſome great men in *Florence*, who by that ſeven years protraction imagining the Emperour wavered in his reſolution, treated with him, on great hopes and promiſes, not to admit of *Alexander* for his ſon in law, but to reſtore the City to its freedome, which

The Infant is ſent to be educated by the Emperours Aunt.

And afterwards by his ſiſter. 1530.

Her diſpoſition.

Her delight in hunting.

1496.

Ceſar *promiſes her in marriage to the Duke of* Florence. *Breaking the match intended with the Prince of* Ferrara.

1516.

1529.

Franciſc. Maria Feltrio.

The Florentines *labour to break the match.*

But in vain. they would onely hold of the Emperour. But *Ceſar* having paſt his promiſe to the *Pope* in his life time, thought himſelf bound in point of honour to make it good after the *Popes* deceaſe. Eſpecially becauſe he ſuſpected, that the *Florentines* leaned towards the *French*. Nor was he ignorant, that a benefit more eaſily obliges particulars, then a multitude: and that favours ſcattered in publick, are received by all, returned by none. *The Nuptials, celebrated at* Naples. The Emperour therefore ſending for *Alexander* from *Florence*, to attend him at *Naples:* and to the Low-Countreys for *Margaret*, who longed to ſee her Father returned from the Warre of *Tunis*; at a Convention of the *Eſtates* and a great concourſe of ſtrangers, the marriage was celebrated with military Revells: wherein the Emperour himſelf ran a Tilt, habited like a Tauny-moor. But *Soon after at* Florence. *With a ſtrange Omen.* *Margaret* being received at *Florence* as their Dutcheſs, and the Nuptiall ſolemnities iterated there: a great part of the body of the ſunne was darkened at the Feaſt, and terrified the Gueſts. Many held it to be ominous: who, 1536. looking with diſcontented eyes upon the preſent ſtate, and making the heavens ſpeak according to their wiſhes; compared the Dukes fortune, to the ſunnes ſplendour ſuddenly eclipſed. *Her husband ſlain the ſame year.* Nor did their conjecture fail them, for *Alexander* by the Emperours affinity grown proud, and therefore careleſs, fell intemperately to love women, and ſo impolitickly, that being ſecure from forrein force, he was, with the bait that pleaſed him, eaſily intrapped by his kinſman *Lorenzo Medices*, of Counſell with him in his pleaſures; and in hope or under pretence of reſtoring *Florence* to her liberty, in the ſe- 1537. venth year of his Principality, before he had been a full year married, he was ſlain. *His ſucceſſour ſues to* Ceſar *for* Margaret. His ſucceſſour *Coſmo* (for the Duke died, but not the Dukedome) in the firſt place, humbly addreſſed himſelf to the Emperour for his conſent that he might marry his daughter, Princeſs *Margaret:* thinking it would be a great ſupport to his new and ſhaking power. *But he caſts his eye on the houſe of* Farneze. But *Ceſar*, reſolved to make his beſt advantage of his daughters marriage, having already obliged the houſe of *Medices*, by eſtabliſhing that family in the Dukedome of *Florence:* and having likewiſe laid an obligation upon *Coſmo* himſelf, by confirming (though many oppoſed it) the Principality upon him: ſought a ſon in law among the *Farnezes*, then Princes, and gave his daughter *Margaret* *And marries his daughter to* Octavio Farneze. in marriage to *Octavio*, nephew to *Pope Paul* the third, and at that time created *Prefect* of *Rome* (in place of the Duke of *Urbin* deceaſed) and preſently Franciſco Maria Feltrio. after made Duke of *Camertio*. To this end, the Emperour *Charles* the fifth and King *Francis* had an enterview at *Nice*, endeavoured by *Pope Paul*, who came thither in perſon, hoping by ſome means or other to compoſe the difference. For as both theſe Princes ſtudied to make the *Pope*, who being powerfull in long hoorded wealth and wiſdome, no doubt but his inclining to either ſide would turn the ſcales; ſo the *Pope*, vigilant for his own advantage, took this opportunity to treat with the Emperour of a marriage for his Nephew: eſpecially ſince the news of *Solimans* fleet growing dayly more terrible, it concerned them both to confirm the Peace made between them and the ſtate of *Venice*, by an intermarriage in their families. The Emperour was ſo willing to comply with the *Pope*, That he not onely preferred his Nephew before the Duke of *Florence*, (who then by his *Ambaſſadour* renued his former ſuit) and before other Princes, which had the like ambition: but inſtantly making up the match between his Daughter and *Octavio*, he put them together, though the Bride had little joy of the wedding, deſpiſing her husbands unripe years. Therefore jeſtingly ſhe called it her Fate, to be *married*, but not *matched*; for when ſhe was a Gyrl of twelve, ſhe muſt then have a man of ſeven and twenty; and now ſhe was a woman, a

Boy

Boy of thirteen. For ſome years after this marriage, ſhe had an averſion from her husband, not ſo much in contempt of his years, as by reaſon of ill offices done by a Courtier, who having been her old ſervant bare a great ſway with her; and hating the *Farnezes* with more then his own ſpleen, ſometimes commending her firſt husband *Alexander*, ſometimes aggravating the *Popes* injuries to her father, nouriſhed domeſtick diſcord: till at length, he being removed, and *Octavio* attending the Emperour in his Warres, the mind of the Dutcheſs began to change. For when the Emperour was to go for *Africa* from *Lucca*, whither the *Pope* came to conferre with his Imperiall Majeſty, and had brought along *Octavio* and *Margaret*, though *Paul* the third utterly diſliked the voyage to *Argeirs*, yet he ventured his Nephew *Octavio*, commending him to *Ceſars* fortune: and deſigning in that one act to give Hoſtage to the Emperour, and bring his daughter into a longing for her abſent husband. And indeed after the misfortune of the Warre, wherein the Emperour was rather worſted by the *Sea*, then by the *Moors*, the news of *Ceſars* overthrow was divulged in all places. And becauſe no man could tell what was become of him, and the Reliques of his ſcattered fleet, it was conſtantly believed at *Rome* that the Emperour was caſt away: ſome reported they ſaw the ſhip, wherein *Octavio* was aboard, eaten up by the Sea: which was the rather believed, becauſe when the Emperours eſcape was known, *Octavio* was not mentioned. This firſt moved the Dutcheſs, her love growing out of pity; as if the youth flying from his wives frowns had run upon his Fate, in the prime of his years and fortunes. But when the news came that he was living, and with his Father in law, onely that he lay deſperately ſick; hope and fear joyned to bring her love and pitie to perfection: till two years after (in all which time he ſtill kept the field and was never out of the Emperours eye) at his return to *Rome*; aſwell his long ſtay from her, as his long ſervice to her Father ſpeaking in his behalf, it is hardly credible with what longing and affection his wife received and honoured him. Not long after ſhe having the rare happineſs to be brought a bed of two ſonnes at a birth; by how much it joyed her, (eſpecially they comming at the ſame time to the Principality of *Parma* and *Placentia*) by ſo much her love to her husband increaſed. Onely, as ſhe was violently ambitious to command in chief, and therefore hardly brooked a power divided with her husband; ſo when diſcords ſprang between them, ſhe would not eaſily be reconciled. The truth is her ſpirit was not onely great beyond her ſex: but ſhe went ſo habited, and had ſuch a garb, as if ſhe were not a woman with a maſculine ſpirit, but a man in womans clothes. Her ſtrength was ſuch, as ſhe uſed to hunt the ſtagg, and change horſes upon the field, which is more then many able bodied men can do. Nay upon her chin and upper lip ſhe had a little kind of beard, which gave her not more of the *reſemblance* then *authority* of a man. And, which ſeldome happens in her ſex, and never but to very ſtrong women, ſhe was troubled with the Gout. She had a preſent wit, and in action could ſteer to all ſides with wonderfull dexterity: as having been of a child bred up in the *Belgick* Court, and inſtructed in her youth by the adverſe fortune of the *Medices*; in her riper years accompiſhed and made abſolute by the diſcipline of *Farnezes* Palace, and the old learning of *Pope Paul* the third. Then for piety, ſhe had a great maſter indeed, *Ignatius Loyola* Founder of the Society of *Jeſus*: to whom ſhe confeſſed her ſinnes, and that oftner then was the cuſtome of thoſe times. By this man ſhe was taught a ſingular *reverence* and *devotion* towards the Euchariſt, proper to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Whereupon one every year, in

With whom at firſt ſhe correſponded not.

1541. *But afterwards He was indeared to her.*

By means of his Abſence and Hazzards.

1545. *Her love to him increaſed.* *See the ninth Book.*

Not without ſome intervening jarres. Her maſculine ſpirit.

And manly exerciſes.

She was of a ready wit.

Wonderfull diſcreet.

And religious.

Eſpecially at the Euchariſt.

Her yearly Charity to the poor.

in Paſſion week, ſhe waſhed the feet of twelve poor maids (which ſhe commanded ſhould not be waſhed before ſhe came): Then feaſting them, waited herſelf at table, and ſent them away new clothed, and full of gold. Upon the other more chearfull ſolemnitie of *Corpus Chriſti* day, ſhe gave very noble portions to poor Virgins, and married them to good Husbands. Both theſe feaſts ſhe kept during her life. With this breeding and theſe parts, the Dutcheſs ſo won upon the King her Brother, that he committed the Low-countreys to her; knowing her to be a woman of great courage, and excellently verſed in the art of Government. Beſides, his Fathers commands were yet freſh in his memory, who loved her dearly, and on his death-bed earneſtly recommended her to the King. It ſeems, he thought this honour would anſwer the Fathers wiſhes, and the Daughters merit: Withall, he hoped the Low-countreymen for the reverence they bare to the name of *Charles* the fifth, would chearfully obey his Daughter, born among them, and bred up to their faſhions; and that her Countrey-men would therefore the better digeſt her Government, becauſe ſubjected people think themſelves partly free, if governed by a Native. Perhaps the King was content, in favour of the Low-countreymen, to let them be governed by a Woman, hoping the Innovations he had deſigned, would pleaſe, coming from a Lady, like an inciſion, that pains the leſs when made by a ſoft hand.

Which juncture of excellencies principally moved the King to make her Governeſs of the Low-countreys. A ſecond Cauſe thereof. A third.

But beſides theſe reaſons given out in publick, there was other private cauſe. *Octavio Farneze* Duke of *Parma* and *Piacenza* had long ſince been in the Low-countreys, and there ſerved a Volunteer againſt the *French*; at his return for *Italy*, he was an earneſt ſuiter to King *Philip* (to whom he delivered his ſon *Alexander*) that he would pleaſe to reſtore him the Caſtle of *Piacenza*, kept as yet with a *Spaniſh* Garriſon. The King, though he reſolved not to grant his ſuit; yet leſt the Prince ſhould return diſcontented (whom by long experience he had found faithfull and ſerviceable to the Crown of *Spain*, in his command againſt *Hercules* the *French* Generall, in the War of *Italy*: and the obedience of whoſe *Ciſalpine* Countreys, would greatly advantage *Spain*) conferred the Government of the *Low-countreys* and *Burgundy* upon his wife, acquainting the Duke with it, as if he did it for his ſake; aſſuring himſelf whileſt thoſe Provinces which he looked upon with ſo much love and care, were in his abſence committed to the *Farnezes*, they would reſt well contented with ſo high an argument of confidence and affection. Nor did *Octavio* ſleight the favour: nay, as it often happens, that a preſent bounty is the ſtep to a future riſe; he hoped, by the tie of this Government, every day more to endear his Majeſtie to his Siſter, and to the Houſe of the *Farnezes*. The King leſſened not that hope, which he knew would ſerve to make the *Farnezes* intentive to the Government of the Low-countreys: for by how much the Governeſs might advance his intereſt in the Low-countreys, as well becauſe of her Religion as her Prudence, ſo much the gladder he was, to have ſuch Pledges from them. The King therefore not onely kept his ſon *Alexander*, to aw the mother; but he thought it concerned him to give the father hope of the Caſtle of *Piacenza*; well knowing ſome mens natures are more obliged by receiving one, then many benefits.

A fourth, more ſecret, perhaps more true.

Margaret comes into the Low countreys.

Is ſaluted Governeſs.

The Governeſs being deſigned, and new come into the Low-countreys, his Majeſtie met her on the way, attended by *Octavio* Duke of *Parma*, her ſon *Alexander*, the Ambaſſadours of Princes, the Deputies of the Provinces, and the reſt of his Nobility, then met at the Convention of Eſtates. After he had ſaluted his ſiſter, as Governeſs for him of the Low-countreys

and



Margaret Dutcheſſe of Parma and Piacenza
Daughter to Charles the 5th
Governeſſe of the Lowcountreys

Appointed three Councels. Inſtructed by the King.

and *Burgundy*, he brought her in great ſtate to *Gant*; appointing her *Councels* of *State*, of *Juſtice*, and of the Finances or Exchequer; giving her theſe precepts how to uſe them. That ſhe was to make it a rule at the Board, whatſoever opinion carried it in Councel, ſhould be maintained for the better out of Councel, even by ſuch as had voted againſt it. For which he gave his reaſons, Leſt upon diſpute there ſhould grow conteſtation, and the authors (when the Councel was up) be engaged in perpetuall quarrels. Likewiſe, that ſtrangers might not know who to *thank* or *complain* of; whence this benefit would enſue, That envie which uſes to be levelled at particular perſons, would not be conceived, at leaſt not practiſed againſt a multitude. There would be leſs heart-burning among the Lords of the Councel, and every one more freely vote according to juſtice and equity, becauſe leſs enforced to decline it by hope or fear. Another reaſon was, That if the *Governeſs* obſerved them to be divided into faction, or packed together in a Conſpiracy, ſhe ſhould then, breaking up the Councel, call to her a cabinet Councel, which the King named, *viz. Granvel* Biſhop of *Arras*, *Charles* Count *Barlamont*, and *Viglius* Preſident of the Privie-Councel. This private meeting was called the *Conſult*. Nay, upon any ſudden accident, when it would take up too much time, and be too dangerous, to have it heard and determined at the Councel-table, the Governeſs was to impart it to this Cabinet Councel, where it would have a quicker diſpatch, and ſometimes more adviſed: For the leſs number (the King ſaid) would be leſs tedious, and yet a few well choſen give as good advice. And then ſecrets would not be brought upon the ſtage, and there would be little occaſion for the Ambitious to make ſpeeches, and to maintain their opinions; becauſe without a *Scene* and admiring *Spectatours*, proud men do but coldly act their parts. The greateſt buſineſſes are therefore agitated, out of the crowd, with leſs pomp, and more advantage. Laſtly, in theſe meetings, where (though all have equall right to vote, and not equal judgement, yet) the major part carries it, it is eaſie to find (becauſe in a multitude) many that want either ability or honeſty: howſoever in regard their *number* is to be conſidered, not their *reaſons*, the more and not the better muſt prevail.

After the reſolution in Councel what they were to obſerve abroad.

The cauſes of this Command.

How ſhe was to call the Councell.

Ulricus Viglius Zuichem.

Severall reaſons thereof.

The King after her inſtructions, gives her a penſion. And in a Chapter of the Knights of the Golden Fleece.

His Majeſty having thus inſtructed the Governeſs, and aſsigned her an Annuall penſion of thirty ſix thouſand Crowns; to encreaſe the publick joy in the aſſemblie of the Eſtates at *Gant*, he created eleven Knights of the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, in their places that were deceaſed: for ſo many wanted to make up fifty one, the number to which *Charles* the fifth had multiplied the Order, whereas Duke *Philip* the Founder, at firſt onely inſtituted twenty five, and after added ſix to make up the number one and thirty.

1516.
1433.
1429.

He declares her Governeſs.

And commends to them Religion and Obedience.

Hears the Eſtates Requeſts.

Laſtly, the King appointed a time to hear the Petitions of the Deputies to the Eſtates: Where *Granvel* in the Kings name made a ſpeech to them: anſwered by *Borlutius* of *Gant*, Speaker for the Eſtates. *Granvell* gave reaſons for the Kings going into *Spain*, Declared *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Parma*, under the Kings Majeſtie, Supreme Governeſs of the *Low-countreys* and *Burgundy* (ſhe then ſitting by the King); Diſputed for the Old Religion, againſt Hereticks that corrupted it: And in the firſt place earneſtly commended the protection and obſervance of Religion to the Governeſs, till his Majeſtie ſhould return to the Low-countreys. *Borlutius*, after he had preſented the Eſtates humble thanks and promiſes of obedience to the King, and Governeſs, delivered the Heads of their deſires. That his Majeſtie by the example of his Father the Emperour, would pleaſe to call out of the Low-conntreys all forrein forces, and uſe none but their own Countrey

And grants them.

Garriſons, nor admit of any Alien to ſit in the Great Councel. The King, giving them fair hopes, promiſed to with-draw the forrein ſouldiers that remained (for he had already freed them of the maior part) within foure moneths next enſuing: So diſſolving the Aſſembly, all his buſineſs in the *Low-countreys* being now diſpatched: From *Gant* he paſſed to *Zeland*, and weighing anchors from the port of *Ulushen* in the moneth of *Auguſt*, made a happy voyage into *Spain*. The Governeſs the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, and the Duke of *Savoy* having waited on the King aboard, the Duke with his Princely Bride, tooke leave for *Italy*: Her Excellence retired to *Bruxels*, the ancient ſeat of the *Belgick* Princes, and in *September* one thouſand five hundred fiftie and nine, began her Government over the *Low-countreys*.

Then his Majeſtie goes into Spain.
The Duke of Savoy *into* Italy.
The Dutcheſs of Parma *to* Bruxells.

The End of the firſt Book.

The Hiſtorie of the LOW-COUNTREY WARRES.

The ſecond Book.

KIng *Philips* departure from the Low-Countreys fell out very inconvenient for that new condition of affairs. For every change in Cities and Kingdomes, like young trees when they are tranſplanted, had need of preſent looking to till we be ſure they have taken root. Doubtleſs it had been farre better for the *Netherlands*, if the King (ſo the neceſſities of *Spain* would have permitted) had ſtayed there for ſome time, till he had ſeen at a nearer diſtance, the courſe and motions of things which he had altered in thoſe parts. And not to have taken them upon truſt, from others uncertain relations: For many times the water changes the taſt, by running long and ſeverall wayes under ground, nor can he that drinks it a farre off, judge of it ſo well, as he that ſits at the ſpring head, and hath it from the fountain. Truly the King had with more certainty looked into the deſignes of men, and conſequently the misfortune had been leſs, which after he left them involved the Low-Countreys in a difficult and tedious warre. And as when his father *Charles* went into *Germany* to be crowned Emperour, the *Spaniards* immediately took up arms againſt his Lieutenants: ſo the Low-Countreymen, when K. *Philip* went for *Spain* to take poſſeſſion of his Kingdome, after they had kept a foot a civill war between them and their governours, at laſt the confederate Provinces fell off from their obedience to their Prince. The cauſes of which evils I being now to repreſent: I muſt confeſs, I never read of any tumult or war, whoſe originall was ſo variouſly and contradictorily reported by the *People*, and written by *Hiſtorians*. I believe that ſome when they found the reaſons, that went currant for cauſes of this war, far too weak for the raiſing of ſo great commotions, they themſelves gueſſed at others, that rather agreed with the writers wit, then the truth of hiſtory. Some again, have framed cauſes according to their *factions* and *religions*, paſſing over all thoſe in ſilence, that made againſt their party. Others, not ſo much to cozen the Reader, as being cozened themſelves with the ſhew of pretended cauſes, ignorant how much *Cauſes* and *Beginnings* differ, have failed to clear the originals of theſe differences. When an Hiſtorian is obliged

The Kings unſeaſonable departure out of the Low-Countreys before a perfect ſettlement was made.

The like inconvenience in Spain *when* Charles *the fifth went from thence to* Germany.

1520.

The Cauſes *why Writers differ about the Beginnings of the Low-countrey tumults.* *Oſtentation of wit.* *Faction.* *Ignorance of the difference between* Beginnings *and* Cauſes.

hich difference principally to obſ rved and ·plained by an iſtorian.

ged firſt to inform himſelf of the *beginnings* of Peace and War, or of Seditions, and what their grounds and *cauſes* were; and in the next place, to inform his Readers: leſt they not underſtanding the difference of *cauſes* and *beginnings*, ſhould judge amiſs of actions and events: and ſo *Hiſtory* the miſtreſs of wiſdome, become the handmaid of errour.

o did the ancient and beſt riters.
ab. Pict. *in his Annalls.*
it. Liv. *l.*21.
olyb. *l.*3.

Nor was it an idle diſpute among the ancient Hiſtorians, what was the ground of the warre wherein *Hannibal* was Generall for the *Carthaginians* againſt the *Romans*; becauſe they knew it would be of great concernment, that ſuch as were to read the actions of *Rome* and *Carthage*, ſhould penetrate into both their counſels, to underſtand things rightly; and to make a far different judgement betwixt the Articles of Leagues, and Complaints of *Ambaſſadours*, and betwixt the juſtice of the war in generall.

o follow hoſe examples is eaſie, for a an acquainted ith Princes crets.

Taught by theſe great examples, I have thought it worth my pains, before I handle the Low-Countrey war, of far longer continuance then the war of *Carthage*, accurately to ſearch and diſtinguiſh the *cauſes* and *beginnings*: Eſpecially becauſe in theſe affairs, ſo diverſly cenſured in many mens letters and diſcourſes, I can promiſe, out of the peculiar helps I have had, a more exquiſite and certain relation.

he Low-Countreymens Priviledges very eat.

ud. Guicciar. in in Deſcrip. elg.

It is not to be doubted, but the liberty which people have long enjoyed, if it be entrenched upon or invaded, will cauſe inſurrections. Nor is it unknown, that the government of the Low-Countreys, came very near the form of free cities, by the indulgence of their Princes: who had made them, by many and liberall Charters, though not abſolutely *free-States*, yet more then *common ſubjects*: eſpecially thoſe of *Brabant*; into which Province, we know, great bellied women came from the neighbour countreys to lie in; that their children might enjoy the priviledges of *Brabant*. You would think the husbandman had choſen this for a nurſery for his plants: and after they were grown up, and had ſucked their firſt moiſture from that earth; then they were removed, carrying along with them the endowments of that hoſpitable ſoil.

rom whence his evil had its riginall becauſe the King encht upon em three ayes.

From hence, many writers derive the pedigree of their miſeries; that the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers contrary to the Kings promiſe, were kept ſo long in the Low-Countreys, that fourteen Biſhops added to four which they had antiently, the epiſcopall juriſdiction ſeemed to be encreaſed with breach of priviledge to the Provinces, that there was an endeavour to bring in new Inquiſitions of faith, and to impoſe an univerſall form of judicature upon the Low-Countreys, which how they were the beginning or cauſes of their rebellion, with my beſt care and judgement I ſhall now unfold.

he retaining the Spaniſh ouldiers the rſt Cauſe *of heir inſurrection.*

he Low-Countreymen are agrieved.

nſtigated by e Prince of Orange.

nd exaſperated by the Spaniards *inſolence.*

lence grew heir averſion om the King.

his Cauſe is either wholly to e imputed to the ow-Countreymen.

King *Philip* had uſed his *Spaniſh* ſouldiers againſt the *French*, nor did the Low-countreymen complain of it as a grievance. But the war being ended, when he had ſent a great part of his army out of the Low-countreys, his Majeſtie retained yet 3000; over which the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* had the command with ſhew of honour; but indeed to take off the *odium* of a *forrein armie*, by the *popular names* of their *Generals*. But it could not take it off; For on the one part, the Generals themſelves appeared to be diſcontented with the honour, ſuch as it was: Nay, the Prince of *Orange* prompted the Low-countrey men, not to ſuffer that remainder of the *Spaniards*. On the other part, the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers were ſo imperious and quarrelſome (as it often happens, eſpecially in the Towns where they are quartered) that it did not a little exaſperate the minds of the inhabitants, ſo as the *Spaniard* grew to be hated, and the King himſelf ill ſpoken of, almoſt through all the *Netherlands*. Which mutuall averſion, as I ſhall never impute it wholly to the *Low-countreymen*, becauſe they ſaw the promiſe deferred of calling away the ſouldiers, with whom they had daily quarrels; ſo

I ſhall not eaſily condemn the Kings delay, for continuing them in garriſon: partly, becauſe his ſiſter the Governeſs adviſed him to have a care, leaſt if he disbanded the *Spaniards*, the bordering cities might be encouraged to ſpoil and waſte the Marches; partly, becauſe he himſelf, as he was of a jealous nature, ſuſpected the Low-countreymen had a plot, in preſsing him to free them of forrein forces. And the more earneſtly, indeed contumaciouſly, that they reminded him of his promiſe, the more ſlowly and cautiouſly the King thought good to proceed. But whatſoever cauſe the King or the Low-countreymen had, yet he ſatisfied them in this particular. For a little more then a year after his departure from the Low-countrey, the *Spaniards* were ſent for away, and all thoſe ſtirs and popular tumults vaniſhed in a moment: So as they that make this the cauſe of the *Belgick* troubles, have found out a very ſleight one.

Nor to the King.

Whether the Belgick *tumults are to be derived from this fountain.*

The multiplying the number of Biſhops, was a far ſtronger motive to rebellion, eſpecially, for that after the death of *Paul* the fourth, it was thought fit to change the orders he had made, concerning the revenues of their Biſhopricks: and they were to be endowed as it pleaſed the *Popes Nuntio* in the Low-countreys, and *Pius* the fourth at *Rome:* and that Biſhops ſhould ſucceed in place of ſome *Abbots* when they died, and ſhould have the name, eſtates, and honours, formerly enjoyed by the *Abbots*; ſo as in the mean time nothing ſhould be remitted from the ſtrict diſcipline of the Monaſteries. But whether it was the multiplication of Miters, or the endowing of them; it is not to be imagined how ill it took in the Low-countreys with all degrees of men. The former Biſhops, as well the Low-countreymen, as their Neighbours, complained, That by ſetting up new ones, *thoſe* had their Juriſdictions confined to narrow limits; *theſe*, that they were not onely ſtraitened in their limits, but likewiſe in the revenues of their Biſhopricks; eſpecially ſince this had been determined at *Rome*, without hearing of the parties therein concerned. The Nobility were aggrieved, that *Biſhops* ſhould come in place of *Abbots,* becauſe being a degree higher, they would be far more potent; and therefore it would not onely derogate from the Lords Temporall, but alſo from their liberty. Nor ſhould they dare to ſpeak freely in the great Councel of Eſtates, when thoſe men were preſent, whom they knew, as bound by oath to the *Pope*, would draw all buſineſses to *Rome*. Neither was it for the Kings ſervice, that they ſhould bear all the ſway, who were the Biſhop of *Romes* ſworn ſervants. But no complaints were bitterer then the *Abbots* and *Monks,* becauſe none ſeemed juſter. That they were deprived contrary to all precedent, of the right and power to chooſe an *Abbot* out of their own Order; that there ought not to be ſet over Religious men, that had a certain Rule and form of life, men ignorant of Religious Diſcipline; that indeed the *means* and *authority* of *Abbots* would paſs to the Biſhops, but the *care* and *trouble* remain with ſome of the Monks; that truly at preſent, ſuch men were advanced to thoſe Offices, as were eminent for piety and learning; but hereafter thoſe rich *Deodands* ſhould be expoſed for prey, to ſome of the Princes followers and flatterers. Beſides theſe common objections, two more were in almoſt all mens mouths, That by the creation of new Biſhops, the priviledges of *Brabant* were infringed, and by degrees the tyrannie of the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition would be introduced. The latter whereof, becauſe it raiſed particular troubles, I ſhall ſpeak of it apart. But though I read the other almoſt in all writers, yet what the words of the Charter ſhould be, whereby the King obliged himſelf ſo, as that he could not augment the number of Biſhops, I find in no Hiſtorian.

Multiplying the number of Biſhops, the ſecond cauſe of Inſurrection.

The complaints made thereupon.

By the old Biſhops.

The Lords temporall.

The Abbots.

And almoſt all that ſtood for the Low countrey priviledges.

ſtorian. For what ſome write, that the King ſwears at his Coronation, not to encreaſe the State Eccleſiaſticall, is not an ingenuous allegation, becauſe the Prince onely ſwears to that kind of encreaſe, whereby he promiſes not to ſuffer the Clergy to receive the goods of Laymen, which they call *Mortmains*, but upon certain conditions. This is far from the point in controverſie; therefore I held it fit to march further into their records, where I found one Clauſe, that ſeems to make againſt the increaſing the number of Biſhops. Which condition of their priviledges, unleſs I had reſolved to be a faithful Hiſtorian, I might ſafely have concealed; becauſe they themſelvs do not mention it, that have, I am ſure, written many things in mere malice to the *Spaniard*: For King *Philip* being created Duke of *Brabant*, by his father *Charles* the fifth, among divers Priviledges which in the Act of the *Joyfull Entry* he beſtowed upon that Province, inſerts this clauſe, *That hereafter he will not ſuffer any to entrench upon the Offices, Lands, or Goods of* Abbots, Biſhops, *or other religious perſons within the Dukedome of Brabant, under the name of a* Commendum. But whilſt, by the Kings procurement, Biſhops were entituled to the reverſions of *Monaſteries*, after the *Abbots* deceaſes; the *Brabanters* ſeemed to have their Priviledges broken, and the people had occaſions offered, that the proceedings which every one hated for his private benefit, they might all in publick fairly declaim againſt, by the name of *Breach of Priviledge*. Some therefore wondered, what was in the Kings mind or counſel, to bring in new *Biſhops*, & make a thing, diſpleaſing of it ſelf, far more diſtaſtfull and odious, by taking their eſtates from the *Monaſteries*. And therefore they further ſaid, That if the King proceeded to violate the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject, the *Brabanters* had cauſe to defend themſelves, and that the Prince ought to remember, that when he made their Charter, he articled, *They ſhould pay him no ſubjection or obedience, if he entirely performed not to them his Oath and Proteſtations.* Yet ſome there were of a contrary opinion, and by how much they ſaw the King endeavour it, with leſſe benefit and greater danger to himſelf; ſo much the more they commended his ſincere religion, who in this buſineſs looked upon nothing, but the good of his people. And indeed, What was there apparent that men could juſtly blame? the encreaſe of the number of the Biſhops, or of their maintenance? As if the *Biſhop* of *Rome* might not do that in the *Low-countreys*, which he had done in *Germany* and in *France*, between which two Nations in the middle, lieth the *Netherlands*? Did not *Boniface* Biſhop of *Mentz*, Legate for the See Apoſtolick in *Germany*, when the multitude of Chriſtians abounded in ſome places (by the authority of the Popes *Gregory* the third, and *Zachary*) adde three new Biſhops to the former? The very like cauſe there was among other reaſons, for doing the ſame in the *Low-countreys*. But what motive was in *France*? the ſacred juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Tholouſe* was ſo large, that one Paſtor could not poſſibly ſee the faces of all his Dioceſe; and therefore it was divided into five Epiſcopall Sees, by *John* the 22; not onely no care taken of the Biſhops of *Narbon*, *Bourges*, or *Cabors*, out of whoſe eſtates both the Church of *Tholouſe*, and ſome of theſe new ones were endowed; but the Biſhop of *Tholouſe*, muſt of neceſsity looſe much of his revenues by the diviſion of his then rich Dioceſe. That the neighbour-*Biſhops* ought not to have been called to *Rome*, and heard in a buſineſs of this nature, their reaſons for it being onely their own profit and power, is ſufficiently apparent. Nor were the grievances of the Lords built upon a much better ground, that is, they were diſcontented that they ſhould be limited in their bold diſputes, about *Religion* and *Monar-*

In 2. Addit. ad Lætum introitum Principis Hiſpaniæ. Artic.24.

What thoſe priviledges were.

Artic.56. *And how violated by increaſe of Biſhops.*

For which, many men rail at,

And threaten the King.

Artic. 5. *Some argued for his Majeſtie.*

From Precedents in other countreys.

which makes againſt the complaints of the old Biſhops.

Baronius, ann. 639. & 741.

Extrav. Salvator, de Præbend & Dignit.

As likewiſe againſt the temporall Lords.

narchy, by the unwelcome preſence of the *Prelates*, whom they ought to honour as *Fathers* and *Princes* of the Church, and to fear them as *Revengers* of *Sacriledge*. For when they alledged, that they doubted the Biſhops would be evil Counſellours, and bandy againſt the King, it was a pretence to cozen children with; they doubted themſelves, that if they ſhould appear againſt the King, they ſhould have theſe men for witneſſes and adverſaries, that had received, and hoped for more from his Majeſty, then ever the *Abbots* did. Then the complaints of the *Abbots* and *Monks*, were ſomewhat more then became them. It was not without precedent, that a *Biſhop* ſhould ſucceed in the place of an *Abbot*. Let them look upon *France*, they ſhall find that *John* the xxii, indowed the *Biſhops* of *Condom*, *Vabrince*, and *Lombere* (to name no more) with Monaſtery lands. And if there ſhould want an example, yet when it was granted to a Prince by the *Pope*, that may command the *Monks*, they might have been ſo modeſt, as to teach others obedience to his *Holineſs*. They might have remembred, moſt of their Mannors and Lordſhips, were the bounty of the *Belgick* Princes, which made it ſeem more juſt; ſo as the King not making his own uſe or advantage of the profits thereof, but onely employing them for the good and benefit of thoſe Provinces, the *Abbots* themſelves ought to have been as willing as the Prince, and contributed to the neceſſity of the people, by ſo much more freely, by how much that Care is more proper to a religious life: and not with unſeaſonable exclamations have corrupted a good deſigne, ſtirred up the people, and alienated the *Popes* and the *Kings* mind from their patronage. For the great grievance, that the King had broke their Priviledges: Firſt, they did not ſufficiently underſtand the difference, between a Commendum and the Annexion of Church-livings. A Commendum being in the nature of a thing depoſited, the other given as to an abſolute Lord. And therefore Commendums, if the poſſeſſour die, revert to the depoſitor, as the Lord Paramount; unleſs they be paſſed over to another by a new Commendum: but ſuch as are annexed, do not revert, but remain for ever to the Succeſſour in that Office, to which they are appendent. For which reaſons there is no more taken from *Monaſteries* by annexing, then was by giving them in *Commendum*, becauſe that which is annexed, doth no more revert to Monaſteries, then that which was commended; foraſmuch as what was once commended, is conferred again from one to another, by the *Pope*, to whom it reverts. Nay whereas Church-livings may be commended to non-reſidents, that cannot which is annexed to a Biſhoprick. For herein Religion requires the Biſhops preſence, farre more then a *Commendum*; ſo as what might have come by a *Commendum* to a forreiner, by *Annexion* was retained in the Low-Countreys. The King therefore while he took care that Abbies ſhould not be given in *Commendum* to Biſhops (which was the *proviſo* of their Charter) but *annexed* to their Biſhopricks; did not in truth violate their priviledges, which he had ſworn to maintain. But what need more words? when the caſe being put to the Univerſity of *Lovain*, and ſtudied by Doctors both of Divinity, and of Civill Law; it was definitively reſolved, that annexion of Livings, and likewiſe the inſtitution of new Biſhopricks, was neither repugnant to the Kings oath, nor to the laws. Again, they ought to conſider the difference, that was then from other times and manners: that while Religion was ſafe, the King altered nothing: but when it was endangered, there can be no priviledges to tie the hands of Kings from ſupporting their dominions falling into ruine. The number of paſtours was the fitteſt remedy to defend the flock of Chriſt

And againſt the Abbots. Aubertus Miræus in Notitiâ Epiſc.

The literal ſenſe of their priviledges.

Whence ſome infer, that they were not broken June 4. 1561. apud Arnold. Havenſ. de novis Epiſc. l. 2.

Jun. 4. 1561. Arnol. Haveſ. de nov. Epiſc. l. 2. *and adde the deciſion of the* Lovain *Doctors, and neceſſity, the greateſt of Priviledges.*

Chriſt from wolves breaking in upon them; and ſure there is none ſo great an enemy to the King, but muſt acknowledge and believe it. Nor could their endowments be proportioned with leſs inconvenience then they were, by prudent men, to whom it was referred, with the Kings approbation, and the *Popes* command. Nor was the Prince (which ſome required) bound to do it by the advice of his great Councel, for he held himſelf obliged to it by no law; and likewiſe his reaſon told him, the States (in a thing diſtaſtfull to many, eſpecially ſuch as liſtened to hereticks their neighbours) would eaſily diſſent, uſing the liberty which they took upon them in publick aſſemblies. Whereby he ſhould not onely expoſe his Prerogative and Majeſty to the *diſpute*, but even to the *contempt* of his people: and that he ſhould vex their minds ſo much the more, by following his deſign, when they once declared their publick diſlike, and paſſed their votes againſt it. But the King might have provided for the new Biſhops, or if, upon a fuller ſurvey he had found all other wayes more difficult, yet he himſelf ſhould have maintained them out of his own, and not out of other mens eſtates; without the trouble of his people, without any mans prejudice? As if it were not juſt, that the Biſhops which were to ſerve the Low-Countreys, ſhould be provided for out of the Low-Countreys. Nor did the King ſpare his Exchequer, allowing every Biſhop yearly one thouſand five hundred crowns in penſion, till ſufficient maintenance ſhould be raiſed elſewhere. Albeit the King in giving them the *Abbots* goods, did not directly beſtow upon them other mens eſtates, eſpecially ſince he did it by authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who is the true Adminiſtratour of their goods. To conclude, this makes it plain, that although the King had given perpetuall penſions to the *Biſhops*, it would not have ſatisfied theſe men, that were not ſo much diſcontented with the *tranſlations* or *annexions* of Church-livings, as with the very *number* of the Biſhops, which there being no reaſon to condemn, but indeed to welcome, as a ſafe and ready help, it plainly appears, in caſe the *Brabanters*, or other Low-Countreymen had took arms upon this ground, to which ſide the beginning of thoſe troubles was to be imputed. Neither could this be the cauſe of rebellion. The ſubſtituting of Biſhops in place of Abbots when they ſhould deceaſe, and annexing of their livings to the Biſhopricks, was but executed in very few Cities; becauſe of their continuall petitions (which I ſhall in due place remember) preſented to the *Pope* and the *King*. I am ſure in *Brabant*, which ſtood out the ſtiffeſt, the King at laſt conſenting, there was nothing altered. Yet I deny not, but thoſe agitations of diverſly minded men, leſſened obedience and duty to the Prince, which are the pillars of government; and foreſhewed, in caſe they ſhould be further moved, the ruine of the whole. For nothing is ſo pernicious to Monarchy, as when the people are taught publickly to conteſt with their Prince, and to diſſent from him, not onely with *impunity*, but with *advantage*.

And that the King was not obliged to ſummon the Eſtates Generall.

Nor out of his own purſe to allow maintenance for the Biſhops. Eſpecially when he gave them Penſions.

Whether the beginning of the tumults may be deduced from hence.

One thing moſt of all troubled and exaſperated the Low-Countreymen, at firſt a ſuſpicion, then an indeavour of ſetting up an inquiſition againſt hereſie, to be confirmed by the Edict of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. Which in regard it is commonly thought, to have opened a door of war in the Low-Countreys; it will be worth my pains be what it may be, to give you account of it. Religion, as it was ever highly reverenced by all, as that which preſerves the Worſhip of God, and Concord of Men: ſo the Chriſtian Church hath been alwayes ſevere againſt the diſturbers thereof. This charge was firſt adminiſtred onely by the Biſhops, to whom it appertains by

The Inquiſition the third cauſe of Inſurrections.

The firſt occaſion of introducing it into the Government of the Church.

by Law. Afterwards, perhaps becauſe that ſacred Office is ingaged in many cares; or becauſe they are ſometimes inforced to be abſent from their Dioceſe; or laſtly, ſome of them may be negligent in the exerciſe of their authority, and ſome happely ignorant; it ſeemed the beſt courſe, to delegate from the *Apoſtolicall See*, *Judges extraordinary*, of approved learning and piety, which ſhould have commiſſion to hear and determine againſt hereticks: whereupon they were called the *Apoſtolicall Inquiſitours*. This I find begun by Pope *Innocent* the third, who ſent againſt the *Albigenſes*, the Founder of the preaching Fryars Saint *Dominick*, that firſt executed the office of *Inquiſitour* with much applauſe. The cuſtome was afterwards received (almoſt in all that, and the next Age) in many Chriſtian countreys, there being created in every Province *Cenſors* of Faith, that ſhould legally take notice of the violation of religion. Yet in all places were not the ſame Judicatories. Some had temporary Inquiſitours ſent about hereſie newly ſprung up, and when that was extinguiſhed, their commiſſion ended. In other parts a Tribunall was erected, to which, queſtions of faith were *perpetually* to be referred. In other places, the whole form of this judicature being rejected, none but Biſhops themſelves were permitted to inquire of hereticks. Nay, at *Rome*, the form was varied: for ſometimes all was done by the ordinary and Civill Magiſtrates, no Inquiſitour extraordinary; ſometimes many, but then one or more of the Cardinals were of the *Quorum*. Till *Paul* the fourth inſtituted a Colledge of *Cardinals*, by whoſe ſuffrages theſe controverſies were to be determined; eſtabliſhing this courſe for ever after in *Rome* by a more venerable and ſacred Court of Juſtice. And that it might more firmly continue, fear, the Beadle of the law, terrified them from the beginning: penalties and fines being impoſed upon, and exacted of, the refractory: more eaſie ones by the *Cannon law*, and heavier by *Imperiall* Edicts. For when the Emperours obſerved, beſides the worſhip of God, that it concerns the publick Peace, whoſe Guardian the Prince is, that ſubjects ſhould be limited by Religion, and that they ſaw, when Religion was endangered, peace could not live upon the foul and rough waves of *hereſie*, they decreed, that the puniſhment of *traitours* ſhould be inflicted upon *hereticks*, as enemies to Religion, and by conſequence to Peace. Provided notwithſtanding, that the law ſhould not be executed till their triall, and verdict were paſſed in the Eccleſiaſticall Court, to which the proper cognizance of hereſie belongs. Which though it was ever exerciſed in all orthodox Countreys, and in ſome places (according to ſudden motions of new perverſe opinions) with greater diligence; yet no where with more exactneſs and ſtrictneſs, then in *Spain*: either out of the eſpeciall inclination of thoſe *Catholick* Princes, or by reaſon of contagious forreiners that mingled themſelves among thoſe their ſubjects. But this care of Religion was afterwards encreaſed, almoſt through all Chriſtendome, by reaſon of the troubles raiſed by one man in many parts, I mean *Martin Luther*, the calamity of thoſe and the following times. This miſchief that he had long ſtudied to bring upon true believers, he had oft begun to attempt, and then changing his mind, as if not reſolved (or rather waiting for an opportunity) at laſt *Maximilian* the Emperour deceaſing, and *Charles* his Nephew ſucceeding in the *Empire*, his wickedneſs broke forth; well knowing, that the beginning of a Princes reign is the beſt time for Innovation; and likewiſe believing the Emperours young years to be ignorant of government, and therefore deſpicable. Howſoever he made ſure account his *Imperiall Majeſtie* would rather bend his endeavours to ſettle the affairs of his *Empire*,

The different forms thereof.

Eſtabliſhed in Rome Conſtit. 34. Licet.

Not without Penalties.

J, Manich. *and* l. Quicunque C. De hæreticis.

C. ut inquiſitionis. de hæreticis, in 6.

In Spain *eſpecially from the year* 1383.

Martin Luthers *Hereſie makes it every where ſtrictly obſerved.*

Emp. Max. 1.

then to maintain the rites of the Church; ſo courting the Provinces firſt to revolt from the Church; and then (which is the next ſtep) from their Princes, and from the Emperour himſelf; he thus broke in peices at once, the *Romane* Empire and Religion. Which gave occaſion to the Biſhop of *Rome* to be much more obſervant, and intent to queſtions of faith; and to Chriſtian Princes, as every one tendered his Religion and Dominions, to be more vigilant therein. Indeed *Charles* the fifth, whom Religion in her afflictions looked upon as her onely refuge, by the example of the Emperours his Predeceſſours, thought it expedient to eſtabliſh laws through all the Provinces of the Empire and Low-Countreys, againſt the corrupters of the *Catholick faith.* Therefore whileſt he was conducted from *Spain*, through the *Netherlands* and *Germany*, to the *Imperiall* throne, with extraordinary joy and gratulations of men, and with all that noiſe of his then ſmiling fortune; in the town of *Worms*, at the *Diet* (or Parliament) of the Empire, *Martin Luther*, condemned by the Biſhop of *Rome*, was by vote of the Electors, and the reſt of the Princes and Eſtates of the Empire condemned and proſcribed, and the edict of his proſcription the ſame year, one thouſand five hundred twenty one, was publiſhed through all the dominions of his Empire and Patrimony. Neverthelesſ, *Luther* ſtill perſiſted in his evil, nay, (as wickedneſs proſpers by ſudden attempts) within a few moneths that contagion infected, at leaſt breathed upon, the moſt flouriſhing Cities of *Germany*. The Emperour in ſome places puniſhing delinquents, and renuing and enlarging his edict, which he applyed ſeven times to that violent and volatile diſeaſe. Moreover when he had deſired and received *Cenſors* of faith from the *Pope*, in reference to their authority and ſecurity, he paſſed many Decrees; which are inrolled in the *Imperiall* laws of the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty. But this new fate of Juſtice brought with it into the Low-Countreys, more *terrour* then *obſervance*; for though it were in ſome places received, yet the *Brabanters*, becauſe they ſaid their liberty was infringed, taking the opportunity, freed themſelves of the burthen laid upon them, about the end of the year fifty: at which time, partly the great meeting of *Ausburg*, and the Councel of *Trent*; partly war upon war riſing in *Africa*, *Hungary*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *France*, drew *Ceſars* cares another way. And although King *Philip*, when he took poſſeſſion of the Low-Countreys, inſtantly confirmed his Fathers laws and edicts by his own proclamation; it little advanced the buſineſs, he being forthwith engaged in a ſharp warre with *France*: which began the year he ſet forth that Proclamation, and held three years after: till in the year fifty nine, as ſoon as ever he got a breathing from the war, he re-applied himſelf to ſettle Religion. And leaving the *Netherlands*, he commanded his ſiſter, the Governeſs, and Biſhop *Granvell*, to take ſpeciall care that his Fathers laws, and the cautions which he himſelf had confirmed in behalf of the *Popes* Inquiſitors, ſhould be punctually obſerved. This was the ſtate of affairs; theſe were the Edicts of *Charles* the fifth; theſe the beginnings and proceedings of the *Inquiſitions* againſt hereſies. When the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, as ſhe was enjoyned, bending all her care that way, treated about it with *Governours* of the Provinces; but found by experience, it was of much more difficulty to do things commanded, then to command things fitting to be done. The Magiſtrates ſeemed unwilling to take the buſineſs upon themſelves; ſome of the Nobility offered their ſervices doubtfully, others abſolutely told her, it was no good time to move that ſtone again, at which they had ſo often ſtumbled. The *Brabanters* that had ſlipt

[Margin notes:]
Gratian. Theod. Arcad. Honor. Martian. &c.

Charles *the fifth his Edict againſt* Luther *and hereticks* Leo x.

Seven times the Emperour renued it.

The Brabanters *refuſe the Inquiſition.*

King Philip *confirms his Fathers Edicts.*

Commands the execution thereof to the Governeſs.

The Governeſs to the Magiſtrates.

The Magiſtrates let it cool.

ſlipt the bridle under *Charles* the fifth,and would not ſuffer King *Philip* when he was there, to put it on again; ſhould they now halter themſelves, called by a womans voice? The people know no mean or moderate courſe, at firſt they are in *amazement*, then all *confidence*. Sometimes they *fear*, ſometimes they *terrifie*; according as they are inflamed with the *breath* of great perſons, and the *bellows* of hereticks. Nay, the common diſcourſe concerning the King, hinted to the people, and uttered as their own, was this: *Why he made ſo many new Biſhops; if they were not to protect Religion? But indeed it was reſolved by Councels, that ſuch Paſtors as went ſlowly to work, in purging the ill fruits of hereſie, ſhould be put out of their Epiſcopall office. Biſhops ſhould therefore look to their own buſineſs, or elſe lay down their ill placed miters: which it were better they had never put on, nor vainly frighted the Low-countrey with their number: That Religion had flouriſhed many ages in the* Netherlands, *onely by the care of the Civil Magiſtrate, without that pomp of the* Popes *tyranny, without any of the Emperours Edicts. Why that new addition of Inquiſitors? That for the moſt part, it ſprung from the ambition of Biſhop* Granvell, *who that he might have ſuppliants, ſought to make delinquents: That Religion ought to be perſwaded, not commanded: That* Charles *the fifth had a moſt pious intention in making thoſe Laws, but experience demonſtrated, the cauſe of Religion, and the common good and ſtate of the Provinces, was thereby nothing advanced, but daily grew to be in a worſe condition: That commerce was already obſtructed; Merchants had a ſtop of trading, to the great loſſe of the Low-countreymen, eſpecially thoſe of* Antwerp, *whoſe wealth conſiſted in merchandize. Laſtly, that neither the Emperour* Charles, *nor King* Philip, *nor any other* Prince *that had ſworn to the priviledges of* Brabant, *and promiſed not to impoſe upon the Low-countreymen new forms of Judicature, could have power (if the Laws remained in force) to compell them to ſuffer the ſeverity of the* Inquiſition, *and thoſe Edicts.* But theſe rumours moved not the Governeſs at all; who continued to execute the Law upon offenders. And the Councel of *Trent*, then ended, was by the Kings command proclaimed in the *Low-countreys*. At which, in ſome places, the people openly ſtormed, and reſcued condemned perſons, half dead, out of the hangmans hands; ſtealing to *conventicles* in the City, and in the fields. Nay, many of the Nobility entered into a kind of combination among themſelves; partly to ſcatter libels in the ſtreets, partly to preſent petitions to the Governeſs by great multitudes; with ſuch tumult and ſucceſs, that the Emperours Edicts had their edge abated, delinquents were pardoned, and no one afterwards endeavoured to bring in *Cenſors* of faith, where they had not formerly been. So that nothing was done to oppoſe the *Preaching-men*, that had broke looſe from their hereticall neighbours; and in the very market place declaimed againſt the *Catholick Faith*: To which a company of Boors and rogues preſently joyning, ruſhed into the Churches, robbed them, defaced the ſacred Monuments; and laſtly, fell into open rebellion, without any Generall then declaring for them; but with ſtrange licentiouſneſs, force, rapine, and plunder. To this point it was come at laſt. And ſome affirmed that ſtorm, which with a ſudden noiſe prodigiouſly fell upon the Low-countreyes, was raiſed out of the peoples fury, cauſed by the ſeverity of the Prince; who plotting at once to entangle them in ſo many inconveniences by the Imperiall Edicts, Queſtions of faith, and the Councel of *Trent*, had provoked the patience of the Low-countreymen. Yet others cleared the *King* of any fault, as not being author of thoſe edicts and queſtions, but onely confirming his Fathers Decrees, and thoſe *Pontifician Cenſors* of faith, which *Charles* the fifth had called into the *Netherlands*. And that the *King*

The Brabanters ſtill refuſe.

The people differ in opinions.

The common diſcourſe againſt the Inquiſition, and the Emperours Edicts.

In the Lateran *Councel under* Innocent iii.

Tumults cauſed by fear of the Inquiſition, and puniſhment of Delinquents.

Some men cenſure the King.

Others excuſe him.

C. Sanc. 2. de Off. & Poteſt. Jud. lib. 1. §. Qui mandatam, ff. de Off. ejus.

or *Emperour*, when he brought in the Inquiſitors, had not therefore broken the *Low-countrey* priviledges, by inducing a new form of Judicature; becauſe their juriſdiction not being ordinary, but onely delegated, could not be called a new Judicatory: And therefore they highly extolled the Kings religion, that reſpected the authority of the *Romane* Biſhop, and the Councels, far before the threatnings of his turbulent and ſeditious ſubjects; nor held it imprudence, to be the firſt that ſhould oblige his dominions to that which had been decreed againſt hereſie, by the wiſeſt Fathers of the Chriſtian Common-wealth. But farther to proſecute, in this place, diverſitie of mens judgements, would argue an ambitious wit; eſpecially, ſince I perſwade my ſelf, all I have hitherto ſet down, did indeed contribute to the *Belgick* tumults, but were not the principall cauſes of them. It is now my purpoſe clearly to explain thoſe cauſes to you, that ſuch as read my hiſtory may learn, by the example of the Low-countrey men, what it is that commonly imbroyls a State or Kingdome.

The firſt and true cauſes of the Low countrey Tumults.

That which troubles the people, and puts them into fury, ſeldome moves the Nobility: Yet Noblemen (as if the ſame grievances preſſed both parties) do often conſpire with the Commons: not to promote their Intereſt, or to make it a *Common-cauſe*; but by others aſſiſtance, to rid themſelves of private inconveniences; and to do their own *buſineſs*, while they are thought to be onely for the Publick. Now the *firſt motive* of the peoples tumults, without doubt had its original from Hereſie; which was brought in, partly by forrein Merchants, together with whoſe Commodities, this plague often ſails: Partly, by the Regiments of the *Switz* and *Germanes*, whoſe ſervice *Charles* the fifth, and King *Philip* had long uſed in the former warrs: partly, by the baniſhed men and fugitives out of *England*, which Queen *Mary* while ſhe purged that Kingdome from hereſie, proſecuting it with her Proclamations and Penal Laws, cleared the Iſland of, at once; being no fewer then 30000 perſons, ſent thither from other parts, whereof very many planted themſelves anew in the *Low-countreys*. Hereſie chiefly entring by theſe wayes, was cheriſhed and augmented by the borderers, that trafficked with the *Low-countreys*; of whom, by commerce, they learned their *manners*, almoſt as perfectly as their *language*. Nor did the *Rhine* from *Germany*, or the *Moſe* from *France*, ſend more water into the Low-countreys, then by the *one*, the contagion of *Luther*, by the *other* of *Calvin*, was imported into the ſame *Belgick Provinces*. To ſay nothing of the *Anabaptiſts*, that came in ſhoals out of *Weſtphalia* and *Frizeland*; becauſe they were entertained as neighbours, and accounted almoſt natives. A conſiderable part of the Commons being infected by this means, and the better to maintain the licentiouſneſs of their lives, carrying themſelves more ſaucily towards their Superiours, laid hold of the firſt occaſions to alter the government; and by degrees began thoſe troubles, which *Hereſie* never fails to raiſe in States, and Kingdoms, as we are taught by too dear experience. For Cities ſeldome change Religion onely, but as often as this ſacred *Anchor* is weighed, ſo often the Ship of the Common-wealth is toſſed: and no wonder, for Hereſie is the ſchool of Pride, and while by little and little it ſhakes from the mind Gods yoke: it ſhewes us in like manner, how to defame and ſhake off humane government. Is it not plain, that the wiſdome of hereticks at length ends in this point, that taking away ſuch things as were ſomewhat heavier in the Catholick Religion, and pretending Confidence in God (ſo leſſening and blotting out his fear) it brings men, now hail-fellows with God, to be of no Religion, and at laſt boldly to maintain there is no God at all.

By Hereſie among the people, introduced three wayes.

F. Hieron. Pollinus, Hiſt. Angl. l. 3. c. 8.

Cheriſhed and augmented by the countreys adjacent.

whereupon the Netherlands grew to all licentiouſneſs.

Hereſie the Trumpet to Rebellion.

Confeſſion, Faſting, Penance, &c.

Inclyning men to Atheiſme.

all. And he that is once ſo perſwaded, and hath expelled him from his heart, whom Nature made his Lord, he will deſpiſe all other Lords with as little reluctation, as they that revolt from their King, contemn his ſubordinate Magiſtrates. Indeed among humane things I have alwayes moſt admired, that in the Government of Cities and Kingdoms; ſo many millions of men ſhould be ſubjected and awed by one. This conſiſts in the Subjects *conſent*, and that conſent is grounded upon reverence and fear, eſpecially becauſe it concerns particulars, that the generality ſhould be governed. But this pail of Government Hereſie puls up and opens; whoſe trumpeters under the ſpecious pretence of Chriſtian liberty ſound in the ears of the people (not deaf to ſcandalous reports) continual invectives againſt the Manners and Lives of Princes. Which Teachers having ſeaſoned the peoples minds with theſe holy Precepts, it is no marvel if they detract ſo much from the Princes Power of ruling, and add ſo much to their own freedom from obeying. Nature hath planted in men, an averſion from their Lords, and an impatience to be commanded; what will they do, blown by the dayly breath of preaching? and being ſafe and confident under the veil of Religion. The *Tranſalpine* Countreys are and will be a ſufficient example to Poſterity: Which hereſie hath too often *preached* into arms, by the ſermons of a few ſeditious perſons, that have involved Provinces and Nations in never to be expiated ſlaughter. So that what I ſaid is evident, without wonderfull change in the Civill Government, Religion cannot be altered. And although hereſie till that time had not ſo crept into the Low-countreys, nor was ſo numerous, that the faction could be greatly feared, many of the common ſort being uncorrupted. Yet when thoſe very men ſaw the Biſhops multiplied; the Emperours Edicts publiſhed; and Inquiſitours of faith impoſed; the hereticks openly ringing in their ears, that all theſe conſpired to deſtroy their liberty, they all then joyned their forces. For the Low-countreymen alwayes preſerved their great Priviledges and Franchiſes, and did more ſecurely enjoy them, by reaſon they had now been governed by female Princes for forty years together. Add to this the laſt long War: in which time, Licentiouſneſs follows the Camp, and the Prince divides his Empire with the ſouldier. The Low-countreymen therefore with long liberty and the late warre grown ſtubborn, mingled with hereticks, and learning pride of thoſe maſters, no wonder, if being more inſolent then they uſed to be, when occaſion was offered, they would not onely not hear the word of command, and caſt off their new burthens, but with erected ſpirits hoped for greater matters by the example of others. For they looked upon *France*, where after the tumult at *Amboyſe*, the hereticks had extorted ſo great a liberty, as they grew formidable to the Kingdome: and were to be ſought to, for peace. But this ſpurre of the people, *hereſie*, could never (as I ſay) have made ſuch a progreſs in the Low-countreys, without the protection and aſſiſtance of the Nobility, for if hereſie want this Elm, ſhe creeps indeed, but on the ground, and to be trampled upon. And moſt of the Nobility were then in ſuch a condition, and did ſo ſtomack the *Spaniards*, that the Commons might (and not raſhly) preſume upon that averſion. Now the cauſe of their indignation, was partly the defeat of their ambitions: partly Court-emulations, which began with ſhew of private hatred, even in King *Philips* preſence. Afterwards, before the Governeſs, it proceeded by open enmity to publick ruine. For in the beginning of the Emperour *Charles* his Reign, the Low-countrey Lords governed; the Low-countreymen had the beſt places at Court; the higheſt

Whence follows contempt of their Sovereign Lords.

And tumults.

What Occaſions Hereſie made uſe of to raiſe tumults in the Low-countreys.

Another Cauſe of the Belgick Inſurrections, the alienation of the Nobility.

Which grew principally out of Court-emulation.

In what eſteem the Low-countreymen were with the Emperour.

higheſt commands in the Army. Afterwards when many great perſons, out of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, dayly came in to *Ceſars* fortune every day more flouriſhing, it was neceſſary his graces and bounties ſhould flow to many; And the greatneſs of his Empire and Warres admitted many ſharers. Nor were the Low-countreymen troubled at it; becauſe they ſaw the Emperours inclination chiefly propenſe towards them; and to contend with forreign Nobility, they held it an honour to their Countrey. But when King *Philip* came from *Spain*, guarded with a train of *Spaniſh* Lords; both in his *Palace* and *abroad*, as they ſaid, inacceſſible; the Low-countreymen took offence at their being over gracious with the King, jeering their manners and faſhions, which the *Spaniard* in all places punctually retains. Laſtly, they were by degrees alienated from the King himſelf, who diſtaſted them with being ſo unlike his father. For the Emperour eaſily gave acceſs and audience, carrying himſelf like a private man, altogether truſting to his own Majeſty. And as he had a wit that could winde and turn it ſelf all Wayes at once, he did ſo put on their Manners, that he was no leſs a *German* with a *German*, an *Italian* with an *Italian*, a *Spaniard* with a *Spaniard*, then a Low-countreyman with his native Subjects. Where on the contrary, King *Philip* would be, and appear a *Spaniard* to all men; he ſpake ſeldome, and then all *Spaniſh*; and forbare to ſhew himſelf in publick, as if he meant, appearing after retirement, to ſtrike a reverence in the eyes of his beholders; changing nothing of the mode of *Spain*, either in his apparell or other forms of State. Now this, by minds once vexed, was accounted Pride and Contempt: as if his diverſity of manners were in ſcorn of them. It is reported, the Emperour gave his ſonne warning of it, and being offended at words uſed by ſome *Spaniards* againſt the Low-countreymen; in the preſence of the Prince of *Orange* and *Boſſuvius*, he told the King, that he foreſaw the counſels of ſome of the Kings flatterers would one day hazard him the loſs of the Low-countreys. And although, after the Emperours deceaſe, the King was in war with *France*, and the Nobility emploied abroad, which quieted the ſtirres at home: Yet the war being ended, the Diſcontent at Court grew ſo much higher then it was, by how much the Low-countrey Lords thought the King more indebted to them, for their valiant and faithfull ſervice in his wars. Nor were they ſatisfied with his beſtowing upon them ſo many Governours places before his departure. For ſuch as were neglected, took it for an injury: and they that were choſen, held it no great bounty, becauſe they exſpected a greater. But the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont*, as they were of vaſter ſpirits then the reſt, having abſolutely perſwaded themſelves, they ſhould have the Government of all the ſeventeen Provinces: when they fell, from that hope, whatſoever came ſhort of their wiſhes loſt the title of a benefit. From whence ſprung the Low-countreymens fury; which is ever moſt dangerous to Princes, when men have not what they hope for, though many times they hope for more then they ſhould have. It was not *Pompeys* Party that murthered *Julius Ceſar*, but his own friends: becauſe (as *Seneca* ſaith) he had not ſatisfied their unſatisfiable hopes. As if when men are much obliged, it were a kind of affront not to be more obliged. And now in the private diſcourſes of the Nobility this was their ordinary matter of complaint, That the *Spaniards* had all the power with the King, That the Low-countreymen were but the *Spaniards* ſhadows, that waited upon them, and moved at their command; for the King tranſacted buſineſs of great concernment by the advice of *Ferdinand* of *Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, *Rui Gomez*, and the Count of *Feria*, his onely cabinet

How they were looked upon by the King.

The difference of diſpoſition between Charles *the fifth,*

And King Philip.

The Prince of Orange *in his* Apology *Anno* 1581.

The Belgick *Lords defeated of their exſpectations.*

Which cauſed their animoſities againſt the King.

Lib. 3. *de Ira, c.* 10.

And afforded them matter of complaint.



Anthony Perenott Cardinall Granvel
Counſellour of Eſtate to Margaret of Parma

binet Counſellours, That the Low-countrey Lords were admitted to the Counſell board to paſs things already concluded: and were pleaſed, like children with form and ceremony. This was not the Emperours promiſe of his ſons bounty, nor what was due to their fidelity and ſervice. Should they ſuffer themſelves to be turned out, and forreiners to be quartered in their houſes, and Low-countreymen to be deſpiſed, and thought ſo much inferiour to the Spaniards? Yet they endured it, while the King ſtayed among them; either fearing the Majeſty of their Prince, or elſe faithfull even in anger. Nor did they proceed further then private murmurs, ſave onely their hatred to the *Spaniſh* took a deeper impreſſion in themſelves, and by them was ſpread among the people, that long ſince hated the very name of *Spaniard*. But when the King went for *Spain*, and the Court was free from ſtrangers, the Low-countrey Lords perſwaded themſelves, they ſhould bear all the ſway with the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, falſly, for they found the malice of all the Spaniards in one man, *Anthony Granvell*; whoſe power occaſioning the open differences at Court, and conſequently the publick ruine: it will not be amiſs to ſhew you, in this place, his pedegree and parts.

The Lords diſtates aggravated by the power of Granvel. *Of* Anthony Granvel.

Anthony Perenott was born at *Beſanſon* a town of *Burgundy*, ſonn to *Nicholas* Lord of *Granvel*, who was of mean parentage; and (as ſome ſay) ſon to a Black-ſmith; but a man of excellent endowments, and great judgement, and ſucceeded in the place of *Mercurinus Arboreus Gattinar*, *Chancellour* of the Empire, truſted with, and acting in, all the Emperours Deſignes. For at the great Convention of the Eſtates of *Germany* in *Vangion*, he ſate Preſident, repreſenting his *Imperiall Majeſtie*; who ſent him out of *Spain* to *Trent*, to do honour to the Councel, and to promiſe the Emperours preſence there. Nor did the Chancellour looſe any opportunity, but in that famous meeting of all Chriſtendome, ſilently advanced the ſervice of his Prince. He was the onely man choſen by the Emperour to publiſh his Decrees of greateſt conſequence in *Germany*; to make peace between the petty Princes; and to work them to joyn with the Emperour, in perſwading the free Cities to give aſſiſtance to King *Ferdinand*, to move the Fathers to end the Councel, that he might at once ſettle the cauſe of Religion, the Councels of War, and the Imperiall Laws. In all which employments, and the ſlippery Court affairs, he ever kept his footing firm; and had the Emperours conſtant favour, for twenty years together, till his very dying day. A rare end of a long continued power. He was likewiſe happy in providing wealth and honour for his many children; particularly for ANTHONY, whom he left Inheritour to his Office, and to the counſels and favour of the Emperour. And indeed having the helps of a great wit, and excellent learning, and proceeding with great applauſe in moſt of the Univerſities in *Europe*; by his fathers inſtructions, he eaſily obtained the perfect Art of buſineſs. So that when he came to be a Stateſman, he preſently won upon the Emperours good liking; and made it appear, that he relied not ſo much upon his fathers virtue, as his own. In many things he equalled his father, in many exceeded him. Eſpecially in nimbleneſs of wit, tiring ſometimes five Secretaries at once, with dictating letters to them, and that in ſeverall tongues; for he underſtood ſeven languages exactly. But his greateſt excellency was his eloquence, wherein none of that Age ſurpaſſed him. He had audience in the Councel of *Trent*, for the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and made a quick and handſome ſpeech, being then Biſhop of *Arras*, of twenty four years of age, in his fathers time. He was called to be one of the great Councel of the *Empire* and *Low-countreys*: When the Army

His birth and parentage. *His fathers Offices and eſtimation with* Charles *the* V. *Cardinal* Mercurius.

*He died in Auguſt, An.*1550. *His happineſs in his iſſue.* Anthony Granvels *Abilities.*

Languages.

Elocution.

Army marched, he ſtill attended the Emperour, and wore arms. He was the Emperours *Embaſſadour* to Princes and Cities, and happily diſpatched moſt of his buſineſs by the help of his Rhetorick; but tempered with wonderfull diſcretion: without which allay, all eloquence is but the unſeaſonable over-flowing of Wit, that cannot keep within its bounds. When *Charles* the fifth reſigned the Empire, he commended *Granvell* to King *Philip*, with a noble teſtimony of his merits, They ſay, the Emperour at his departure for *Spain*, profeſſed, that *Anthony Granvel* was the onely man, whoſe ſervice he wiſhed his ſon to uſe, in things of higheſt Concernment. But *Granvell* (knowing ſuch Commendations to be good while they are freſh, but that when our Parents memory grows out of date, they often turn to hatred, as if they had in them more of Command then Duty) haſtened to merit the Kings favour with admirable dexterity. For though it be difficult to pleaſe a Succeſſour, commonly differing in nature and manners: yet *Granvel* overcame all that difficulty by *Obſervance*. And as he had a wit that could eaſily new-caſt it ſelf into any mould, he transformed himſelf immediately into the manners of the *Spaniſh* Prince. His ſtudying to fortifie Religion againſt Hereſie, in which he ſtrangely hit the inclination of the King; his mind neither greedy in ſeeking honours, nor unfit for them when offered; his ſubtilty in decyphering the Princes mind, before he declared himſelf in his Commands; conjecturing them by his looks: his abſtinency by night from ſleep, by day from meat; his conſtant pains and fidelity, far above the practice of the Court, did exceedingly engage the Kings affections to him. His knowledge of the Emperours Counſels, likewiſe much endeared him to King *Philip*, who by the ſame Compaſs meant to ſteer his Government. For which reaſons, in all his four years ſtay in the Low-countreys, the King did nothing either at home or abroad, made neither peace nor leagues, with Kings or Nations; concluded no marriages; quieted no ſeditions; acted nothing that related to Religion or the Church, but by *Granvell*, he delivered his commands. Nay, when the King went from the *Low-countreys* into *Spain*, he left this man to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, as a principall inſtrument of State: and told her, it concerned the *Low-countreys*, that ſhe ſhould uſe his advice oftner then any other of the Councel. And ſhe did it, ſo that he had the ſame place and eſteem with the Kings ſiſter, that he had with the King. His power (which rarely happens) being thrice ſucceſſively confirmed. Seldome any private or publick buſineſs paſſed, but he was firſt heard to the point in agitation; and to hear him was to be ſurprized: ſo dextrous he was, and his counſel ſo appliable to all occaſions, that the Prince was free to chooſe, and thought himſelf Authour of the determinions, for which *Granvel* by his own judgement had prepared him; and could not but love the Modeſty of his inventions, not compelled (which is unſufferable to Princes) to commend the wiſdome of his Teacher. And though *Granvell*, under ſhew of obſervance, arrived at once both to Power and Favour: yet he ſeldome made any Diſpatches in perſon, but (reviving the faſhion of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* their times) by Letters and Notes under his hand to the *Governeſs*. I have at this preſent a great volume of his letters, which he ſent her (though they were both in Town, and commonly in the ſame houſe) to avoid, as I conceive, that jealouſie the Lords had of his power; or elſe, that his advices might be deeplier imprinted. But 'tis hard to deceive the Court. And now no man doubted, but that all was tranſacted by *Granvell*, both at home and abroad: and as it often happens, things he had no hand in (when once his name was up

Which did his buſineſs.

The Emperours character of him to King Philip.

His artifices to ingratiate himſelf with the King.

And he effected his deſigne, being employed in things of higheſt concernment.

And by the King commended to the Governeſs.

His favour with her.

His dexterity in giving counſel.

For the moſt part by Letters. Tacit. Annal. lib.4.

up for a Favourite) were believed to be his doing. Indeed at firſt, the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Egmont*, and the greateſt *Low countrey Lords*, did not much fear his power, becauſe they deſpiſed him as an upſtart. But when his authority began daily to encreaſe, and all things to bend that way; nay, ſome of the Nobility to apply themſelves to him, and become his Creatures, then they took notice of him as a Competitour. And becauſe he ſeemed to ſtand upon even ground with them; they began to raiſe batteries againſt him: at firſt civilly, ſhewing themſelves enemies within compaſs. Afterwards, interpreting the greatneſs of the Kings favour to him, by the new honour of his *Cardinals ſcarlet*; and ſuſpecting that he infuſed into his Majeſty a doubtfull opinion of the *Low-countrey Lords*; then they extended their malice beyond all bounds; and came to the Councel-board in preſence of the *Dutcheſs*, rather to quarrel, then to give advice: having commonly no other reaſons for diſſenting, but becauſe *Granvel* had aſſented. And to exaſperate them, fell out many accidents which I ſhall here repeat together. *Charles* Count *Lalin*, and *Simon Regnard*, in the name of King *Philip*, had concluded a Truce for five years with *Henry* the *French* King. The conditions whereof diſpleaſed the *Spaniard*; and therefore *Regnard* was out of favour with King *Philip*, becauſe more in fault, as the rumour went. *Regnard* ſuſpecting I know not by what diſcovery, that by *Granvels* means the King was alienated from him, railing every where upon the man, drew Count *Lalin* to ſide with him, becauſe he was the principall Commiſſioner, and therefore all reports of infidelity in that Treaty, muſt chiefly reflect upon him. The infection of this conſpiracy was caught from *Lalin*, by *Philip Montmorancy* Count *Horn*, (whoſe ſiſter *Lalin* had married) and ſtruck to his heart, when Count *Horn* ſaw *Charles Bremè* Count of *Megen* preferred before him to the government of *Gelderland*; which repulſe he took as received by *Granvels* inſtigations. The like cauſe had *Robert Brederod*, who ſtood to be Biſhop of *Cambray*, and had the votes of all the Lords: againſt him *Granvel* appeared, for *Maximilian* of *Bergen*, a man better meriting his favour, who carried the Biſhoprick. At the ſame time *Lazarus Zwend* (that had been General of the *Germans* in the war of *Hungary*, and at the battel of *S. Quintin*) promiſed himſelf all his own wiſhes, relying on his intimacy with the Prince of *Orange*, and Count *Egmont*; but they could not with all their power get him admitted to be of the great Councel: *Granvel*, as was thought, putting a rub in his way. Which affront he very weakly ſhewed himſelf ſenſible of, and endeavoured at all opportunities, to make his friends have the ſame reſentment. But the offence taken by Count *Egmont* was of an higher nature, becauſe he thought himſelf abuſed by *Granvell* in the Government of *Heſdin:* and after the death of the Abbot of *Trull*, when Count *Egmont* petitioned the *Pope* for his kinſman: and *Granvel* for himſelf, this man was preferred. But the Prince of *Orange* held it as a great indignity, not onely to be defeated of his hopes, for the Government of all the Low-countreys, by the practiſe of the Duke of *Alva* and *Granvell*; but that they had ſo ordered it, as to hinder the marriage (to which he had long aſpired) with *Chriſtierne* Dutcheſs of *Lorain:* and though the Dutcheſs of *Parma* laboured to take off the opinion of *Granvels* power, and to extinguiſh the envy towards him (contrary to the practice of ſome Princes, that like it well, to have a ſervant on whom men may diſcharge the hatred due unto their Maſters) yet ſhe could not perſwade his enemies; who interpreted this very endeavour of the Dutcheſs, as the greatneſs of her goodneſs to him. Moſt of the Nobility having theſe and other private

The Lords firſt ſcorn,

And then emulate him.

Particular offences taken againſt him.

Eſpecially by Count Lalin, Regnard.

Florent. V. A. de init. l. 1.

Count Horn.

C. Megen.

Lazarus Zwend

C. Egmont.

The Prince of Orange.

The Governeſs is for Granvel.

But all will not do.

The Lords bandy againſt him.

diſcontents, were ſo much the more eager to bring down *Granvels* power, that is their common prejudice. In councel, they had long by compact and deſigne oppoſed *Granvels* motions, rather like his deſpiſers, then the Princes Counſellours. In their Letters to the King, in Complaints to the Governeſs, they gave him the Character of a proud man, one that hated the Nobility, and would in time be the deſtruction of the *Low-countreys*. They had already made him odious to the people, and perſwaded them, that the ſupernumerary *Biſhops*, the reviving of the Emperours Edicts; and the ſeverity of the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, proceeded merely from this one mans ambition: who by enſlaving the Low-countrey-men aimed to enthrone himſelf, in I know not what Principality. And the people heard them, becauſe they hated him. Nor did *Granvel* decline the opinion, whilſt he alone ſolicited the cauſe of Religion, with ſomewhat more violence, then caution. And as he was of a confident and high ſpirit, he eaſily ſleighted all the threatnings and conſpiracies of his Competitours; and declared himſelf to depend wholly upon the Kings favour: unleſſe perhaps he appeared to ſleight them, leſt if he ſhould ſeem fearfull to be trod upon, they might think it feiſible to tread upon him. Hence the people (prone of their own nature to live licentiouſly, and prompted forwards by their commerce with hereticks) charged *Granvel* with all the Kings ſeverer proceedings, not more out of hatred to him, then out of love to the Lords, whom they looked upon as Patrons of the Commons, and Aſſertours of their Countryes liberty. Therefore they adhered to them, and were at their devotion. And the Lords (laying hold of this occaſion of protecting the *Publick*, to revenge their *Private* injuries) had good hope to remove their Rival, if what the King acted by him againſt the peoples minds, were made void by their aſſiſtance Therefore ſome of them in the Provinces where they commanded, were ſlow in advancing the Cauſe of Religion; and in publiſhing the Emperours Edicts, enjoyned them by the King. Others tacitly favoured the multitude, and perſwaded them not to ſuffer a new Tribunal to be erected, to bolſter up the *Romiſh bawbles*, and the *Spaniſh ſuperſtition*. Some that preferr'd *Ambition* before *Religion*, connived at the coming in of hereticks from all quarters, encouraged ſeditious conſpiracies, and laſtly, omitted nothing whereby the King might underſtand, how much he had miſplaced his favour, in truſting the *Netherlands* onely to the pride of *Granvel*. By this means it was preſumed, they ſhould ſee him removed from the *Low countreys*, and perhaps from the Kings good opinion: or howſoever, it would ſubject him to perpetuall danger of the People and Tumults Both which came to paſs, and that at laſt which ſome of them never aimed at, I mean, the ſetting up of the *Heretical party*; the increaſe of licentious and ſeditious perſons; ſhame and fear of the Law by degrees caſt off, and finally reverence and fidelity to the Prince. And many honeſt men being involved in the ſame fate, ſuch a fire of mutiny and warre was kindled, as afterwards the bloud of the people, the ruins of Cities and Provinces never could extinguiſh. From ſuch ſmal beginnings the greateſt miſchiefs often ſpring, and are precipitated with a far greater violence, then could proceed from the ſtrength of their firſt mover. For it is moſt true, that to fire houſes and to ſet bounds and limits to the flame, is not in one mans power. Yet ſome there were of the Nobility, that wiſhed thoſe troubles, and at that very time, plotted the change of Government. Of theſe were two ſorts: Some either out of hope of a looſe life, or infected by their wives (which they had married out of the cities (or rather peſt-houſes) of *Germane* hereticks, daily made leſs

He ſlights their calumnies.

The Commons concurre with the Lords.

The Lords make uſe of them to trouble the Peace.

To make Granvel *odious.*

And to diſplace,

At leaſt to vex him.

In the interim, the Heretical Faction is ſtrengthened, more then ſome Lords could wiſh.

Howbeit others of them deſired the troubles. Theſe men were of two ſorts.



William of Nassau
Prince of Orange

leſs account of obſerving the Orthodox Religion;and therefore inclining to the hereticall party, impudently encouraged them, and hoped that one day, they would maſter & put down the Catholick government. Others to maintain their port and dignity, having conſumed their private patrimonies, were neceſſitated to make uſe of the publick troubles. For not a few of the Nobility (both in the former Warres, and afterwards at Court,) accounting it a diſhonour to be outbraved by Forreiners, eſpecially by the *Spaniſh* Lords, in gallantry of apparell, or arms, in the train of friends and followers; in the number and rich trappings of their horſes; had at this Vie conſumed vaſt ſummes of money, the expence being more grievous to *them* then to the *Spaniards,* who commonly had far greater fortunes. Therefore ſince on the one part, no revenues would hold out to maintain theſe ſcenes of Pride; and yet they had ſtill in their ſmall fortunes, great ſpirits, ſenſible of the honour of their Families. On the other part, while the hereticks, to avoid baniſhment, or the hangman (which was the buſineſs then in agitation) promiſed to the Nobility money in abundance, and eſpecially to the Governours of Provinces. Diverſe Noblemen, upon theſe hopes, eaſily revolted to them: and neglecting their own private benefit, and the ſafety and tranquility of the ſtate, by their cunning diſſimulation mocked the endeavours of the Governeſs and *Granvell,* in pacifying thoſe tumults and ſeditions: which they in the mean time very well approved of, as the Mart from whence their richeſt traffick came.

Both which at laſt contributed to the ruine of the Publick.

But the cauſes which hitherto I have numbered up ſeverally, and ſhewed them to proceed from the Lords and Commons, did at laſt all meet in one point of concurrence in the Prince of *Orange.* To demonſtrate this, I will give you an exact account of his deſcent, his nature, and by what arts he attained his power: a neceſſary narration, and I preſume not unpleaſing to the Reader: that ſuch as ſhall ſee him, almoſt for ſixteen years, Generall of great armies fighting with various fortune: may have his manners, and as it were the Picture of his heart before their eyes. The houſe of *Naſſau* in *Germany* was ever *Princely,* but when *Adolphus* of *Naſſau* was elected *Emperour,* he made it a *Sovereign Family.* Count *Otho* brought them into the Low-countreys, almoſt two hundred years ago, where they were eſtabliſhed by his nephew *Engelbert* the firſt, and by the nephew to the firſt, *Engelbert* the ſecond. That being great Grandfather, this great Uncle to *William* Prince of *Orange.* Which Princes left him the inheritance of many towns in the Low-countreys, and other fair poſſeſſions, that came to them by marriage:which made him there a perſon of eminence, afterwards encreaſed by the Principality of *Orange,* that deſcended from the *Chalons* upon the family of *Naſſau.* For his fathers brother *Henrick,* had a ſonne named *Renatus,* by *Claudia Chalon* ſiſter to *Filibert Chalon* Prince of *Orange. Renatus* after the death of his uncle *Filibert,* ſucceeded him in the Principality upon condition, that he ſhould change his name from *Naſſau* to *Chalon.* But he likewiſe dying without iſſue, the Principality of *Orange,* and the reſt of the great eſtate which he had in *Burgundy,* came to his Couſen german *William,* whom we now ſpeak of, by the favour of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. *William* was born in the year one thouſand five hundred thirty three, the eldeſt of five brothers, and it is reported his father (whoſe name was *William*) deſired to know his ſonnes fortune of *Philip Melanchthon* that was by *Chaldean* rules, rather as a Profeſſour then an artiſt, held to be skilfull in Calculating of Nativities. Who having erected their Schems told him, *Williams* fortune was not in all parts alike proportioned. For at firſt, his

Of the Prince of Orange.

His Anceſtours came out of Germany, *Into the Low-countreys.*

Ann. 1292.

The Prince of Orange *in his* Apol. 1581.

Their power in the Nether-lands.

Anno 1544.

The birth of the Prince of Orange.

Henr. Ranzou. in exemplis Aſtvol. Michael Aitzinger in Leone Belg.

His Nativity calculated.

ſtarres would ſhine down honour upon him him: afterwards, he ſhould lay his deſign for greater honours: but at laſt, come to an unfortunate end. What his judgement was of the other four brothers, I have neither heard ſpoken, nor ſeen written. Perhaps, becauſe they wanted *ſucceſs,* they were paſſed over in *ſilence:* leſt it might diſcredit his art. *Charles* the fifth took him away when he was very young, from his father, who had revolted to the *Lutherans*, and delivered him to his own ſiſter, *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*. As ſoon as his years permitted, the Emperour made him a gentleman of his bed-chamber, and was much delighted with the conſtant waiting and conditions of the youth: becauſe he was very modeſt, and did not make vain oſtentations of his ſervice, nor omit any oportunity to be ſerviceable: and that in a grave and ſerious manner; that he might be thought more *capeable* then *ambitious* of imployment. From the bed-chamber, where he kept his place for almoſt nine years, the Emperour made him a ſouldier, and Generall of his horſe in the Low-countreys. Nay when the Duke of *Savoy* left the army, he ſubſtituted in his place *William Naſſau* Lieutenant-generall: though he wanted years for ſo great a command, being not paſt twenty two, and was brought in over the heads of many great Commanders, among others (which the Prince of *Orange* himſelf admired) of Count *Egmont:* who beſides his experience in the warres, was twelve years older. Thenceforth, as well in peace as war, he was by the Emperour valued in the firſt file of Nobility; and imployed upon diverſe noble *Embaſſages*. Indeed, in the Emperours great reſignment of his dominions; which was his laſt act as a Prince, when he ſent the Crown and Sceptre of the Empire (as we have told you) to his brother *Ferdinand* by the Prince of *Orange,* he clearly ſhewed, by that laſt honour he could do, the greatneſs of the affection which he bare him. And though ſome, that ſuſpected his nature from the firſt, often wiſhed the Emperour to look to him, and not to be over confident of his diſpoſition; which under the pretence of virtue, covered fraud and deſign; and that he ſhould take heed how he cockered up that fox in his boſome, that one day would devour all his domeſtick Poultry. But the Emperour frowned upon and contemned theſe aſperſions, knowing they are ordinarily caſt upon ſuch as Princes favour. Nay theſe rather confirmed him in the Emperours good opinion. Howſoever by making honourable mention of him, and commending the modeſty and fidelity of the youth, the Emperour ſeemed to diſcharge that envy. Perhaps he thought the Prince deſerved it not; perhaps it was the common fault of *maſters,* that apprehend themſelves to be no leſs concerned in ſuch invectives, then their *favourites* and *ſervants;* and without looking into the buſineſs, make themſelves patrons of the men, whoſe cauſe they think their own. Yet in the Prince of *Orange,* at that very time, were ſymptomes of a diſeaſe, that ſhould have been prevented, or at leaſt obſerved. Which ſymptomes grew more and more apparent after the Emperours departure. For though at his leaving the Low-countreys, the Emperour commended the Prince of *Orange* to his ſonne *Philip,* and King *Philip* both of his own accord and for his fathers ſake, gave him many teſtimonies of his good liking; for he made him one of the Order of the Golden fleece, ſent him to conclude a peace with *Henry* the *French King;* and that done, delivered him for hoſtage. And to thoſe large Provinces of the *Netherlands,* which the King truſted to his Government, he added *Burgundy,* though farre remote. But what could all this work with him, that gave out, the King was obliged to beſtow upon him the abſolute Government of all the Low-countreys, for

His civill.

And military education.

Called the ordinary Bands. Emmanuel Fiſhberti *Duke of* Savoy.

His favour at Court.

Some ſuſpect him.

The Emperour anſwers all Objections.

And commends him to the King.

The King makes great account of him.

The Cauſes of his Diſcontent.

for his pains and expences, to defend the greatneſs of the houſe of *Auſtria.* And in his Apology againſt King *Philip*, he took upon him the boldneſs (after he had particularized the merits of his Anceſtours towards the Emperours *Maximilian* and *Charles*) to conclude, That but for the Counts of *Naſſau*, and Princes of *Orange*, the King of *Spain* could not have loaded the front of his proclamation (wherein he proſcribed him) with the glorious titles of ſo many Kingdomes and Nations. Fruſtrated therefore of his hopes to govern the Low-countreys; and perceiving *Granvell* to be the great man in the Dutcheſſes new Court, and fearing he ſhould every day be leſs eſteemed by her, whom he would have prevented of her Government, by profeſſing himſelf to ſtand for *Chriſtiern* Dutcheſs of *Lorrain*, and endeavouring to bring her in; he reſolved to maintain his greatneſs by another way: and, provoked by new indignities, to act what he had long ſince deſigned. And though I have no certain ground to believe, that at the very firſt, he laid his plot to revolt from his allegiance to the King; yet I dare boldly affirm, he ſtudied, at that time, ſome innovation: whereby he might weaken the Kings Government; overthrow the *Spaniſh* power; incourage the hereticall party; by right or wrong advance his own honour and authority; and if fortune made him any other fair offer, to lay hold upon it. Indeed for altering of a Government, I know not if any man ever lived, fitter then the Prince of *Orange*. He had a preſent wit, not ſlow to catch at oportunities, but ſubtill; concealing himſelf, not to be ſounded, even by thoſe that were thought privy to his ſecrets. Then he had a rare way to ingratiate himſelf with any that but came to ſpeak with him: ſo unaffectedly he conformed to ſtrangers manners, and ſerved himſelf of others ends; not that he ſtooped to the poor forms of complement, and common profeſſions of imaginary ſervices, wherewith at this day men do honourably mock one another. But ſhewing himſelf, neither ſparing nor prodigall of his Courtſhip, he ſo cunningly contrived his *words*, that you could not but think, that he reſerved farre more for *action.* Which begat a greater opinion of his diſcretion: and gave more credit to his pretenſions. Beſides, though he was of a proud and infinitely ambitious ſpirit; yet he ſo carried it to the outward ſhew, that he ſeemed to command himſelf, and not to be ſenſible of injuries. But he was as ſubiect to fear, as free from anger: Inſomuch as he doubted all things, thought every thing unſafe: but yet deſiſted not; becauſe on the one part his brain, fruitfull in plots, if the firſt took not, preſently made new ſupplies; on the other part, his vaſt and immoderate ambition, ſtrangled all doubts and delayes. But in the ſplendour of his houſe-keeping, and the multitude of his friends and followers, he was equall to great Princes. No man in all the Low-countreys more hoſpitable, and that gave nobler entertainment to forrein Embaſſadours, then the Prince of *Orange*; which hugely pleaſed the people, that delight to have the wealth and power of their Countrey ſhowed to ſtrangers: nor was it diſtaſtfull to Princes, with whom he redeemed all the opinion of his pride, by his humble and familiar invitations of their ſervants. But for his Religion, that was very doubtfull, or rather none at all. When he was with the Emperour and the King, he ſeemed to be Catholick. When they left the *Low-countreys*, he returned by little and little to his Fathers hereſie, which was bred in him of a child: yet ſo, as while the Dutcheſs of *Parma* continued Governeſs, he rather appeared a Favourer of the hereticall party, then an Heretick. Laſtly, after the Dutcheſs was removed, he declared himſelf for *Calvin* (for from a *Lutheran*, he was now turned to his opinion) not

His Deſigne,

His Wit and Manners.

Which reliſhed not of Courtſhip or Levity.

The ſplendour of his Family.

His doubtfull Religion.

He declares himſelf a Calviniſt. Apology 1518.

His Apology, Anno 1518.

onely as a private Sectary; but as the great Defender of his Faith. Afterwards he writ a Book, wherein he teſtified to all the world, That from his childhood, he was ever much enclined to the Religion (which he calls) Reformed: the ſeeds whereof his heart alwayes conſtantly retained; which at length ripened with his years. And that all he did at home, or in the warrs, related to this end, To maintain Religion in her firſt Purity, aſſailed and ſhot at, with ſo many Laws and Edicts by the *Emperour* and the *King*. Whether he wrote truth, and was indeed a *Calviniſt* in opinion; or rather by that means ſought to ingratiate himſelf with the men, whoſe ſervice he had uſe of, ſome have made a doubt: it is moſt probable, his Religion was but pretended, which he could put on like a Cloke, to ſerve him for ſuch a time; and put it off again, when it was out of faſhion. Truly, that Religion was not much to be regarded, when Authority was to be acquired, or eſtabliſhed; are the words of his own letter to *Alençon*, Brother to the *French King*; part whereof in its due place, I ſhall inſert. This, it was thought, he learned in the villanous ſchool of *Machiavel*, whoſe Books he ſeriouſly ſtudied; as *Granvel* affirms in his Letter from *Spain*, directed to *Alexander* Prince of *Parma*. *William* of *Naſſau* furniſhed with theſe Arts, how he imployed them, in exaſperating the minds of the Low-countrey men, I ſhall now briefly open. He was hoſtage, as I have formerly ſaid, to *Henry* the ſecond of *France*. Hunting with the King, they fell into that diſcourſe, which he ſpeaks of in his Defence againſt his Proſcription publiſhed by King *Philip*; wherein he glories in the diſcovery which he made, of the plot betwixt him and King *Henry*: who letting fall ſome words of the grand Deſigne (but abruptly and obſcurely, leſt perhaps he might reveal it to one, that was not of counſel with them) the Prince of *Orange*, as he himſelf ſayes, to wyerdraw the whole buſineſs out of the King, takes upon him to have been long privy to the plot, which the King eaſily believes, thinking the Prince in great eſteem with his Maſter, and ſeeing him his hoſtage there. He therefore freely tells him, that by the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, the Duke of *Alva*, King *Philip* agreed with him to deſtroy all the families of the new Religion: which he was to ſee done in *France*, and King *Philip* in the Low-countreys: in which he likewiſe had erected a conſtant Tribunal, where matters of Faith ſhould be tried, which would be as good as his Forts, to keep his people in obedience. The Prince of *Orange* finding the deſigne, which he knew to be King *Philips*, return'd into the Low-countreys. There when he ſaw the Dutcheſs of *Parma* made Governeſs, and *Granvel* joyned with her; the number of Biſhops increaſed; and Inquiſitors of Faith to be brought in; he conceived this to be the deſigne which King *Henry* had diſcovered to him. And when he perceived that theſe new Decrees had filled the Cities with fears and jealouſies, and that no part of the State looked cheerfull; he reſolved to make uſe of the opportunity: ſuppoſing, that if he ſhould feed the beginnings of theſe diſcontents on his part, as many already (corrupted with hereſie) would do on theirs; that he ſhould undoubtedly elude the deſignes of the *Spaniſh*. And now that he had ſome little glimmering of an exſpectation, and began to form great plots to bring all his aims to their deſired ends, thus he ſet them a work.

Whether from his heart or no, is uncertain.

Ann. 1581.

He was Hoſtage for K. Philip, *to* Henry *K. of* France.

Ann. 1581. *He diſcovers both the Kings deſignes againſt the hereticks.*

And from thence takes his hint for Commotion.

Ann. 1559. *Beginning at the Convention of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, out of the ſame* Apology. Hoventius Momorancy, *Lord* Montany, Anthony Lalin *Count* Hochſtrat.

The King, at *Gant*, called a Chapter of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, in whoſe Creation (becauſe all authority was not in the King, as Maſter of the Order, but in the joynt-votes of his Companions) that ſome might be choſen which hated the King, (I ſuppoſe, *Monting* and *Hochſtrat*) the Prince of *Orange* took a great deal of pains, ſolicited, and prevailed with his Colleagues

leagues, to promiſe him their ſeverall ſuffrages. And both theſe Lords now obliged, he meant hereafter, as purchaſed by this favour, to make uſe of. Beſides, when the Cities mutinied (as I have told you) becauſe *Spaniſh* Garriſons were left upon the frontiers; he privately inflamed their fury; and argued with his friends of the pride of thoſe forrein ſouldiers, that under colour of defending the Bordets, laboured to put a yoke upon free Cities. Withall, he commended the loyaltie of the *Low-countreymen*, which notwithſtanding ſuffered, for that ſtrangers were preferred before them. And put it in their heads, that the Eſtates who were then to be ſummoned, ſhould with great earneſtneſs petition the King, that his *Spaniſh* ſouldiers might be disbanded, by his Fathers example, who never had any Garriſons in the *Low-conntreys*, but of Low-countrey men; which accordingly the States were ſuiters for, with great noiſe and clamour. And at that time, the King promiſed to ſatisfie them by word of mouth, which afterward he really performed: the Prince of *Orange* much glorying in it, who, in his Letters profeſſed himſelf to have been the authour of ſending away the *Spaniards*: and that by this act (which he accounted an eternal honour to him and his Colleagues) he brought two things about: the one, that he freed his Countrey from ſlavery; the other, that he opened (they are his own words) the way to Religion. Onely to his and their Crown of glory this was wanting: that as they had turned the *Spaniards* out of the *Low-countreys*, ſo they had not ſhut the door upon them, locked it faſt, guarded the Paſſe, and kept them from all hope of ever coming back again. Yet he doubted not, but as he had purged a great part of the *Netherlands* of them, ſo as they could call nothing there their own, but the bones and aſhes of their Countreymen; in like manner he ſhould quickly bring to effect, or at leaſt endeavour it, that they ſhould all be baniſhed out of the ſeventeen Provinces, and being compelled to return to their own Countrey, ſhould at laſt ſuffer the Low Dutch to enjoy the liberty of their fortunes, bodies and ſouls. Nor was he leſs active againſt the deſigne of introducing new Biſhops; which (by the ſpirit of *Calvin*) he uſed to call *hangmen*, brought in to flea and burn mankind. And to that end, he applied himſelf to the *Abbots*, ſome of which (inſtructed at private conferences, and emboldened againſt the fear of any Magiſtrate) were for a great while his principall inſtruments of diſcord. But he had not better ſucceſs in any thing, then in defeating the Emperours Edicts, and the Kings proclamations. For as nothing more amazed the people, then the name of the *Inquiſition*; ſo the Prince of *Orange*, in that fright, aggravating their fears and jealouſies, telling them of the breach of Priviledge, the *tyranny* of the *Spaniards*, the ſlavery of the *Low-countrey men*, moſt of them *vain ſurmizes*, but yet working in minds inclined to ſuſpicion: It is hardly credible, what an *odium* he brought upon the Inquiſition; how he turned the *Peoples* hearts from the *King*, and made them hate the *Spaniards*. So that many (being perſwaded the freedome of their Nation would be loſt, if this went on) would aſſoon have let into their cities the Enemies of their Countrey, as the *Inquiſitours* of Faith. The Prince of *Orange*, glad of this ſucceſſe, and being (as I have ſaid) inraged at *Granvels* power; abſolutely reſolved to joyn with the People and the Hereticks, who (he knew) hated *Granvel*, and he was glad they did ſo. At length, new and far more implacable tumults riſing every where in the *Low-countreyes*, when the Duke of *Alva* was Governour; the bolder the people grew, who then refuſed their pardons (offered by ſome Governours of Cities) and publickly renounced their allegiance: the more high-hearted grew the Prince

Starting matter for ſedition out of the Spaniſh *ſouldiers.*

1559.

In the ſome Apology.

Out of the new Biſhops.

In his ſaid Apol. and ſo *Granvel* writes *Ann.* 1582.

Out of the Inquiſition.

Out of Granvels *power.*

Out of the troubles ariſing in the Duke of Alva's *government.*

Prince of *Orange.* His hopes, which hitherto were uncertain and farr off, now came near and courted him. So that ſcorning the Court,he looked for greater and quicker fortunes in the Warrs. But the miſchief daily encreaſing, ſeditious Citizens joyned with the Hereticks;part neceſsitated to avoid puniſhment, but the major part invited with hope of liberty. That their pretences might ſhew more honeſt, and promiſe more ſafety, under ſome one Generall; they looked upon the Prince of *Orange*, whom they knew to be ambitious to command in chief,and therefore an enemy to the *Spaniards:* beſides, that he was ſeaſoned with hereſie, at leaſt ingaged by affinity with Hereticks, whoſe ſervice he made uſe of. They likewiſe knew he had many ſtrong towns of his own, and that he would be ſupported by the counſels and wealths of forrein Princes. And he himſelf was partly incouraged by his inclination to the Hereticks, (to favour which party, he was at home perſwaded by his wife, his brother, and his friends; abroad by great Perſons) partly out of hatred, firſt to *Granvel*,afterwards to the Duke of *Alva*, alwayes to the *Spaniards:* eſpecially, becauſe deſpairing of the Kings favour, he hardly ſaw any place left for drawing back his hand, when he had caſt the Die: partly, by the opportunity of Command, which from all quarters was offered to him. Upon theſe motives he wholly revolted to them, for whoſe defence he had the colour of protecting their Liberties; with abundant matter of feeding his own hopes. And thus, what neither the Prince of *Orange*, nor any *Generall* whatſoever could have done without a mutiny of the People: nor a mutiny of the People without a Generall; was effected by a conſpiracy of both, a ſudden flame of Rebellion breaking out, which afterwards continued a long fire of Warr, equally pernicious to the *Conquerours*, and the *conquered.*

The mutinous Citizens and the Hereticks deſire to have the Prince of Orange *for their Generall.*

Anne daughter to Maurice *Duke of* Saxonie.

He offers himſelf.

To the deſtruction of the Publick.

Wherefore, to give you a full View of all at once; it is very conſiderable whether Misfortunes *ſucceed* or *meet*. And as by the conjunction of ſtarrs, ill winds they ſay are generated; ſo queſtionleſs there is a conjuncture of evils in the deſtruction of Men and Kingdoms. The ſudden inundation of Hereſie, the peoples diſlike of the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers, the Multiplication of *Biſhops*, the Revival of the *Emperours* Edicts, with the puniſhment of Delinquents, the *defeated hopes* of the Nobility, *Granvels greatneſs* at Court, becauſe they all happened together, eaſily raiſed thoſe tumults and troubles. Neverthelesſ, all were not of one Quality; for many of them ſeemed honeſter Pretences then the reſt; but two of them did the buſineſs, Hereſie and Ambition: though going under other Names, borrowing elſewhere their occaſions, and beginnings: For the Hereticks having made the People theirs, pretended the Priviledges of the *Low-countreys*; and leſt the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, their Governeſs ſhould oppreſſe them, they put themſelves under the Protection of the Nobility. Theſe gudgeons were greedily ſwallowed by many; ſome ſet on by Poverty, more by their Repulſes and Affronts, moſt by the Power of *Granvel.* Nothing could therefore advantage them but troubles, wherein they ſhould receive Pay from the Hereticks, and Imployment from the Governeſs: and by that means *Granvels* Power would decay for want of Action. The peoples contumacy thus increaſing with their ſtrength, they deſpiſed Government, terrified the Cities with ſeditious tumults, and immediately after in many places, violated and robbed the Churches. Laſtly, in ſome places were diſcovered evident ſignes of ſubjects intending a Revolt, which was now ſet a foot.

The Cauſes and Occaſions of the Belgick *tumults ſummed up.*

And thus much I have diſcovered of the Originall of the Low-countrey Tumults: which before the departure of the Dutcheſs of *Parma* out

of

of the *Netherlands*, being laid and almoſt extinguiſhed, revived again, farre more fatally in the Government of the Duke of *Alva*; whilſt their Abettor the Prince of *Orange*, took opportunity of the peoples falling into rebellion; but not likely to hold out long, without a General: and upon their open defection from their Prince, he long oppoſed the *Spaniſh forces*, as their General. Wherein how much the *Spaniſh* erred in preſsing *unſeaſonable remedies*; or the Low-countrey men in *diſobeying* their Sovereigne; I had rather you ſhould gather out of the Narration of things themſelves, then out of the arguments and partiall diſputes of an Hiſtorian.

The End of the ſecond Book.

The Hiſtorie of the *LOW-COUNTREY* VVARRES.

The third Book.

1559. *The Spaniſh ſouldiers have Orders to depart.*

THe new Governeſs took care in the firſt place to ſend away the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers. For the Provinces complained (as I have ſhewed you) that the four moneths were paſt, wherein the King promiſed to free the Low-countreys of forrein ſouldiers; and yet, they were kept in Garriſon: but the Dutcheſs of *Parma* had put it off ſo long, becauſe ſhe moſt confided in the valour and faith of the old ſouldiers, if any troubles ſhould ariſe at home, by the contagious example of their neighbours, that were together by the ears about Religion. Which was the cauſe that when the Low-countreymen denyed their Pay, ſhe her ſelf borrowed money to ſupply them. But the Low-countreymens complaints dayly multiplying, they alledged to the Governeſs, that the King had obliged himſelf in honour; and her husband *Octavio* Duke of *Parma* (who never liked the ſtop of the *Spaniſh* army in the *Netherlands*) at his departure into *Italy*, perſwading his wife to let them go; ſhe writ letters to the King for his aſſent. And upon the receit of money from *Spain*, together with the Kings Commiſſion, her Excellence drew out the Garriſons from the border-towns, commanding them preſently to march to *Uluſhen*, and to go aboard with the firſt fair wind, for *Spain*. But while ſhipping was prepared, winter coming on, the Governeſs received an

4. *Octob.* *Their Departure countermanded by the King.*

Expreſs from the *King*, enjoyning her not yet to ſend away the *Spaniſh* Garriſons: but (as in her diſcretion ſhe thought fit) to ſpinne out time, till the King ſent his abſolute determination. And I believe, his Majeſty alwayes deſired their ſtay in the Low-countreys; yet perhaps he was more moved to it, by new ſuſpicions, collected out of *Granvels* letters, who having an eye upon the actions of the Nobility, made an ill conſtruction of their eagerneſſe to expell the *Spaniards*: and perhaps penetrated further into the Prince of *Oranges* deſignes. But the Dutcheſs could not at that time obey the King, by reaſon the hatred and quarrell between the two Nations was then irreconciliable. For the *Spaniards* were inraged becauſe the Low-

Whereat the Low-countreymen rage.

countreymen were ſo violent to have them gone. And the Low-countreymen, vexed with new grievances, were the more fierce in urging their departure.

parture. So as the *Zelanders* (in whoſe iſlands the *Spaniards* had lyen for a wind) being now grown deſperate, reſolved to work no more upon the ſea banks: but though before their eyes the water bore them down in many places, yet they ſaid, they had rather have their land *drowned*, then *plundered*. So, long ſince, the Generall of the *Ancibarians* vowed to do, in the ſame place, againſt the *Romanes*. Nay they profeſſed openly, in the *Spaniards* hearing, The ſea ſhould ſwallow them alive, ere they would ſet foot out of doors to hinder it, as long as forrein ſouldiers tread upon their ground. Yet the *Governeſs* to comply with the Kings deſires, delayed the *Spaniards* going aboard; and debated, how ſhe might call them back from *Zeland*, in her Cabinet councell: and with ſome few others of approved faith, whom ſhe joyned to them. But all things were repreſented full of marvellous difficulty. *For they could not be called back, before Towns were appointed for them to be quartered in; but thoſe could not be appointed, without their Governours; who would, no doubt, proteſt againſt it. Then it was to be conſidered, whether they ſhould be kept in their winter quarters in a body? but that would be inſufferable to the City that ſhould give them quarter: or whether they ſhould be diſperſed through the Provinces? but then they muſt be expoſed to all injuries and indignities, which the people (that contemned their ſmall number) would be ſure to put upon them. It was likewiſe conſiderable, Where the* Spaniards *ſhould have pay? ſince the Low-countreys had vowed to part with no money neither to them, nor their own Countreymen, till the* Netherlands *ſhould be cleared of forrein forces.* Though the Governeſs knew this to be ſo, yet that ſhe might leave nothing unattempted; Or by conſulting to gain time, ſhe brought the whole buſineſs to the Councell table. But here the ſame votes paſſed. And as the *number* of Counſellours was greater, ſo was their *confidence*. Some affirmed the Cities, when they ſhould hear of that delay, would publickly claim promiſe of the King, and that the States would take it as an huge affront, when they ſuſpected the Kings word had failed them: ſome alleadged the complaints of the Merchants; Others the pay which the King owed to the Low-countrey ſouldiers. Laſtly, that their going aboard could not be deferred, was the opinion of the whole Councel, *Granvell* excepted, who oppoſed them all, either to pleaſe the King, or becauſe he thought it would conduce to the good of the Low-countreys, or becauſe he was unwilling to be without ſuch a guard, in caſe his Rivals ſhould conſpire againſt him. But when he had held out as long as either his authority or elocution could reſiſt; at laſt, he yeilded to number and weight of reaſons. Perhaps he was afraid that any thing ſhould be carried at the Board without *Granvels* conſent. Which made him vote with the reſt, and, as he would have it believed, willingly. The Governeſs therefore, moved with the generall ſuffrage, eſpecially ſeeing them dayly grow more odious; which would make their preſence a greater miſcheif to the Low-countreys then their abſence could be: writes to his Majeſty the Reſult of that Councell for Remove of the ſouldiers, ſlightly and perfunctorily, as to the Cauſe, leſt ſhe might be thought to fear the Lords of the Councell, unto whom ſhe read the letters, before the packet was diſpatched away. But by the ſame poſt ſhe wrote to the King, in cyphers, *That ſhe was not able to retain the* Spaniards *any longer. The Provinces being all reſolved, that ſo long as they ſaw themſelves awed by the remainder of forrein ſouldiers, they would not give a penny to the Kings Collectours, by way of Subſidy. That Bankers and Merchants complained, that the Cities which had borrowed of them great ſummes wherewith to pay the* Spaniards *while they ſeemed ready to depart; when they ſaw them demurre upon their voiage, grew angry,*

And grow deſperate.

Tacitus *in his* Annals. *l.* 13.

Called the Conſult.

1560.

The Conſulters are of opinion the ſouldiers ſhould not be ſtayed.

1560.

Of the ſame mind were all the Councell of State.

1560.

But onely Granvell.

Who at laſt conſents.

The Governeſſes Expreſs to the King.

Her private letter.

gry, and refuſed to pay intereſt for the money. But as there was a generall joy as ſoon as they knew the Garriſons were drawn out, and ſhipping ready for them. This had quieted the murmurs of the money-Maſters, and fed the hopes of the Low-countrey ſouldiers, that had fifteen moneths Pay due to them: which they were promiſed by the Cities, as ſoon as ever the Spaniards *weighed Anchor. But if their voyage ſhould be put off, and the Low-countreymen ſee them return from* Zeland; *ſhe very much feared the ſouldiers, defrauded of their exſpectation, would keep the high-wayes, and live upon pillage. Nay, that the Cities, through which the* Spaniards *had lately paſſed (not without quarrelling and fighting) when they came back, would ſhut their gates, and man their works againſt them. As to the jealouſie of tumults among the* French *upon the borders, they had not yet troubled the Low-countreys, nor was it greatly to be feared that forreiners would invade them in the deep of winter. That a more certain miſchief impended from the peoples diſcontents, and ſedition at home; which if it ſhould riſe by their neighbours example, the Low-countreys could not be ſecured by three thouſand* Spaniards. *Nor was there at preſent ſo much money in the Treaſury, or hope of taking up ſo much, as would raiſe an hundred men for preſent ſervice.* Upon receit of theſe letters, the King gave a more ſpeedy then willing aſſent to the deſires of the Provinces; and wrote back to the Governeſs, *That ſhe might (if ſhe thought good) ſend away the* Spaniſh *ſouldiers, which would be a ſeaſonable ſupply in* Africa, *where ſo many thouſand Chriſtians had been ſlain in the battel of* Gyrba. *That their officers ſhould be carefull the ſouldiers landed not in a body, ſending them ſeverally by companies and troops, ſome to* Naples, *ſome to* Sicily. *That he himſelf would look to his ingagements unto the Cities, and take order that the money, lent by the Merchants, ſhould upon bills of exchange, be returned them in* Spain. But the wind lying croſs, and the winter proving hugely tempeſtuous, the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers were conſtrained, for a time, to ſtay in *Zeland* and *Holland*. At laſt, the ill weather breaking up, about the beginning of the year, they weighed Anchors, to the great joy of the Low-countreymen. And becauſe the King had injoyned the Governeſs, that the Infantry of the Low-countreys ſhould from thenceforth be no more commanded by the Low-countrey Lords; under colour of ſettling the *Militia* when the *Spaniards* were departed, ſhe revived the cuſtome (uſed in the time that *Mary Queen* of *Hungary* governed the Low-countreys, but ſince intermitted) That the Commanders ſhould be immediately choſen by her ſelf, to make them more obedient to their Governeſs. Nor gave ſhe Commiſſions to Colonels (which uſed to be the gift of the Nobility) but ſignified her pleaſure, that all Captains ſhould receive orders from the Governours of towns, ſo long as they quartered within their commands. And ſhe doubted not, but the Governours would be faithfull, becauſe they were placed and diſplaced by her. So, for the preſent, cutting off the Colonells places from the *Militia*, ſhe conceived ſhe had likewiſe cut off the authority of mutinous ſouldiers, and the power of the Nobility. Nor had it been a vain conception (as ſome thought) if ſhe had withall provided, in place of the *Spaniards*, ſome new regiments out of other Countreys. For although to bring forrein forces into the Low-countreys, was contrary to the deſires of the Eſtates, and the Kings Promiſe; yet the Low-countreymen might have been induced to admit them, (whileſt the ſending away of the Spaniſh was in diſpute) if the Governeſs had conditioned, That ſo long as their neighbours were in arms, ſo long the borders ſhould have their Cities (beſides their own train-bands) kept with forrein Garriſons. Certainly they had in generall ſuch a longing to be rid of the *Spaniards*, as they would have agreed to any terms whatſoever:

12. Decemb.

The King aſſents in theſe words.

The Spaniſh ſouldiers ſail for Spain.

1561.

A new Modell of the Foot.

Touching forrein and domeſtick ſouldiers.

ſoever: and afterwards the Governeſs might eaſily have ſuppreſſed the tumults with thoſe forrein ſouldiers. But being then ingaged in troubles, the Dutcheſs endeavoured to compoſe them for the preſent. Unleſs perhaps ſhe were deterred from entertaining forrein ſouldiers, by the emptineſs of the Exchecquer: fearing in that great want of money, if their pay ſhould fall ſhort, *forreiners* would mutiny more dangerouſly then the *natives*; which, from their Princes hand, might divers wayes receive correction.

The publick joy of the Low-countreymen for the departure of the *Spaniards*, was accompanied with private joy at Court, for *Granvels* being created *Cardinall:* and the ſolemnity of the Prince of *Orange's* marriage, ſolemnized in *Saxony*, whither many of the Lords were gone along. For whileſt he was preſent at the marriage of his ſiſter, he had there concluded a Match for himſelf (his firſt wife *Anne Egmont* being dead) with another *Anne*, daughter to *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, wherewith he preacquainted the Governeſs. Who at firſt diſliking his marrying into a *Lutheran* family, aſſured him, it could never be approved of, either by his Majeſty or her ſelf, that he ſhould have a Lady born in a *Lutheran* Court, not onely bred an heretick by her father long ſince deceaſed, but whoſe zeal would be dayly inflamed by her fathers brother *Auguſtus* (who ſucceeded Duke *Maurice* in the Electorate) and by her mothers Grandfather *Philip Lantgrave* of *Heſſen*. But the Prince of *Orange* perſwaded her Excellence he had taken order for that; and, by way of prevention had agreed with *Auguſtus*, Guardian to the Lady *Anne*, that he would not marry her unleſs ſhe turned Catholick; and that *Auguſtus*, and ſhe her ſelf, under their hands and ſeals had Articled as much: though *Philip*, her Grandfather, was againſt it, refuſing the condition of altering her religion: becauſe he had a deſign, when that marriage ſhould be broke off, under colour of Religion, to match his own daughter to the Prince of *Orange*. To this purpoſe he had treated with him by letters, promiſing for his daughter, that he would accept the condition of her renouncing the *Lutheran* faith. So little account they make of abuſing Religion, whoſe profit is their God. The plot being diſcovered and greivouſly complained of by *Auguſtus*, *Philip* replyed, (ſaid the Prince of *Orange*) That he being but poor, and the father of many children, it was not unhandſome for him, to receive conditions from another: but it would be a diſhonour for the Duke of *Saxony*, a *Prince Elector*, to have *William* of *Naſſau* give the Law to him: and therefore he had refuſed the condition for his *Neice*, and accepted it for his *Daughter*; but this anſwer was not ſatisfactory to *Auguſtus*, therefore to prevent him, he reſumed the Treaty with the Prince of *Orange*. And when the Prince of *Orange* had often profeſſed, That nothing was or could be ſo dear to him as his ſoul and honour, and duty to his Prince; the Governeſs at laſt conſented. But yet ſhe gave no leave to the Governours of Provinces to accompany the Prince of *Orange* (which he made his ſuit) becauſe ſhe had uſe of their ſervice at home; the *French* being in arms upon the borders. Notwithſtanding, leſt he ſhould depart diſcontented, ſhe permitted the reſt of the Nobility to go with him. And in the head of that gallant Troop he rode to *Saxony*; followed by *Florence Memorancy* Lord of *Montiny*, who, in the name of the *Dutcheſs* of *Parma*, viſited the Bride: and preſented her a diamond ring. The Prince of *Orange* at *Liepſwich*, a city in *Saxony*, having celebrated his marriage in the beginning of Auguſt, (where the King of *Denmark* was preſent, and divers other Princes of *Germany*) immediately returned into the Low-countreys; renuing his promiſe to the Governeſs touching his wives Religion. Which

Margin notes:
- 1562.
- *The Marriage between the Prince of* Orange *and Princeſſe* Anne *daughter to the Duke of* Saxony.
- *Anno* 1550 Landgrave *of* Heſſen.
- *The Landgraves Plot to break the match.*
- *Diſcovered to the Duke of* Saxony.
- 1561.
- *The Nuptials with Princeſſe* Anne *celebrated.*

Afterwards he ſued out a Divorce.

Anno 1572
At Brill *in* Holland.

Granvel *made a Cardinall.*

A Cardinalls hat brought to him.
He delays his acceptance.

25. *Feb.*

12. *July.* 1562.

27. *March.*
The Governeſs likes not his delay.

He at laſt owns the ſcarlet.

And hat ſent him by ſpeciall favour from his Holineſs.
For which he gives the Governeſs his reaſons: as ſhe wrote to the King.

29 *Novem.* 1564.

Promiſe he as truly performed, as ſhe did the Faith ſhe had ſworn to him in marriage: being thirteen years after taken in adultery, and ſent back into *Germany* by the Prince, who married *Charlotte Bourbon*, daughter to the Duke of *Mompenſier*. But his new marriage feaſt was kept in *Holland*, with more pomp then joy by the Prince of *Orange*, offended at *Granvels* ſcarlet, which he had long forborn to wear: but now the Prince found him in his robes. For *Pius* the fourth made him, together with ſeventeen others, *Cardinall* of the Sacred *Romane* Church, this year, upon the twenty ſixth day of February, and within twelve dayes after, the meſſenger brought the news into the Low-countreys; ſoon after came one to *Machin* that was to preſent *Granvell* letters from his Holineſs, and a *Cardinals hat.* But *Granvel* put off the receiving of thoſe honours, till he knew the Kings pleaſure. He therefore diſpatched a meſſenger into *Spain*; I ſuppoſe, becauſe he was ſenſible, that the Governeſs had uſed means to procure him this dignity without acquainting the King with the contents of her Letters to the *Pope*. Indeed ſhe had not onely concealed it from his Majeſty (who ſhe knew would like well of it) but from *Granvel* himſelf. Though it had been long in agitation between her and the *Pope*, as ſhe afterwards wrote to the King. Therefore, fearing the King would conceive him to be obliged onely to the Dutcheſs, *Granvel* would not accept that honour without his Majeſties conſent, and as it were from his Royall hand. Perhaps he had ſome little doubt that the Dutcheſs, at one time or other, would take occaſion, by reaſon of that Eccleſiaſticall advancement, to remove him from the Civill Government. And therefore he thought it fit, to wait for the Kings approbation, who, by a ſpeciall and ſtrict injunction had commended him to the Governeſs. But whatſoever he thought, the *Dutcheſs* liked not his demur upon it, and therefore anſwered his letter to this purpoſe, *That ſhe condemned not his reſolution, but her opinion was, he ſhould have done better to have put on his* Cardinals *Robes without delay, nor did ſhe doubt, but he would find the King of* Spain *of the ſame mind: and that he would receive, with his Majeſties Letters, his Command to force him to it. And though ſhe was very glad the* Popes Nuntio (*as* Granvel *wrote to her*) *took it in the beſt ſenſe: Yet he muſt have a ſpeciall care, that neither the* Nuntio, *nor any of his ſervants, ſhould write to* Rome: *leſt the Court there, ſhould take occaſions to cavill at this kind of modeſty, or leſt the* Pope *ſhould take offence, as if his gifts ſhould have their eſtimation from another. In the mean time ſhe heartily joyed him of his honour, which was joyned with ſo much good to Religion and the King; to which ends ſhe had endeavoured it; knowing how advantagious it would be to the State of the Low-countreys, if things appertaining to Religion, ſhould be tranſacted by him, in whom (among other ornaments) his ſcarlet would advance his Authority.* Yet notwithſtanding theſe letters from the Dutcheſs, *Granvel* aſſented not, till he had anſwer out of *Spain*; then he preſently put on his Robes: and ſo, expreſſing his duty to the King, without diſtaſt to the *Governeſs*, he received honour from the one, and favour from the other. Beſides his *Pall*, the *Popes* Chamberlain, brought him from *Rome*, a Cardinalls hat, which is ſeldome ſent to any; it being the cuſtome to receive it onely in *Rome*. Which benefit *Granvel* aſcribed to the Dutcheſs, with exquiſite thanks, *not ſo much extolling the greatneſs of the* bounty, *as the* giver. And he ſaid, *he had cauſe to reverence it, as the greateſt of all honours, becauſe therein he adored the goodneſs of his Prince.* But in his private diſcourſe, he plainly told the Dutcheſs, *That conſidering the Changes of mans life, he had accepted of that Dignity. Eſpecially, for that, if at any time he ſhould leave the Low-countreys* (*as he ſaw a ſtorm over his head, threatening him from the Lords*) *he*

he might have a place at Rome *among the Cardinals, to which he might make an honourable retreat.* A deſigne at this day hit upon by many, who knowing, That Power ſeldome grows old at Court; and that Favour will as ſurely periſh, as Life; are willing to be advanced into this Order, not as *ambitious*, but as *provident* perſons; that in their greateſt misfortunes, the Altar and the Church may be their Refuge.

In the year following, 1562, the Civil War of *France* reviving, the Kings commands came to the *Governeſs*, enjoyning her with all poſſible care and ſpeed to ſend aſſiſtance to King *Charles* againſt his Rebels. An Account of the Management and Original of theſe troubles, will not (I ſuppoſe) treſpaſs upon your patience; if I repeat briefly from the beginning, not onely what before this time was agitated touching theſe ſuccours, but the whole Progreſs of thoſe *French* tumults; foraſmuch as partly upon private diſcord at Court; partly for that in publick, which concerned Religion, it was the Model of the Plot laid by the *Low-countrey men*, with ſo like ſucceſs of both Nations, that ſometimes unleſs you be rectified by the names of Places and Perſons, you would not think you read the actions of two Kingdoms, but of one and the ſame People. Moreover, ſome part of the *French* Rebellion was carried by advice ſent out of the *Low-counntreys*; whereof Cardinall *Granvel* gave intelligence to his brother, *Thomas* Lord *Cantonet*, Embaſſadour for the Catholick King in *France*. This being therefore a buſineſs of no ſmall importance, and becauſe I would not interrupt my Narration of the *Low-countrey* war, with inſerting that of *France*: I ſhall here, as the matter and place requires, with no *vain* nor *tedious* Digreſſion, comprehend the whole.

1562. *The Crown of* France, *being endangered, ſuccours are ſent from the Low-countreys. Of the* French *Tumults.*

Hereſie having long ſince poyſoned *France*, had diſtracted it into factions, and many men (contemning the old) had taken up the name of the new Religion. For although after *Luthers* peſtilence reigned in *Germany*, *France* had a great while kept it ſelf free from the infection; yet in the year 1533, it was attempted by ſome of *Luthers* Emiſſaries. For *Francis* the firſt, favouring learned men and learning (as commonly they do, whoſe actions are worthy of a learned pen) reſolved to erect an Univerſity at *Paris*; ſending propoſals of great entertainment to the ableſt ſcholars of *Italy* and *Germany*. This opportunity *Luther* took hold of, and ſent *Bucer* and others of the boldeſt of his followers, which by diſputing in that confluence of prudent men, might give an Eſſay to bring in the new Goſpel. Nor wanted there ſome that were taken with the Novelty: Eſpecially, becauſe ſuch as were queſtioned for Religion, had their recourſe into *Aquitain*, to *Margaret* of *Valois* the Kings ſiſter, who perhaps out of hatred to the Biſhop of *Rome* (which had been infuſed into her in the family of her husband *Alibret*, whom his Holineſs deprived of the Kingdome of *Navarre*) might lie open to the cunning of the *Lutherans*: perhaps out of ambition to be thought a *Wit*, which ſhe affected beyond the limits of her ſex; or indeed (as ſhe herſelf confeſſed ſome years before her death, at which time ſhe was a Catholick) it was not out of the perverſneſs of her nature; but out of commiſeration to the condemned perſons that fled to her protection, which made her ſo earneſt with her Brother in the defence of their new opinions. So that for ten years together, ſhe bolſtered up *Lutheraniſme* in *France*. Though *Francis* the firſt was the more ſlow in eradicating it, by reaſon of the *Germanes* and the *Swiſſe* that ſerved him againſt *Charles* the fifth; till being grievouſly offended with the contumacy of the men, and their malice to Religion, he publiſhed many Proclamations againſt them; not onely threatning, but executing his Laws,

The Lutheran *Religion brought into* France. *Upon what occaſion. The City of* Paris.

Its Favourers. Margaret *of* Valois, *ſiſter to K.* Francis.

Tis almoſt extinguiſhed by the King.

Calviniſme *ſucceeds.*

Firſt among the Commons.

Afterwards among the Lords

Out of their emulation and envie.

1562.

To the Guiſes.

Duke Francis *and his brother the Cardinall.*

Anthony *of* Bourbon *King of* Navarre.

The Prince of Condé, *brother to the King of* Navarre.

Gaſpar Colligny, *and his brother* Andelot.

All theſe were infected with Hereſie.

But the greateſt Profeſſour of them was Joan Alibret, *Queen of* Navarre.

Laws, untill at laſt he almoſt extinguiſhed the name of *Luther* in his Kingdome. But *Calvins* ſtratagem ſucceeded ſomewhat better. Who immediately upon the death of *Francis* the firſt (whilſt King *Henry* was engaged in the Warrs) attempted *France*, by ſending Libels from *Geneva*. And as he found the minds and ears of many poſſeſſed with *Luthers* opinions, ſo he himſelf ſet the common people agogge to underſtand his new doctrine: and the vulgar was very proud (for his Books were writ to their capacity in the *French Tongue*) to be made Judges of Religion; and as it were to paſſe their votes upon the abſtruſeſt controverſies of Faith. Laſtly, as they that fall from the higheſt point are eaſily toſſed from one breach of the precipice to another, till they come to the very bottome; having once departed from the old Religion, they fell headlong from *Luther* to *Calvin* ; many of them not reſting, till having diſclaimed all worſhip, and not believing there was any God at all, they finally ſtuck faſt in the bottomleſs Abyſs of evil. And notwithſtanding that Hereſie firſt corrupted the minds of the People, (they being ſtill the firſt that are ſwept away with a Plague) yet in a ſhort ſpace it made way through the Commons, ſeized upon ſome of the greateſt Lords, and came into the Court it ſelf, where it infected many perſons of quality: as that which was likely to be ſerviceable to the factious Nobility, for winning the peoples hearts, and drawing them to make head againſt their Competitours, that grew ſtill more powerfull with the King: For *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scots* (of the Houſe of *Guiſe* by her Mother) being married to *Francis* the ſecond, much advanced the greatneſs of the *Guiſes* : For the *King* but fifteen years old, had uſe of others ſervice, and theſe were fit to be employed: Eſpecially *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe*, and his brother *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorain*; he being an experienced fortunate Commander abroad, and a prudent man at home; this eminent for a generall Scholar, deeply learned, but particularly of a ſubtil elocution, and a Majeſtick kind of preſence. But the more theſe Princes by their own worth, and the *Queens* favour, were advanced; the more muſt others neceſſarily be diſcontented, that either had been, or hoped to be the firſt in favour. Principally the *Bourbons*, and the *Colligny*; not to name *Momorancys*, that bore ſpleen to the *Guiſes*, but with more civility. Indeed *Anthony* of *Bourbon*; beſides his being the firſt Prince of the bloud, took upon him (in the right of his wife *Joan Alibret*) the title of King of *Navarre:* He was a man equally tempered for the Arts of War and Peace; but immoderate in his pleaſures, and therefore unfit to eſtabliſh a Dominion. Much more fierce and cunning was his brother *Lewis* Prince of *Condé*, conſtantly engaged and exerciſed in the War: yet with much more courage and confidence, then either ſtrength or knowledge. *Gaſpar Colligny* and his brother *Andelot* were of like nature; but becauſe he was Admiral of the *French* ſeas, and this Lieutenant General of the Foot, they were likewiſe in high eſteem. Theſe which I have named, with others of inferiour quality, though there was no tie of friendſhip among them , yet becauſe they were all concerned in one common Intereſt, eaſily conſpired together. And the Engine wherewith they meant to ruine the power of the *Guiſes*, was by protecting the *Hereticall Party* ; who, they knew, hated the very name of *Guiſe:* Eſpecially ſome of them, having now forſaken the old Religion, deſired to appear not onely Patrons of the Sectaries, but likewiſe of the Sect. Among which, none more boldly profeſſed and maintained Hereſie, then *Joan Alibret* wife to *Bourbon*, and onely daughter to *Margaret* of *Vallois* and *Henry* King of *Navarre*. This Lady, becauſe ſhe ſaw her ſelf deprived of her Kingdome (of which *Ferdinand* the Catho-

Catholick King had by arms diſpoſſeſſed *John* her grandfather, excommunicated by the Biſhop of *Rome*) was tranſported with ſo implacable an hatred unto *Rome* and *Spain*, and conſequently to the *Romane* Religion, which ſhe knew the *Spaniſh* ſo much tendered; that ſhe ſpared no pains, nor coſt, to beat down the *Popes* Authority, and the Catholick Faith in *France*. Hereſie therefore ſupported by theſe eminent perſons, ſpread it ſelf ſo far over the whole Kingdome, that *Henry* King of *France* (whoſe Armies were kept in action by the *Spaniards* in the *Low-countreys*) concluding a Peace with King *Philip*, withdrew his forces and cares to compoſe diſcords at home, which threatned to break out into a Civil War. But the death of King *Henry* haſtened on the miſchief: For, as I ſaid, his ſon *Francis* and the *Queen* and *Queen*-Mother, the more they uſed the faithfull endeavours of the *Guiſes*, againſt Hereticks; the more they exaſperated their enemies, and put them on to uſe the proffered ſervice of the Hereticks, to ſuppreſſe their power: Which moved the *Queen*-mother, when her daughter *Iſabella* was to go for *Spain*, to deſire aſſiſtance from her Son in Law King *Philip*, againſt the Hereticks, and troublers of the Kingdome. To which requeſt ſhe received a very gracious anſwer, with a magnificent promiſe of men and money. Letters from the King to that effect being purpoſely read before ſome of the *French* Lords, to ſtrike them into a *fear*; did rather encreaſe their *envie* to the *Queen-Mother*, and unite them againſt *Spain*. And now againſt the *Guiſes*, and againſt the King himſelf were ſcattered Libels, as fore-runners of the tumults which immediately followed. And the Lady *Alibret* earneſtly ſolicited the Cauſe: who remembring her old quarrel, and impatiently longing for a Crown, rung in her husbands ears, *That he muſt not ſuffer this onely opportunity of recovering the Kingdome of* Navarre, *to ſlip out of his hands: That he may now make himſelf head of a mighty faction, almoſt half the ſtrength of* France: *That upon theſe terms, he may exſpect aſsiſtance from the* Germane *Princes, of the ſame Religion, from the* Engliſh, *the* Low-countrey men; *beſides ſuch Catholicks as were enemies to the* Guiſes, *and by a ſtrong conjuncture of all theſe, they may expell the* Guiſes *out of* France, *advance the Hereticall party, and no doubt, but at length they may carry that army to the conqueſt of* Navarre. But this furious *Tullia*, was married to a milder *Tarquin*; ſo as the Duke of *Bourbon* being cold, for all this fiery curtain-Lecture: his brother the Prince of *Condè*, a *Tarquin* that well-matched the Lady *Alibret*; is ſaid to have undertaken the Advance of the Conſpiracie: and that he engendred the tempeſt at *Ambois*, which for that time was diſperſed by the providence of the Duke of *Guiſe*. But new clouds of diſcontentments gathering, at laſt the ſtorm fell more fatally in ſhowers of bloud and civil war. They ſay in that tumult the name of *Hugonot* was firſt brought up at *Tours*, upon this occaſion: It is a cuſtome at *Tours* to fright children by telling them of *Hugh*, who (they ſay) rides about the Suburbs in the night, puſhing at all he meets: And when the Hereticks, that flocked to *Tours*, had their nightly Conventicles in the Suburbs, becauſe they durſt not come together in the day time, they were accidentally pointed out to the children, like midnight-goblins, and from *Hugh*, by way of jeer, were called *Hugonots*. Though ſome derive them from another kind of original. But whenceſoever they had that denomination, it appears they thought it a ſcorn to them; and therefore they called the Catholicks *Papiſts*. But theſe are onely names, I proceed to the matter, as it is recorded by them that wrote the Hiſtory of thoſe times. The firſt deſigne of the *French* tumults was laid at *Geneva*, by *Calvin* and *Beza*, holding in that town a ſhamefull and barbarous conſulta-

Julius II.

The Lord. joyn with the hereticall rabble.

1559.

Againſt whom aſſiſtance is requeſted of the King of Spain. *And promiſed.*

Alibret *exaſperates her husband againſt the Catholicks.*

Tit. Liv. l. 1.

The conſpiracy at Ambois.

Where and how the name of Hugonot *came up.* Thuan. lib. 4. of his Hiſtory.

Gil. Geneb. lib. 4. of his Chronicle, *and others.*

The Authours of the tumult at Ambois.

tion, upon a day appointed, ſuddenly to maſſacre King *Francis*, the *Queen*, the *Queen-mother*, the Kings brothers, and all the Lords of the Court. The King therefore to curb this inſolence of the Hereticks (maintained by ſome of the Nobility, for their private ends and feuds) raiſed an army in *France*, called his forces out of *Germany*, requeſted ſuccours from the Duke of *Lorain*, and the King of *Spain:* And indeed King *Philip* preſently ſent him ſouldiers out of *Spain* (which were to joyn with the *French* Army at *Limoſin*) intending to furniſh him with more men; but hearing of the death of King *Francis*, he put off his other ſupplyes till the next year, to which time the warre it ſelf was deferred.

Succours ſent from Spain. Limoſin.

The death of King *Francis* was attended with a great alteration in the ſtate. For the *Bourbons*, one of which was condemned to looſe his head, and hourly exſpected the executioner; and the other baniſhed the Court, and generally thought to be oppreſſed in his brothers ruine, were preſently made the diſpoſers of the Kingdome, the adminiſtration thereof being come into the hands of the *Queen-mother* of the houſe of *Medices*, who was to govern for King *Charles*, a child of ten years old; The Prince of *Condè* was reſtored by Proclamation to his libertie, his offices, and the Kings favour. And the King of *Navarre* as nearer to the Crown, by the prerogative of his bloud, was declared Conſtable of *France:* the *Guiſes* on the contrary falling as much from their authority; The *Hugonots* increaſed in number and licentiouſneſs; and were by ſo much the more audacious, by how much they conceived it would be more acceptable to the great Conſtable of *France*; who, by theſe troubles, hoped to recover his wife's portion, the Kingdome of *Navar*. But to eaſe him of that care, and the *Hugonots* of their confidence, Advices were privately ſent out of the Low-countreys, by Cardinall *Granvell* to his brother *Cantonet*. *Proſpero de ſancta Cruce* came Embaſſadour to *France* from *Pope Pius* the fourth, and looking into the King of *Navarres* deſigns, he was of opinion, the man was not troubled ſo much about Religion, as about the getting of a Kingdome, and therefore might be drawn from favouring the *Hugonots*, if he might have ſome hope given him of coming to the Kingdome by another means. Wherein *Sancta Cruz* meant to ſound the King of *Navarre*. But firſt he acquainted *Thomas Cantonet* the *Spaniſh Embaſſadour*; and he communicated it to his brother *Cardinall Granvell*. Then *Sancta Cruz* propoſes to the Conſtable (what had formerly been agitated) the reſtitution of *Navarre:* and undertakes, if he will but defend the Catholick cauſe, that the *Pope* ſhall earneſtly ſolicit King *Philip*; either to reſign to him the Kingdome of *Navarre*; or to give him, in lieu of it, ſomething of equall value: and that he doubted not, but King *Philip* (whoſe inclination he had found at his being in *Portugall*, as he came from *Spain* into *France*) would comply with his *Holineſſe*. This often confirmed by *Cantonet*, wonne the King of *Navarre*; who reſolved to treat with the *Catholick King* himſelf, and ſent one of his meniall ſervants, *Anthony Almeyda* a *Portugeſe*, whom he knew to be gratious with his Countreyman *Rui Gomez* Prince of *Ebora* then in greateſt favour with the King. But *Granvell* receiving intelligence of theſe proceedings from his brother *Cantonet*, was very glad for the ſucceſſe of his deſign: but yet no leſſe ſolicitous (as he wrote to the Governeſs from *Machlin*) what the King would anſwer to *Almeyda*, becauſe he conceived, upon that anſwer depended the motions of the greateſt *French* affairs. He had pre-acquainted *Rui Gomez* and the Duke of *Alva*, and let them know *That it was a nice point and full of danger: in the managery whereof they might treſpaſſe as much by forwardneſſe and violence,* *as*

Strange fortune. *King of* Navar, *Prince of* Condé.

The hereticks imboldened.

Granvels *deſign.*

Sancta Cruz *endeavours to draw off the King of* Navarre *from the hereticks.*

He is taken off, and ſends an Embaſſadour into Spain.

Rui gomez *de Silva.*

4. *Aprill* 1562.

By whom Granvel *likewiſe writes.*

as by ſecurity and neglect. And therefore he conceived it beſt to offer the Duke of Bourbon *ſome ſuch thing, as if he deſerted them, might be taken away again.* After many overtures, the Kingdome of *Sardinia* was propoſed to him in King *Philips* name. Whereto was added the Admiralty, and a penſion to maintain the office. Which conditions though ſome commended, as good for both parties, becauſe on the one ſide *Sardinia* is a greater and richer Kingdome then *Navarre*; and, on the other, in the midſt of King *Philips* Dominions which at his pleaſure might command it.

Sardinia *is offered in ſtead of* Navarre. *whether in earneſt, or no.*

Yet ſome were of another opinion, and thought King *Philip*, who was not prodigall of his Kingdomes, onely baited him with the hope of *Sardinia*. For to what purpoſe, ſhould the *Bourbons* be brought into that Iſland, neighbouring upon *Sicily* and *Naples:* where they might revive their ancient factions in thoſe Kingdomes. Neverthleſſe the *Pope* did wiſely in moving it, whether he hoped to bring it about; or underſtood it to be labour in vain: becauſe it would equally conduce to the good of Religion in *France*, whether the King of *Navarre* was kept from protecting the hereticall party, by a true hope or a falſe. And truly by little and little he was ſo averted from them, that he was not altogether ſo kind, as formerly he had been to his wife *Joan Alibret*; which perhaps made ſome affirm in writing, that the *Spaniſh Embaſſadour* indeavoured it, and treated with the King of *Navarre* to divorce himſelf from his wife, becauſe ſhe was fouly poyſoned with hereſie: and gave him hope of a marriage with *Mary Queen* of *Scots*, by the help of her Uncles the *Guiſes:* and that he ſhould have with her, the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and likewiſe all *Great Brittain*, wherein he ſhould be eſtabliſhed by the *Popes* authority, and the King of *Spains* aſſiſtance; *Queen Eliſabeth* being depoſed for hereſie.

A match between the King of Navarre *and the Queen of* Scots *falſly rumoured.* Thuan. *in his Hiſtory* l. 28.

But theſe were either vain rumours, or contrived out of envy. Nor is there any colour of truth, that *Granvel* or *Sancta Cruce* could be ignorant, that hereſie is not a *ſufficient cauſe* of Divorce; or that King *Philip* would offer the Kingdome of *Scotland* to one he could not chooſe but fear, becauſe of former enmity in the buſineſſe of the Low-countreys: and his power to offend *Spain* for the future, in caſe he ſhould conquer that whole Iſland. 1562.
Indeed two years after, when there were Treaties between the ſame *Queen* 1564.
of *Scots*, and the *Arch-duke Charles* ſonne to the *Emperour Ferdinand*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, King *Philip* writ to *Granvel*, *That he was well pleaſed The* Archduke *ſhould, in that, be preferred before his ſonne. But if the King of* France *ſhould think of a marriage with her (whereof he had ſome intimation, that troubled him not a little) then he ſhould willingly conſent to a match betwixt his ſonne and the Queen.*

The King of Spains *Letter concerning the Queen of* Scotlands *marriage.* *Dat. 6. of Auguſt.*

Out of which words it may eaſily be collected, What *Philips* mind was touching the Kingdome of *Scotland*. Nay that the *Spaniſh Embaſſadour* did not ſo much as pretend the Propoſall of that Match to the King of *Navarre*, this aſſures me; becauſe when he communicated all particulars to his brother *Granvel*, (as I obſerve in their letters) and often mentioned the buſineſs of *Sardinia*, there is not one word of this marriage. But be what it may, it is certain *Alibret* incenſed againſt her husband (who dayly grew more averſe from the *Hugonots*, and would not hear her when ſhe was a ſuiter for them) in a rage left his Court, and withdrew into ſome Towns of her own.

Alibrets *indignation.*

The King of *Navarre* did not ſo much neglect, as his brother the Prince of *Conde* and the *Collignies* earneſtly imbraced the patronage of the hereticks, eſpecially, becauſe the *Guiſes* were reſtored to grace and favour at Court.

The Guiſes *power revives.*

And the Malice of their Rivals.

And now, ſuch was the face of things, not onely at Court. And now, ſuch was the face of things, not onely at Court (divided into factions) but likewiſe all the Kingdome over: that arms were taken

Either party prepares for war.

up to maintain the different opinions in Religion, and all things ſeemed to boad a Civill warre. To the Prince of *Conde* and Generall *Colligny* the hereticks from all parts ſent aſſiſtance. Nor were the *Guiſes* and the Conſtable *Momorancy* leſſe ayded by the Catholicks. With whom the King of *Navarre* joyned himſelf; but he was brother to the Prince of *Conde*; the King a child and ignorant of deceit. Mean time, the *Queen mother* was diſtracted between two factions, wavering, and fearing the ſucceſſe of either. Things being in this condition, whilſt King *Charles* made all the friends and means he could, to help himſelf: King *Philip* was extraordinarily carefull to diſpatch away ſuccours to his kinſman. Perhaps moved by zeal to Religion: perhaps ſolicited by his wife, who trembled at her brother *Charles* his danger: perhaps jealous of the Low-countreys, leſt the arms or example of the *French*, ſhould there prejudice his affairs. Therefore having raiſed three thouſand foot in *Italy*, and made *John Anguiſciola* their Colonel, to be commanded in chief by *Imbertus Platerius Bordillon*, Lieutenant Generall for the King of *Spain* in *Piemont*: and diſpatching as many more from Spain by the way of *Navarre*, he writes to his ſiſter *Margaret*, Governeſs of the Low-countreys, preſently to chooſe two thouſand horſe out of the Low-countrey Militia, to march againſt the *French* Rebells; and if the *Queen* or the *Guiſes* ſhall deſire more men, to furniſh them. The Governeſs reading the Kings letters at the Councel board, obſerved, that all the Lords were againſt ſending aſſiſtance to the *French*. The Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* argued, that the horſe was maintained by the Provinces for a guard to the Low-countreys, and to that end they were at firſt ordained. Therefore to carry them out of the Low-countreys, the Provinces muſt give their conſent: but that would be a work of time and expoſed to much danger; now eſpecially when the Low-countreys wanted additionall forces, and ought not to have their own taken from them. But they had perhaps a higher Conſideration. For it was believed, at the inſtigation of the Prince of *Condè*, ſome *German* Princes had threatned their neighbours the Low-countreymen, if they aſſiſted the *Guiſes*, enemies to the new Religion, they in defence of the Cauſe would bring an armie into the Low-countreys. Nor do I think it unlikely, that both the Prince of *Condè* attempted it, and the *Germans* undertook it. For on the one part, the Prince of *Condès* faction was much troubled about the raiſing of thoſe forces in the Low-countreys; as appears by a book then publiſhed, and ſent by the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour *Cantonet*, with letters to his brother *Granvel*; wherein they give the Hereticks many reaſons, why the King of *Spain* ſhould not aſſiſt the Catholicks in *France*. On the other part, the *Governeſs* by an Expreſs to his Majeſtie informs him, *That the Low-countrey men, either terrified by the* Germans, *or out of ſome other cowardly conſiderations, would hardly, nay could by no means be drawn; to give order for the horſe to march into* France: *and threatned miſchief if they went.* In which letter ſhe ſeems to touch, what I have here mentioned, the cauſe of their diſſent. And ſhe her ſelf (either deſpairing that the Provinces would let them go, or believing they could not be well ſpared from the Low-countreys, equally endangered by a war from *Germany*, and an Inſurrection at home) preſſed the buſineſs more remiſſely at the Councel Table: When on the ſudden came an Expreſs from the King, wherein the *Governeſs* was not a little chid for her delay; and commanded, without further conſultation, immediately to ſend away the Horſe. She, anxious how ſhe might obey his Majeſty in that particular, by the advice of *Granvel*, changed the name, not ſubſtance, of the Kings deſires, demanding money inſtead

Katharine of Medices.

King Philip *ſends Foot out of* Italy *&* Spain.

May 2. *And commands the Governeſs to diſpatch away the Horſe out of the Low-countreys.*

The Belgick *Lords oppoſe it.*

Perhaps ſet on by the Prince of Condé.

1562. *April* 4.

June 30.

The Governeſs cools in the buſineſs.

July 1. *She is checkt for it by the King.*

Inſtead of men ſhe ſends money.

inſtead of men: Which being granted, ſhe preſently returned it into *France* to the *Queen-mother*, and ſignified to King *Philip* the reaſon of her ſo doing, *Not onely becauſe ſhe knew money would be far welcomer then men to the Queen (according as ſhe her ſelf formerly intimated, and after the receit confirmed) but likewiſe for fear the* Governeſs *ſhould looſe both her endeavours and authority, in preſſing the Low-countrey men to that, which ſhe found by experience was not to be obtained; or if it were obtained, would be diſadvantageous. That ſhe feared the Low-countreys now their hearts were down, and that in* Tournay *and* Valenciens *were begun no inconſiderable ſtirrs about Religion; and no doubt but they would encreaſe, if the ſeditious once ſaw the* Low-countreys *left naked, without defence of their Horſe. Laſtly, for that ſome by their Place were to conduct the Horſe, whoſe faith ſhe might very well ſuſpect; it ſeemed to be no leſs dangerous to truſt them with Arms, then to ſhew a diffidence in them, by chooſing other Officers.* The King *received*, rather then *approved* the condition of the money, which the States had granted, and ſending fifteen hundred horſe out of *Spain* to the *Queen-mother*, which the *Governeſs* was to pay, he ſtrengthened the Catholicks in *France*. But before theſe ſuccours came, the King of *Navarre*, the *Guiſe*, and *Momorancy*, had taken *Roan* from the Prince of *Condè's* men. The King himſelf, though dangerouſly ſhot, lying upon his bed in a kind of Chariot, was triumphantly brought into the Citie. But a few dayes after, his wounds bleeding afreſh, in the ſame ſepulchre with *himſelf* he buried his *hopes* of the Kingdome of *Sardinia*; which he had kept alive till his laſt gaſp, to the great good of the Catholicks. Nor was the War proſecuted with leſſe care, *Momorancy* commanding in Chief, both Armies exceedingly increaſing. For with the Kings forces were joyned 6000 foot ſent from King *Philip*, and the fifteen hundred Horſe, formerly mentioned. And near to *Dreux*, a Town in *Normandy*, they fought a battel; with great courage on both ſides. The Prince of *Condè*, and *Momorancy*, both the Generals were taken priſoners, and above ten thouſand men ſlain: the Victory at laſt fell to the King, but with more *honour* then *joy*. Such fatall wars iſſued from the liberty given to the Hereticks, and cheriſhed by the ambition of the Lords. But theſe miſeries of the *French*, which I have related (for to that end I have related them) brought the ſame miſchief upon the *Low-countreys*, as any man will eaſily perceive that hath leaſure to compare the practiſes of Hereticks in both Nations, and the differences of either Court, the names of *Hugonots*, and *Gheuſes*, raiſed in their ſeverall tumults: The *Cardinal* of *Lorain* anſwering to *Cardinal Granvel*; the *Queen-mother* of *France* to the *Dutcheſs* of *Parma* in the *Low-countreys:* the like conſpiracy of the Nobility, the like Edicts of their Princes, the plunder of Cities and Churches not to be diſtinguiſhed: all things in both Countreys almoſt the very ſame, as ſpringing from the ſelf-ſame Cauſes; ſave onely, that the War was more ſuddenly begun by the *French*, and more obſtinately purſued by the *Low-countrey men.*

And writes her reaſons to the King.
Auguſt 31.

The King of Navarre *enters* Roan *triumphant, and dies.*

A memorable Battel.

The French *&* Low-countrey *tumults paralleld.*

The firſt Low-countrey Towns that followed the example of the *French*, were their next neighbours, *Tournay*, *Liſle*, and *Valenciens*; which by their ſudden motions, plainly ſignified the ſubſequent ruine of the *Netherlands*. For in October the year before, two *French Calviniſt* preachers in the ſame night, the one at *Valenciens*, the other at *Tournay*, openly before a great aſſembly in the Market-place, delivered their new Goſpel; and when they had done it, were followed through the ſtreets by the multitude, to the number of an hundred at *Valenciens*, and ſix hundred at *Tournay*, ſinging *Davids* Pſalms in *French*. At this Pſalm-ſinging and theſe night-ſermons, tumults

The firſt Belgick *tumults occaſioned by* French *Calviniſts.*

were raiſed in both Cities, between ſuch as favoured and ſuch as hated them. The cognizance whereof taken from the Magiſtrates, was brought before the Governeſs; who commanded the Governours of thoſe Provinces, *Florence Momorancy* Lord of *Montiny*, and *John Glemè* Marqueſſe of *Bergen* (that were both at this time by accident in *Breda*, to joy the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, newly come out of *Saxonie*) forthwith to return to their Governments, and uſe their beſt endeavours in what concerned them neareſt. The Lord of *Montiny* poſted to *Tournay*, with *Chriſtopher Aſſonvill* and *John Blaſer*, whom the Dutcheſs had joyned with him, to examine the buſineſs: Where he apprehended the owner of the houſe the Conventicles were kept in: and found and burned many hereticall books. A moneth after, hanging up *Lanoy* the night-preacher, *Tournay* was quieted. But at *Valenciens* things fell out far otherwiſe: For though the Marqueſs of *Bergen* preſently went thither, and by the aſſiſtance of *Filibert Bruxelius* and *Autrux* (aſſigned him for Adjuncts by the Governeſs) two preaching *Calviniſts*, *Philip Maillard* and *Simon Favian*, were committed to priſon; deferring their puniſhment, contrary to the Dutcheſs command. Before the Citie was pacified, the Marqueſs of *Bergen* went to *Leige*, to viſit his brother Biſhop of that City: For which, being reprehended by the Dutcheſs, and commanded back to his Government, he boldly excuſed himſelf, That it was neither agreeable to his place or nature, to put Hereticks to death. Which inſolent anſwer, ſhe wrote to the King, commending in the letter the induſtry of the Lord of *Montiny*; and ſo comparing the ones deſerts with the diſ-ſervice of the other, made both appear the greater. And indeed, that Hereſie like other contagious diſeaſes, is caught in an inſtant, and muſt with expedition be prevented, as may be inſtanced in the examples of *Tournay* and *Valenciens*. There by the preſent puniſhment of a few, all being put in fear: here, by delay and negligence, the turbulent people having time given to encourage them. For now that brace of Hereticks (I ſpake of) had been in priſon ſeven moneths, and the Magiſtrates were affraid to proceed to judgment; becauſe they ſaw the peoples affection daily increaſing towards them; and divers bills poſted up, that threatned miſchief to the Judges, if any harm came to the Priſoners. And many paſſing by the Jayl in the night, were heard to chear up the priſoners; and bad them fear nothing: for if they ſhould be led to execution, the people would reſcue them. But the Dutcheſs informed of all this, taxed the Magiſtrates with the fear they had brought upon themſelves, by ſeven moneths delay; and ſeriouſly fore-warned them, not to make the diſeaſe incurable, by further delaying. Therefore according to the *Emperours* Edict, ſentence was pronounced, and the delinquents condemned to be burned. But becauſe ſome tradeſmen were ſuſpected, eſpecially the Clothiers, the execution was put off to a day, when they alwayes uſed to be abſent from *Valenciens*; their cuſtome being on Saturday night, to walk abroad into the fields, and not to come back to town till Monday morning. Part going a feaſting to the Villages near hand, with their parents and their wives; part getting out of the way, leſt they ſhould be obſerved not to be at Church with the Catholicks. On Monday therefore by day-break, the condemned perſons were brought into the market-place. Yet it was not ſo privately carried, but multitudes of people followed: And *Favean*, when he came near the faggots, cried out as loud as ever he could gape, *O Eternall Father*: At which words the whole Market-place made a hideous noiſe, and ſuddenly ſtrove to fetch off the priſoners, caſting ſtones at the Officers, withall breaking into the place of execution,

The inſurrection at Tournay *quieted.*

Novem. 15. 1561.

That at Valenciens *inflamed, by the Hereticks eſcape of puniſhment.*

1562.

March 22.

Which at laſt are condemned.

But reſcued by the Commons.

tion, they ſeized upon all the inſtruments of death; threw about the fagots, and for very madneſſe, broke them into little pieces. Till the officers, too weak for the multitude, were forced to carry the priſoners back to the Jayl, and to run for it themſelves, the ſtones flew ſo faſt about their ears. Having freed their companions, by degrees the peoples fury cooled; or rather, not knowing what to do for want of a Leader, they met all in a peaceable manner: that you would have rather thought them Petitioners, then Mutineers, ſinging *Davids* Pſalmes by *Calvin's* Pſalter: then breaking out again into rage, they blamed their own ſloath, and reſolved to take their opportunity while the Citie was in fear and trembling. Before I proceed, becauſe the ſinging of Pſalmes hath caſually been *twice*, and muſt be *oftner* mentioned, I conceive it will not be amiſſe for the Reader to underſtand the Originall thereof.

1562. *And by the Magiſtrate carryed back to priſon.*

Davids *Pſalmes turned into* French *meeter.*

Among the *Grooms* of the bedchamber to *Francis* the firſt of *France*, there was one *Clement Marot*, born at *Davean*; a man naturally eloquent, of a voluble fluent tongue, having a rare vein in *French* poetry, wherewith the King was much taken, and kept him as a choice inſtrument of his *learned pleaſures*. But (as his wit was ſomewhat better, then his conditions) by his acquaintance with the *Lutherans*, he was ſuſpected to have changed his Religion: and therefore fearing the King would be offended, he fled to his Majeſties ſiſter at *Bearn*, the old Sanctuary for Delinquents. A while after, the King was pacified, and he returned to *Paris*. Where he was adviſed by his friend *Francis Vatable*, the *Hebrew Lecturer*, to leave the trifling ſubjects he wrote upon, and ſtudy divine Poeſie. Hereupon, he began to tranſlate the Pſalmes of the *Hebrew* Prophet into *French* ſtanza's, but ſo ignorantly and perverſely, (as a man altogether unlearned) that the King (though he often ſung his verſes, yet upon the juſt complaints of the *Sorban* Doctours and their ſevere cenſure paſſed againſt them) commanded that nothing of *Maro's*, in that kind, ſhould be from thenceforth publiſhed. But being forbid by Proclamation, as it often happens, the longing of the Reader and fame of the Work was increaſed: ſo that new tunes were ſet to *Marot's* rhimes, and they were ſung like profane ballads. He, in the mean time, growing bold by the peoples applauſes, and not able to forbear bragging: for fear of puniſhment ran to *Geneva*. And flying from thence, for new crimes committed, but firſt having been well whipped for them, he died at *Auſtune*. The ſucceſſe of this Tranſlation of Pſalmes, moved *Theodor Beza* a friend of *Marot's* (that wrote an Elegie in *French* upon his death) to joyn to the fifty, which he had printed, the other hundred in *French meeter* too; ſo the whole book of Davids Pſalmes was finiſhed. And to make it pleaſing to the people, they had ſeverall tunes ſet to them by excellent Compoſers, that chimed ſo ſweetly, as every one deſired to have the new Pſalter. But many errours in it being detected againſt Religion, and the Work therefore prohibited, as well becauſe the ſacred verſes of the Prophet were publiſhed in a vulgar tongue by profane perſons: as that they were, *dolo malo*, bound up with *Calvin's* Catechiſme at *Geneva*: theſe ſinging Pſalmes, though abhorred and ſleighted by the Catholicks, remained in high eſteem with hereticks: and the cuſtome of ſinging *Geneva* Pſalmes in *French*, at publick meetings, upon the high way, and in ſhops, was thenceforth taken for the diſtinctive ſign of a Sectary.

The Authour Clement Marot.

Ex. Florim. *Hiſt. de ortu*, &c. *Hæreſ. l.* 8.

His Manners. Dubious Religion.

His Tranſlation of the Pſalter.

Forbid by his Majeſty.

Marot *flies his Countrey.*

Dyes.

Beza *finiſhes* Marots *work of the Pſalmes.*

It is publiſhed but prohibited immediately by the Catholicks. Retained by the hereticks.

The ſeditious Townſmen of *Valenciens* warbling in this manner (as I was about to have told you) paſſed along the ſtreets, as if they meant to deliver a Petition. But making a ſtand in the market-place, they lifted up their ſinging

The Valencenian *Sedition renued.*

ing

1562. ing-Maſter, and bad him preach *ex tempore*. Immediately, either by the Preachers perſwaſion, or the increaſe of their company, the mutinie was revived: and finding themſelves grown ſtrong (for they were about two thouſand) they would not part, without doing ſomething worthy ſuch a Muſter. Wherefore they reſoved to pull down and burn a monaſtery of *Dominicans*. But changing their minds upon the way (for they were toſſed and tumbled like billows in a ſtorm) a fury poſſeſſed them, when they remembered that the condemned perſons had been taken out of their hands and carried back to priſon. *To what end had they raiſed this tumult, and frighted the town to no purpoſe, if their aſſociates ſhould ſuffer death in the Jayl, which they had eſcaped in the market-place? no, they would look into the matter, break open the priſon, and either releaſe their fellows, if living: or if dead, revenge them.* So they cried, to the Jayl, to the Jayl. And thither they ran, forced the doors, knocked off their ſhackles; and that they might appear to do nothing out of contempt of Law, they onely ſet thoſe two at liberty, and kept in the reſt that were committed for other cauſes; ſending word to the Magiſtrates, they had onely met to deliver their brethren, but if they might live quietly, and not be troubled for their conſcience, not a man among them would ſtirre any more. In the mean time, *Michael Hovey*, Deputy-governour of the Town, was ſent by the Magiſtrate to the Dutcheſs, who amazed at the news of the ſudden tumult, ſent *Hovey* himſelf immediately to *Bolduc* a town near *Valenciens*, to deſire *John Hennin*, Count of that place (whom ſhe knew to be faithfull and induſtrious) that he ſhould inſtantly get into the City: and in the Kings name, till the *Marqueſſe* of *Bergen* returned, at diſcretion quiet the troubles, if any yet remained. She commands him likewiſe to ſignifie to the *Marqueſſe*, in what condition *Valenciens* was, whilſt he neglecting his publick office, minded nothing but his private buſineſs. But now the *Marqueſſes* Lieutenant (the Low-countreymen call him the Count-governour) with two troops of horſe (one whereof he took out of the *Bolduc*, the other he himſelf commanded under the *Marqueſſe* of *Bergen*) entered *Valenciens*, the people not daring to attempt any thing againſt him. Thither alſo with all ſpeed marched the horſe of *Philip Croy* Duke of *Areſchot*, by order from the Governeſs. Laſtly the *Marqueſſe* of *Bergen* himſelf, and the Count of *Boſch* came into the town: and, contrary to their exſpectations, found all quiet, not ſo much as any ſigne of a Sedition. But *Indeveltius*, who was in Commiſſion with the *Marqueſſe* to examine buſineſs of that nature, being ſent by the Magiſtrate to the Dutcheſs for authority to purſue the fugitives, was earneſt with her, to take from that turbulent Citie both their priviledges and arms; and that, with the fines payed by the Mutiners for their compoſition, a fort ſhould be built to hold in the ſtiff-necked people like a bridle; & the *Valencenians* might be compelled to this, if her Excellence would but ſend one thouſand two hundred foot, to the horſe already in town. The Governeſs cauſed it to be moved at the Councell table; where the gentler vote carried it, That the fugitives ſhould be brought back to execution, and the authours of the Sedition puniſhed: but that the rage of the mad people ſhould not ruine the honeſt Citizens. The Governeſs conſented, the rather; becauſe that Citie (as ſhe wrote to the King) ſtanding much affected to the *French*, muſt have been unſeaſonably provoked, whilſt the *French* were in arms within ſight of the town. But ſhe her ſelf forbare, as much as was poſſible, to make any Levies: leſt the ſword, and conſequently the power ſhould come into the hands of ſome of the Low-countrey Lords. Yet, becauſe nothing could be done

They incourage one another either to reſcue or revenge the Priſoners.

They forceably take them out of the Jayl.

Souldiers are brought into the Town by the Governeſſes Order.

A Councell is called about puniſhing the city.

The milder opinion carries it.

done in that City without ſouldiers, ſhe commands the *Marqueſs* of *Bergen*; to draw ſouldiers out of his ſeverall Garriſons, not above thirty out of any one; and ſo on the ſudden, to put two hundred into *Valenciens*, giving it out, that company after company ſhould follow them, to aw the Town; that the Judgement, pronounced againſt the offenders might accordingly be executed. The *Marqueſs* readily obeyed: And though the two ſeditious Preachers were then eſcaped, a while after one of them was taken, and put to death; and the Citie, terrified with the decrees of the Magiſtrates and the continuall freſh ſupplies of ſouldiers; within a few dayes, having taken the fierceſt of the Mutineers (or thoſe that bragged moſt of their doings in the tumult) they were ſeverely puniſhed. So for that time the mutiny at *Valenciens* ceaſed. The *Governeſs* was not more glad of the *ſucceſs*, then fearfull of the *conſequence*, becauſe ſuch a multitude of *Calviniſts* were crept into one Citie; eſpecially, becauſe in other places, ſhe ſaw the like beginnings and motions, ſhe was jealous leſt *Calviniſme*, which then infected *France*, might be caught by their neighbours of *Haynolt*. In like manner the commerce with *Denmark*, and the neighbouring towns of *Germany*, might corrupt *Friſland* with *Lutheraniſme*. And though on the one part Hereſie had hardly touched any of the Lords of *Friſland*, but onely crept upon the ground among the Commons, as ſuteable to their capacities, being a rude plain people, and therefore credulous; and on the other part, *John Lignius* Count *Aremberg* looked very carefully to that Province; yet queſtionleſs the diſeaſe would ſpread it ſelf, and by degrees ſeize the Nobility, unleſſe it were prevented by ſtrong Phyſick.

New ſouldiers put into the Town.

The ſeditious executed.

Valenciens *quieted.*

The Governeſſes vigilancy.

Her particular care of Religion in Friſland.

This ſeconded by *Granvels* advice, moved the Governeſs to bring in the deſigned Biſhops into their ſeveral Dioceſes, that by example, word, and deed (which moſt conduces to the advancement of Religion) they might be a ſtay and ſupport to the people committed to their charge. Indeed things were put into a handſome way; and by the induſtry of *Granvel*, and the *Nuncio* (the one having the *Popes* Commiſſion to this purpoſe, and the other the King of *Spains*) they were received into the Cities. But the *Brabanters* ſtood out, and would ſuffer no change of Government in their Provinces, though Cardinal *Granvel* preſſed it very much: and delivered his opinion for the preſent ſuppreſſion of thoſe tumults and deſignes, which would grow daily worſe and worſe. But from *Rome* the *Popes* letters for the endowment of the Biſhops (without which nothing could be done) were not diſpatched away by *Franciſco Varga* the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour; not ſo much out of the humour of demurring, which is naturall to the *Spaniards*, as out of the *Popes* indignation, incenſed by the practice of ſome near about his perſon, who had taken offence at *Varga's* carriage in the Court of *Rome:* and therefore the Embaſſadour was put off. The truth is, he had inſinuated himſelf into the ſecret counſels of the *Cardinalls*, which many of them ſtomack'd very much; and by his endeavours, Cardinal *Pacecho* by divers votes of the Conclave, had like to have been choſen *Pope*, a dignity proportionable to his merits: his Chair being once lifted up by the *Cardinals* his friends, as the cuſtome is at the Election of a *Pope*. This was perhaps remembred by ſome of the *Popes* Court, that were not yet reconciled to the Embaſſadour, by whoſe means their maſter had almoſt loſt the *Papacy*. But from what cauſe ſoever theſe delayes proceeded, the *Abbots* thereby had time given them (whom it concerned to avoid their Reverſioners the Biſhops) to meet at divers conſultations about it: and to deſire aſſiſtance from the Eſtates of *Brabant*, and ſome Lords, which their own private inter-

New Biſhops brought in.

The Brabanters *will have no Biſhops.*

The Popes Buls were delayed at Rome.

Pius IV.

The Abbots exaſperated the Brabanters.

The Brabanters *ſend Agents publickly to* Rome, *and privately into* Spain.
Their Inſtructions.

eſts engaged, and to try all remedies that either counſel or fear could find out, or opportunity preſent. And the Eſtates, becauſe they could not prevail with the *Governeſs*, reſolved to ſend two Agents out of the *Low-countreys*, the one privately to *Pius* the fourth, about the end of the old year; the other publickly in the beginning of the new year, to the King himſelf. To *Rome* they ſent *Moulin* a Civil Lawyer, of good account, to ſupplicate his *Holineſs*, that the goods of the Monaſteries might not be given away to Biſhops, contrary to the Doners minds; and that the Monks might not be deprived of their ancient priviledges, to chooſe *Abbots*; laſtly, that he would not permit the King to ordain any Biſhop, that ſhould not be maintained out of his Majeſties Exchecquer. With theſe inſtructions, private letters to the ſame effect were written to the *Pope*, and other eminent perſons, by the Prince of *Orange*, and the *Marqueſs* of *Bergen*, whoſe Tutour *Moulin* was: and by his favour, which he ſtill enjoyed, continually employed in weighty affairs. Beſides, they furniſhed him with great ſummes of money, that his way at *Rome* might be the ſmoother; and they allowed, that he might with ſome bounty purchaſe patronage to the cauſe. To conclude, beſides his expenſes, they gave him to his own uſe 1200 *Florens*, and as much to the other, joyned with him for the honour of the Embaſſage: and if they got their buſineſs diſpatched, they were promiſed great matters at their return. But the *Governeſs*, from whom nothing of all this was concealed, to prevent the *Brabanters*, wrote to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour *Varga*, to pre-ingage the *Pope*; to have an eye upon *Moulin*, and to uſe his beſt judgement to fruſtrate that mans endeavours, that oppoſed the good of Religion, and the pious intentions of the King. She likewiſe wrote to his Majeſty, letting him know, that within few dayes ſome men would come to petition him, in the name of the *Brabanters*; and in January came *Tſerclaſſe* and *Nyſſus*: twice the King gave them Audience, and in March following, returned them to the *Low-countreys* with a doubtfull anſwer. Nor had *Moulin* any better fortune at *Rome*. The Agents for *Antwerp*, *Godfrey Streck*, Pretour of the Town, *Vrſelt* and *Weſſembeck*, ſet forth in May, to petition the King that *Antwerp* might not be compelled to receive a Biſhop, but they prevailed not in their ſuit. Yet ſtill they in the *Low-countreys* practiſed againſt the Biſhops: for the *Abbots* wearied the Dutcheſs with complaints; and ſome of the Lords, eſpecially *Granvels* enemies, encouraged the diſcontented party. The States of *Brabant* ſtood as for their Lives and Religion, againſt the breaking of their Priviledges. The common people would have no Inquiſition, no Biſhops: And *Philip Momorancy* Count *Horn*, (who ſome moneths ſince was returned from *Spain*, and by the King commanded to write back) certified his Majeſtie, *That the complaints of* Brabant *were grown more violent then ever, upon a rumour ſpread among the people (as it was ſuppoſed by the* French *and* Germans*) that without the conſent of thoſe two Nations, out of whoſe Provinces ſome Low-countrey Dioceſes had been enlarged, new Biſhops could not be created in the* Netherlands *: and therefore the* Low-countrey men *would do all they could, to hinder their inſtitution, for fear the* French *and* Germans *ſhould come upon them at once, and make ſudden invaſions by ſeverall wayes.* To this purpoſe he wrote likewiiſe to *Eraſſo*, one the King truſted with his ſecrets, a civil Gentleman, and powerfull at Court. But in the cloſe of his letter he laid all the fault upon *Granvel*, who ambitiouſly and weakly deſigned that, which could never come to good effect. Indeed *Granvel* was an eye-ſore to many, and a *Remora* to their projects; and if I may freely ſpeak my opinion, I believe there had been

Expedition money given them.

The Governeſs prevents them by Agents of her own, that came before them to Rome.

And into Spain

The Agents for the Eſtates return from both places without Diſpatches.

The Brabanters *will not give it over thus.*

Count Horn *writes for them to his Maieſtie.*

June 2.

been little or no ſtirring or trouble about matters of Religion, if the Nobility had not drawn another way. But ſome of the Lords (as I have told you) took it ill that the Biſhops were increaſed; that is, they conceived it prejudiciall to their own authority and freedome, eſpecially when they met in the great Councel. The Hereticks had engaged the reſt, many upon private diſcontents were alienated from the King. But the moſt were incenſed againſt *Granvell*, concluding him to be the authour of increaſing the Biſhops, becauſe they ſaw him declare himſelf for their coming in. Out of the hatred hereupon conceived, the Lords either abſented themſelves from Councel, or came thither to oppoſe the *Cardinall*. Theſe quarrels the *Governeſs* diſcovered at her firſt coming to the Government, particularly in Count *Egmont*, and the Prince of *Orange*, each of them having hoped to be Governour of the Low-countreys; and therefore ſo much the more ſenſible of their late repulſe. But the Prince of *Orange* carried it more cloſely. Count *Egmont* a blunt ſouldier, open-breaſted in his love and hatred, was ſo farre from diſſembling; that in his own houſe he ſuffered his friends to ſpeak things derogatory to the Majeſtie of the King, of which the *Governeſs* was informed, and gave the King intelligence by her letters; wherein ſhe named *Simon Regnard*, as an encourager of theſe unlawfull aſſemblies, a Counſellour of great ſubtilty and volubility of tongue, nor of leſſe authority with many of the Lords, eſpecially with *Egmont*. There had been an old emulation from their very childhoods, between this *Regnard* and *Granvell*, in the Schools where they ſtudied, becauſe the one had the more *excellent* wit, the other the more *plauſible*. And as the quarrels of wit uſe to be irreconcilable among children; theſe being now grown men, and the ſubject of their buſineſs changed, the ſame contention held ſtill in King *Philips Belgick* Court. But becauſe in Dignity and the favour of his Prince and the *Governeſs*, *Granvell* far out-ſtripped him; he that was caſt behind, had the more envie, in regard they had once been equals. *Regnard* therefore finding a way open to miſchief *Granvell*, through the hatred born him by the Lords, began every where to ſolicite and diſpute the cauſe of the diſcontented Nobility; and by aggravating the indignation of ſuch as were his own friends, plotted in the mean time his private revenge. The *Governeſs* fearing the ſting of this Viper would ſecretly poyſon the State; ſhe, to avoid ſhip wrack by a dry tempeſt, perſwaded the King to remove him out of the *Low-countreys*, under colour of ſome advancement; but it was deferred till five years after, and when the ſtorm was grown too boyſtrous, *Regnard* was called into *Spain*, almoſt to no purpoſe, but onely to ſhew how ſtrong a diſeaſe grows by the delay of remedy. And although Count *Egmont* (who was not of an ill nature, when he had no adviſers) at the beginning of theſe troubles, carried himſelf with obedience and fidelity to the *Governeſs*; yet his private grudge to Cardinal *Granvell* interpoſing, he inrolled his name among the Conſpiratours, and ſided with the Prince of *Orange* who being at that time grievouſly injured by *Granvell*, ſought but to *match* his own indignation with ſome other alike offended. Now the Prince of *Orange*, to ingratiate himſelf with the *Brabanters*, caſting out words of theſe differences, eſpecially of the new Biſhops, ſaid, There was no other help for it, but that the *Brabanters* (who have no particular Governour, but onely ſuch as commanded the whole *Low countreys*) ſhould petition the *Governeſs*, to appoint them one of the Lords that ſhould look into their affairs, and onely regard their intereſt. And ſome to pleaſe the Prince of *Orange*, moved this at the board. But *Granvell*, ſuſpecting what was aimed at, bitterly inveighed againſt that

Many Low-countrey *Lords aſſiſt them,*

Diſcontented at the King, and at Granvel.

Their principall Abettours the Prince of Orange, *and Count* Egmont.

Count Egmonts *liberty of ſpeech.*

4. Octob. 1559.

Regnard *ſooths him in it,*

Out of emulation to Granvel, *begun when they were ſchoolboyes.*

Mart. Delrio *lib.* 1. Tumult. Belg. Granvel, Regnard.

Continued when they came to Court,

And there turned into envy againſt his Superiour.

This made Regnard *ſo active againſt* Granvel.

The Governeſs therefore labours to have Regnard *ſent for out of the* Low-countreys,

Which at laſt, but too late, was effected.

The Prince of Orange *ſets on the* Brabanters.

His Ambition is checkt by Granvell.

Counſel, and at laſt, *What man ſoever* (ſaid he) *undertakes their protection, ought to conſider with himſelf, that he is created Prince of* Brabant, *and divides the Sovereignty of the* Low-countreys *with the King.* Not contented thus, he moved the *Governeſs* a while after, when the Magiſtrates were to be choſen for *Antwerp*, that the Prince of *Orange* ſhould not be called to Councel, leſt he ſhould boaſt himſelf the Authour of that benefit to the Town: which neglect he deeply reſented. This cauſed the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont*, to write their complaints to his Majeſty; That they were ſeldome called to Councel, and what concerned their particular Governments never communicated to them, but all things privately determined by the advice of one or two: and then, they were called in merely for a ſhow, to conſult upon the reliques and refuſe of Affairs, being there contemned, here mocked. To ſay truth, it is a great incentive to anger and diſcontent, and hath raiſed mighty troubles in many States, when a Prince imployes onely one man in divers Offices. For though a River ſwell by the acceſſion of waters; yet ſo long as it keeps it ſelf in the Chanel, it is injurious to none: but when it flows over the banks into the adjoyning medows, and intrencheth upon anothers harveſt, then it is accuſed by the juſt grief and complaints of the Husbandman. And indeed, *Granvell* was not limited to any certain employment. The *Governeſs* both of her own accord, and by the Kings command ſuffering him to do what he pleaſed. The very Expreſſes that came to her Excellence from *Spain*, or other parts, were never brought to the Councel, till ſhe had privately, either by conference or by letter, acquainted *Granvell* with the contents; who weighed every thing with himſelf; and gave his judgement upon the particulars, then returned them to the *Governeſs*, or to *Viglius* Preſident of the Conſult or Cabinet-Councel, and he (omitting thoſe heads which *Granvell* had marked with his pen) read them to the Lords at the Councel-table: and though it was privately carried (for *Viglius* was true to *Granvell*) yet becauſe the Prince of *Orange* often received Duplicates of the *Dutcheſe's* letters, they found ſome things were concealed from them, and therefore ſuſpected all: complaining, That buſineſs was malignantly communicated to them: and the *Low-countreys* and the King defrauded of much good counſel. But this moved not the *Governeſs*. She onely gave the King an account of her proceedings, putting him in mind of his letters dated June; wherein he enjoyned her, That whatſoever concerned *England*, or the Councel of *Trent*; or Religion in generall; ſhould be, as the *Pope* had adviſed, privately debated; *Yet I deny not* (ſaid the Governeſs) *that in other things, wherein the Provinces are intereſſed, ſometimes the Lords are not admitted to conſult. As lately in chooſing the Magiſtrate of* Antwerp, *the Prince of* Orange *was not called; which I did on purpoſe, leſt he ſhould aim to increaſe his preſent authority by that election. Notwithſtanding, I cannot but acquaint your Majeſtie, that it is not for our Honour to communicate all concernments freely to the Councel, leſt the dangers, fears, and neceſsities wherewith I am ſometimes preſſed, be laid naked before their eyes: and then, if any of them be falſe, they may abuſe that knowledge, by preventing our deſignes with contrary counſels, and ſecretly hinder the ſucceſſe of our affairs. Howſoever as well in theſe, as other things, all ſhall be done according to your Majeſties letters and commands.* But the King writing nothing to the contrary, the *Governeſs* continued her former cuſtome of privacy in her Councels. Whereupon a rumour was ſpread by ſome of the Conſpiratours, that there was a neceſſitie to ſummon the Eſtates generall, to raiſe ſubſidies for his Majeſtie, and to put the *Low-countreys* into a poſture of defence againſt their neighbours

Who put a kind of affront upon him.

Which occaſioned the Prince of Orange *and Count* Egmonts *firſt complaints to the King, that they were neglected at the Councel-board. That one ruled all*

And Granvell *was the man.*

But the Governeſs defends him in her letters to the King.

Decemb. 18. 1561.

24. 1561.

The Governeſs denies her aſſent for ſummoning the Eſtates generall.

the *French*, that were in arms. Some perhaps really intended it, but the moſt onely made uſe of that publick remedy, to alter the preſent condition of the Court. But the Governeſs, who borrowed the ears of many faithfull perſons, was preſent at their Councels and conferences, almoſt in their very thoughts: and cut off that exſpectation, publickly profeſſing that the King among his other commands, left in charge with her, not to call an Aſſembly of the Eſtates till he returned. 1562.

This harſh deniall of the Governeſs was mollified, by permitting (for this was another of their requeſts) a Convention of the Order of the *Golden-fleece*. But as ſoon as ever they were met at *Bruxels*, preſently it appeared, that ſummons was not endeavoured for the publick, but for their private Intereſts. For beſides the meeting in preſence of the Governeſs, where they conſulted about the preſervation of the Low-countreys againſt the *French*; they had private diſcourſe with the Prince of *Orange*, and there it was reſolved, they would no longer ſuffer the power of *Cardinall Granvel*. To this ingagement entered into by the great Commanders, the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Egmont* and the Marqueſſe of *Bergen* endeavoured to get hands: and ſeverally ſounded the Knights of the Order, but ſome refuſing to ſign an ingagement, againſt the *Cardinall*, it was laid aſide. Eſpecially, becauſe the Governeſs calling them more frequently to Councell, and wearying them with freſh imployments, took from them all opportunitie of meeting apart; and in good time put an end to their publick conſultations. The reſult whereof was, that ſome of the Lords ſhould be ſent into *Spain* by the Governeſs in her name to inform the King of the neceſſities of the Low-countreys. *Florence Momorancy*, the Lord of *Montiny*, was choſen to go with letters delivered him by the Governeſs, but penned by *Granvel*. He likewiſe received inſtructions for his carriage, and four thouſand crowns to defray the expences of his journey, which he began in June. But before *Momorancy* ſet forth, the Governeſs to make her vigilance appear, and to prepare his Majeſtie ſent him by a ſure meſſenger an Expreſſe in cypher to this effect, *That ſhe, making it her buſineſs to look into the ſecret conſultations of the Knights of the Order, at laſt had got all out of* Charles *Count* Barlamont *one ever found Loyall; that he aſſured her, the indignation of the Nobility ſprung chiefly out of theſe heads, That they were perſwaded his Majeſty confided not in them; and therefore the Governeſs called them not to her Cabinet-Councell, for as much as* Granvel, *jealous of his power, had wrought the King to that ſuſpicion: and had boldly written to him, that he ſhould never be abſolute Lord of the* Netherlands; *unleſſe he cut off ſix or ſeven Noblemens heads. And that* Granvel *by his letters had further moved the King to invade the Low-countreys with a formidable Army, and being ſo poſſeſſed of them, he might then impoſe upon the Low-countreymen what Laws he pleaſed, by the right of Conqueſt. That the increaſe of Miters, the firſt whereof* Granvel *wore, tended to no other purpoſe, but to bring the* Spaniſh *Inquiſition into the Low-countreys. To which words of* Barlamont *ſhe had anſwered: That the Lords were not kept from the knowledge of any ſecret fit to be communicated to them, as* Barlamont *himſelf being one of the Councell very well knew; Nor was* Granvel (*whoſe tranſactions when he was but a young man were approved of by* Charles *the fifth and King* Philip) *ſo ignorant a Stateſman, that now in his old age and experience the King might not imploy him: or of ſo raſh a malice, that he would offer to perſwade his Majeſty to take away their lives which he knew were dear unto the King, and might be ſure ſhe would oppoſe him in it. Nor did that ſeem leſſe improbable and ridiculous which was ſaid of his adviſing his Majeſty, for would any man make war upon himſelf,*

But gives way to a convention of the Knights of the Order.

Where the ſeeds were ſown of a conſpiracy againſt Granvel.

The reſult of the Convention.

Montiny *ſent into* Spain.

The Governeſs diſpatches a Meſſenger before him with this private letter.

June 14.

What Grievances the Lords pretended.

How the Governeſs anſwered them.

1562. *ſelf, and with vaſt expence to purchaſe what already is his own? Laſtly for the Biſhops,* Granvel *indeed ſought to bring them in, as the King had injoyned him, in purſuance of the* Popes *command, not to make way for the Inquiſition, but to protect Religion in a troubleſome time. The charge whereof (as of all things elſe, which conduced to the maintenance of the Kings prerogative) becauſe* Granvel *fearleſſely undertook, deſpiſing all mens murmurs, he was therefore hated by many; as they ſhould ever be that ſtoutly defend the authority of their Prince.* With theſe diſcoveries the Governeſs pre-acquainted the King, and deſired him in a little note by it ſelf, that he would uſe the ſervice of ſome one of ſpeciall truſt in the decyphering of her letter. Though *Barlamont* himſelf, as he was open hearted, and thought, that in this relation to the Governeſs he had both ſerved his King and Countrey; being asked by the Prince of *Orange* who took notice of his long ſtay with the Governeſs, whether he had told her what private conference they had among themſelves: he ingeniouſly repeated his whole diſcourſe with the Governeſs: Nor did the Prince of *Orange* ſeem to take it amiſſe; I ſuppoſe, becauſe he ſaw the grievances of his own framing, were propoſed in the name of a generality, which therefore could not be imputed to him alone, but would receive authority from the multitude. In the interim, the King adviſeth the Governeſs, by no means to ſuffer private aſſemblies of the Nobilitie, but to find out ſome expedient, that the publick meeting of thoſe men packt together to deſtroy the quiet of the State, might be handſomely diſſolved; and that, keeping Spies upon the Prince of *Orange* and his Counſells, ſhe ſhould ſtill have him at Court and in her eye. And to ſet Count *Egmont* and the Prince of *Orange* at variance was not thought very difficult, becauſe they had formerly ſtood at a very great diſtance, before their common hatred to *Granvel* united them. Count *Egmont* was of a ſweet diſpoſition, free of ſpeech, and confident: the Prince of *Orange* of a ſower nature, not to be diſcovered, therefore to be avoided. In this, you could not but commend his cunning; but the other better kept his faith. The one was an *Ajax*, a better Commander then a Councellour, the other an *Ulyſſes*, that could fight better with his *brain*, then with his *ſword*. This had a great forecaſt, and alwayes fixed his mind upon the future, ſo that he was ſtill fit for any emergent occaſion. That, ſeldome took care but for the preſent; yet upon a ſudden misfortune was rather unprepared, then unready or unwilling to encounter it. You might hope more from the one, and fear more from the other. You would rather chuſe the friendſhip of Count *Egmont*, and decline the enmity of the Prince of *Orange*. And to demonſtrate, that there was not the leaſt reſemblance between them; *Egmont* had a well-featured face, a ſtrong-timbered body, & a look full of honour: the other was a thin-faced tawny-complexioned man, and bald. Yet they were exceeding popular both; but the people *loved* the one, and *reverenced* the other. The Governeſs, who exactly knew them, wrote to the King what ſhe thought would the ſooneſt cauſe a diviſion: and pointed out the beſt means to effect it, *viz.* that the Kings Pay and his Munificence (about the ſending whereof at that time to the Governours of the Provinces, he had before conſulted with her) ſhould not be diſtributed to all, but come onely to the hands of the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont*; and the Count ſhould have more then the Prince, that the Prince of *Orange* might ſuſpect him for his Rivall in his Majeſties favour: and the reſt of the Lords, becauſe they were paſſed by, ſomewhat reſent it in them both. This plot went on, and their ill-pieced conſpiracie began to crack a ſunder: the Governeſs ſtill having her irons in the fire.

The faith and freedome of Count Barlamont.

27. *July.* *The Governeſs is commanded to find out Some expedient for ſetting the Lords at difference among themſelves.*

What diſparity betwixt Count Egmont *and the Prince of* Orange.

P. Orange. C. Egmont. C. Egmont. P. Orange. C. Egmont.

P. of Orange. *which the Governeſs made uſe of to divide them: and it miniſtred a double occaſion.*

And to this purpoſe, at the generall *Dyet* (or convention) of the Eſtates of *Germany* ſummoned by the *Emperour Ferdinand* at *Franckford* to create a King of the *Romans*, ſome of the Low countrey Lords being to go thither in the name of King *Philip*; whilſt all the Nobility were in exſpectation of the imployment, the Dutcheſs made choice of *Philip Croy* Duke of *Areſchot*, not becauſe he was bred up in *Germany* with *Charles* the fifth (as ſhe declared her ſelf at the Conſult) and therefore was likely to be well received by his brother *Ferdinand:* But becauſe he was an enemie to the Prince of *Orange* his faction, ſhe honoured him with that Embaſſage, that others might follow his example on like hopes of honour. Yet the Prince of *Orange* reſolved to be preſent at the *Dyet*, as a private man, pretending buſineſs with the Elector of *Saxonie* about his wifes portion, and with the Emperour concerning his Eſtate. And though the Governeſs would not, without the Kings conſent, approve of his journey, yet he departed; in ſuch haſt, as he would not tarry till his wife was brought a bed. Who three dayes after was delivered of a daughter, that was chriſtened, by her appointment, with the ceremonies of the Church, to the great ſatisfaction of the Governeſs.

1562.

The Princeſſe of Orange *brought a bed of a Daughter.*

Montinys Embaſſage out of the Kings letter to the Governeſs 23 *Novem.*

His Conference with the King.

He imputes the generall diſcontent to the new Biſhops and Granvel.

Montiny having twice had audience of his Majeſtie, prepared for his return, and when he took leave, the King, whilſt he commended to his care the ſtate of the Low-countreys, as it were upon occaſion of diſcourſe, began to ſift him, and charged him by his faith and ſinceritie, virtues he had found in him, to deal plainly, what he thought was the cauſe of thoſe Grievances and Heart-burnings of ſo many in the Low-countreys. *Montiny* though he ſaid he knew nothing, whereof his Majeſty had not been long ſince informed, yet as farre as he could conjecture, the reaſons partly proceeded from the new Biſhops put upon the Provinces without the conſent or privity of their Governours, & therefore the people believed they intended to bring in the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition: partly out of the hatred conceived againſt Cardinall *Granvel* from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſo implacably, that it was to be feared, that at one time or other it would ingage the people in an inſurrection. The King replyed, that all this was indeed known to him, but that he admired the Low-countreymen could be moved with ſuch vain rumours. For ſeriouſly no other cauſe brought him to augment the number of the Biſhops, but onely the neceſſity of his people, and the Councell of his father *Charles* the fifth. And that was not concluded ſo ſecretly or ſuddenly, as the Marqueſs of *Bergen* could tell him, who had given his advice therein, and commended his deſign when he waited on the King into *England*, at his Marriage with *Queen Mary.* And that for his own part, it never entered into his mind, by that adjunction of Biſhops to impoſe the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition upon the Low-countreys; Nor had Cardinall *Granvel* ever perſwaded him to do it, or was ſo much as acquainted with that purpoſe of his Majeſty till he ſent *Francis Sonnius* his Embaſſadour to *Rome*. He likewiſe aſſured him, they were much deceived that hated the *Cardinall* as conceiving him, by private information, to aſperſe the Lords, for he did never attempt it, neither had his Majeſtie himſelf at any time diſcovered in *Granvel* any malicious inclinations: which if he ſhould hereafter find in him, or any other of his miniſters of State, he never ſhould indure them. But, howſoever, he hoped ſhortly to be in the Low-countreys, & there in perſon to ſatisfie both his own, and the Provinces deſires. *Montiny* thus diſmiſſed by the King, returned to *Bruxels* in December; and reading to the Councel his letters which contained the Kings pleaſure for ſettling the intricacies of the Exchecquer, for aſſiſtance in future to be ſent to *Charles* King of *France*, and ſpe-

The King gives his reaſons for increaſe of the Biſhops.

Defends Granvel.

Poſſeſſes Montiny *with his Reſolution to go in perſon to the Low countreys.*

Montinies *Relation in Senate* 14 *Day of Decemb.* *which they credit not.*

1562. ſpecially for defence of Religion; he added, of himſelf, many arguments of the Kings affection towards the Low-countreys; but to little purpoſe. For in *Montinies* abſence, they had conceived ſtill greater jealouſies. The Prince of *Orange* and ſome others, reaſoned againſt the promiſes made by the Embaſſadour, for they rather truſted their own reall, or (to juſtifie their diſcontents) pretended intelligence from their private friends in the Court of *Spain*, then the profeſſions made either by King *Philip*, or his ſiſter. Their indignation was augmented, becauſe *Montiny* told them the *French* accounted them Patrons of the *Hugonots*. About which ſcandall they paſſionately expoſtulated with the Governeſs, affirming, it was onely forged in the *Cardinals* work-houſe. The Dutcheſs declared her ſelf of a contrary opinion, and ſhewed them, it was rather invented by the *French* hereticks and rebells, who to advance the authority of their faction, would have the ignorant believe the Low-countrey Nobility were of the ſame ſect. To conclude, they being more and more exaſperated, becauſe the Governeſs would not diſplace their Competitour, that feared not their plots or envie, but propoſing to himſelf onely the Kings favour, reſpected this *Jove* alone deſpiſing the other petty Gods; (as if a man could be onely ſtruck with a thunderbolt, and could not be killed by the hand of a common ſouldier: or that *Joves* lightning were not fed by the baſer elements.) the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* particularly agreed to write letters to the King againſt *Granvel*, in the name of all, though all were not conſenting: perhaps, becauſe the Governeſs had formerly ſcattered among them ſeeds of diſſention: perhaps, ſome of the Lords therefore differed in opinion, becauſe they were not chief of the Conſpiracy. Indeed the Duke of *Areſchot*, preſſed by Count *Egmont* as they were hunting, to joyn with the reſt, denied to ſet his hand againſt the *Cardinall*, or to preſcribe the King how he ought to uſe his ſervants; and it proceeded ſo farre, that at laſt the Duke concluded, he would receive the Law neither from Count *Egmont*, nor the Prince of *Orange*, to neither of which he thought himſelf or his family inferiour. The Counts of *Aremberg* and *Barlamont* then preſent were much troubled at the accident, and leſt it might come to more then words, turned the diſcourſe to another ſubject. Nor was there leſſe heat between Count *Aremberg* and the Prince of *Orange* upon the ſame occaſion. Of both which paſſages the Governeſs certified the King. But though by theſe Lords example, and for private reaſons many withdrew from the conſpiracy: Yet were letters directed to the King ſigned by Count *Egmont*, the Prince of *Orange*, and Count *Horn*; a Copy whereof (which the King afterwards ſent to the Dutcheſs) I give you *verbatim* out of the *French* Originall. *Sir, We are infinitely ſorry that we are at this preſent inforced to preſſe upon your Majeſties great affairs; but as well the account of our ſervice which we ought to give, as the miſchief undoubtedly impending, will not ſuffer us longer to be ſilent: eſpecially becauſe we hope this our intimation, as free from any paſſion, will be received by your Majeſty ſo graciouſly, and with ſuch remembrance of us, as we your affectionate ſervants have indeavoured to deſerve. We likewiſe beſeech your Majeſties pardon, if we write later, then the exigence requires. When the greateſt and wiſeſt men conſider the Government of the Low-countreys, queſtionleſſe they cannot but think it abſolutely managed by Cardinall* Granvel; *which hath made ſo deep an impreſſion in the hearts of the Low-countreymen, that it cannot be hoped the opinion will be blotted out, ſo long as he lives among them. Therefore we humbly deſire, that, for our fidelity which, Sir, you have ever acknowledged (to ſpeak nothing of our ſervices) you will not be diſpleaſed to take into conſideration, how much it concerns*

The Lords offended at Granvel *upon new ſuſpitions.*

He deſpiſeth his enemies.

His Rivals plot againſt him.

Some diſſenting.

22. *March.* *Letters writ againſt the Cardinall to the King by C.* Egmont. *C.* Horn. *and the Prince of* Orange.

your

your Majeſty to eaſe the common complaints and grievances of your people. For again and again we beſeech you to believe, that the buſineſſe of the Low-countreys will never have an happy end, ſo long as it is ordered by the man they hate. Nor ſhould we preſume to write thus much, unleſſe we had the miſchief in our eyes, to which if your Majeſty apply not preſent remedy, the whole ſtate will certainly be indangered. Wherein, if ever your Majeſty gave credence to our words or actions, we beſeech you now to credit our hands. This indeed was the cauſe why ſo many of the Lords and Governours of theſe Provinces, with a multitude of others deſired to have it ſignified to your Majeſty, that our imminent deſtruction may be timouſly prevented: and your Majeſty will prevent it, as we hope; and the merits of ſo many Low-countrey men, and their prayers for the ſafety of the publick, will be more valued by your Majeſty, then that for one mans ſake, you will reject the petition of ſo many of your Majeſties obedient ſubjects. Eſpecially ſince none of all this number, but is ſo far from complaining of the Governeſs, *that we give your Majeſty immortall thanks for ſo prudent a Princeſs. And that your Maieſty may not think, as ſome perhaps will ſuggeſt, that we have plotted this out of an ambition that we our ſelves may govern, we all of us earneſtly intreat to be removed from the Councel-table, and affairs of State: it being neither conſiſtent with your Maieſties intereſt, nor our own reputation, that we ſhould come any more to Councel with the* Cardinal. *But touching Religion, which is now a thing of greateſt concernment, we promiſe in our own names, all that can be juſtly exſpected from good Subjects and Catholicks, ſuch as we profeſſe to be. And truly if the Lords had not looked into it, Religion had not been in that tolerable condition wherein now it is: the minds of the Common people being infected with Hereſie, a diſeaſe hardly curable by the* Cardinals *authority or example. Laſtly, that we may no longer treſpaſs upon your Majeſties weighty occaſions, we humbly beg you will pleaſe favourably to interpret what we have ſignified, no leſs out of duty and alleagiance to your Majeſty, then out of fear that hereafter you might blame us, if any misfortune ſhould befall the Low-countreys. Thus we humbly kiſs your royall hands, and pray God long to preſerve and bleſſe your Majeſtie From your City of* Bruxels, *the laſt of March*, 1563. 1562.

LAMORALL EGMONT,
WILLIAM NASSAU,
PHILIP MOMORANCY.

Theſe Letters thus ſigned by the *Triumviri*, Count *Egmont* ſecretly ſent into *Spain* to *Charles Tiſnac* a Low-countrey man, and the Kings Procuratour in *Spain*, for buſineſs of the *Low-countreys*. But before the Diſpatch was made, the *Governeſs* underſtanding what they had writ, pre-acquainted the King. Nor was the intelligence ſhe gave concealed from the Conſpiratours, Count *Egmont* charging the diſcovery upon Count *Aremberg*, as if he were fallen off; eſpecially becauſe there was difference between him and the Prince of *Orange*. But he ſeriouſly denied, that ever he had ſpoke of it to any man living; nor needed their project a diſcoverer, which they themſelves in every place vain-gloriouſly divulged. Yet Count *Egmont* inſiſting upon it, replied, That a friend of his had aſſured him, it could not be revealed by any but himſelf. *Aremberg* growing into a rage, *And I* (ſaid he) *aſſure you, he lyes who ere he be, that fathers this upon me; which I am ready to make good with my ſword.* The *Governeſs* writing this paſſage to the King, forgot not to complain of Count *Egmont*, that he whom his Majeſty had accounted faithfull above the reſt, could ſo far ingage againſt him, as publickly to ſolicite and encourage others to joyn their minds and endeavours for their Countreys benefit and liberty. And now after three moneths, the Kings Letters came from *Spain*, written by the hand of *Charles Tiſnac*; where-

Of theſe letters the Governeſs preadvertiſed the King.

March 9.

How the Governeſs came by her intelligence, cauſes a grievous falling out between Egmont *and* Aremberg.

May 5.

The Kings anſwer to the Letters ſent from the three Lords, inviting one of them to Spain.

wherein his Majeſtie anſwered the demands of the *Triumviri*, in this manner; *That he had received their Letters, and doubted not but that they ſignified theſe things out of ſincere affection to their Prince and Countrey. For they had given many ſufficient proofs of their fidelity and ſervice. But ſince they had not yet given particular reaſons for* Granvels *removall, and that it was not his cuſtome to change any of his Miniſters of State, without proof againſt them: He ſhould therefore take it well, if ſome one of them would come over to* Spain, *and make him underſtand the matter; for by how much they affirmed there needed the greater remedy, by ſo much the leſſe ought the buſineſs to be agitated by abſent perſons.* Beſides theſe Letters, the King wrote privately with his own hand to Count *Egmont*, that he ſhould be glad to hear from the Count himſelf, the cauſes that were not inſerted in their Letters. His Majeſty likewiſe acquainted the *Governeſs* what anſwer in common he makes to all three, and what particularly to *Egmont*; that he invites one of them to divide them, and wiſhes it might be *Egmont*, becauſe he, ſeparated from the reſt, might be eaſily wrought upon, new moulded, and ſo brought again to himſelf, and his right reaſon. But neither Count *Egmont*, nor any of the reſt could be brought to go the journey; perhaps thinking it below them, to undertake ſo great a voyage to accuſe *Granvell*: perhaps their guilty conſciences durſt not truſt themſelves in *Spain*. Yet in their anſwers to the King, they laid the cauſe of their ſtay upon their neighbours the *French*, who having ſhuffled up a kind of *Peace* at home, it concerned them to watch whether they would uſe their Arms abroad: and while the people continued in that Jealouſie and fear; they held it impious to leave their Countrey, to inform againſt any man. Notwithſtanding, if the King pleaſed to ſend for them upon other terms, they would immediately obey his Maieſties commands. In the mean time, they would forbear the Councel-board, leſt they ſhould meet there to countenance *Granvels* Actions. In all things elſe, they would never be wanting to their Prince and Countrey. The like anſwer was made particularly by Count *Egmont*; who likewiſe humbly thanked his Maieſty for his ſpeciall grace and favour to him. Whilſt this was in agitation, *Granvell* tottered at Court: For 'tis hard to ſtand long in a ſlippery place, if a man be juſtled by many; ſpecially when a Prince is made jealous, as if his ſervants derivative power detracted from his own ability to govern. Nor have the old Court-Engineers many better inventions to cruſh the favour of their Rivals; eſpecially with ſuch Princes, as are ambitious to be famed for wit, whether deſerving or undeſerving. With this very ſtratagem, a few years after, *Didacus Cardinall Spinoſa*, no leſſe endeared to the King in *Spain*, then Cardinall *Granvell* to his Majeſties ſiſter in the *Low-countreys*, was caſt down (they ſay) from the higheſt point of favour, by ſuch as knew the King loved his Miniſters of State, ſo long as they carried themſelves as *ſervants*, and not as *authours* of his Counſells. And now the *Governeſs* ſeemed to be altered in affection towards *Granvell*, perhaps weary of the man, as if he were her adjunct in the Government, if not her ſuperintendent: perhaps ſeeing her ſelf in danger of being infected with the peoples hatred, which he was incurably ſick of: perhaps, at length ſhe had looked into him, and found him ambitious and envious, fomenting the diviſions between the King and his people, as ſhe afterwards enformed his Majeſty. Which laſt reaſon, being contrary to the commendations ſhe had ſo often ſet upon *Granvell* in her letters to the King, whether it were true, and diſcovered by the *Governeſs* upon long acquaintance: or that ſhe knew it at firſt; but then, as ſhe concealed it in favour of the man: ſo now weary of him, and fearfull of im-

1563.

June 15. *A private letter from his Majeſtie to Count* Egmont.

But none of the three would go.

For which they give reaſons to his Majeſtie.

Granvel *grows out of date at Court.*

Aloyſio Cantera lib. 9. in the life of King Philip.

The Governeſs diſpleaſed with him, for three reaſons.

Auguſt 29.

imminent miſchief, ſhe revealed it: or whether mis-informed, and compelled by his enemies, ſhe wrote thus to the King, I dare not abſolutely affirm. The *Governeſs* therefore, as ſhe had reſolved, ſent *Thomas Armenterius* an old Courtier and Counſellour into *Spain*, with an exact account of buſineſs; part whereof he was to read to the King, and part to inſert in his diſcourſe, if occaſion were offered. The heads were theſe, To let the King know the State of the *Netherlands*, and the Countreys adiacent; and how to that day the *Governeſs* had ordered the Sacred and Civil Government: And when they came to ſpeak of the combination of the Lords againſt *Granvell*, that he ſhould punctually tell the King, how the Prince of *Orange*, the Marqueſs of *Bergen*, the Counts *Egmont*, *Horn*, *Mansfeld*, and *Megen*, came to her in *July* laſt; and the Prince of *Orange*, after many complaints made in the name of the Eſtates, touching the preſent condition of affairs, the arrears ſo long due to the horſe and foot, the Kings Collectors undone with paying intereſt, and the complaints of the Merchants thereupon; concluded, that ſince all this proceeded from the dominion of the *Cardinall*, and his followers, they were reſolved henceforth to come no more to Councel, not for any exceptions taken at the *Governeſs*, whoſe wiſdome and affection to the *Low-countreys* they would alwayes gratefully remember; but leſt they ſhould contribute to thoſe Acts paſſed, with ſo much prejudice to the King and the Low-countreys. Moreover, (which *Egmont* added) leſt by coming to the Councel- table, and yet not providing for the neceſſities of their Countrey, they ſhould looſe the Peoples affection, together with their own reputation, and conſequently the Opportunity of doing his Majeſty ſervice. Nor would this ſeem ſtrange, if the King pleaſed to remember, that long ſince, when *Charles* Count *Lalin* was Preſident of the Councel, *Granvell* being then Biſhop of *Arras*, refuſed to come to the Board, offended at the Counts Potencie. Then he ſhould tell his Majeſty, that the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marqueſs of *Bergen*, bitterly inveighed againſt *Granvell*, and the Arts he had uſed to make the King believe, they juggled with Religion and their Prince. Nay, they very well knew, that *Telidan* a Divine of *Lovain* (as he himſelf boaſted) wrote to the King, That the *Low-countrey* Lords were all tainted with Hereſie; and that the very ſame occaſion of enmity, which the *French* Hereticks took againſt the Cardinall of *Lorain*, was now revived by the Nobilitie of the *Low-countreys*. And that another day, the *Governeſs* taking *Egmont* aſide, he confirmed the ſame grievances, wondring the King would ſuffer the *Low-countreys* to be troubled for one man, who was not ſo much as a *Low-countrey man*; and therefore both his fortunes and affections were *forreiners*: neither had he taken the Oath of Allegeance to the King; but partly to the *Emperour*, as born in an Imperiall Town: and partly to the *Pope*, from whom he had received his ſcarlet. When *Armenterius* ſhould have diſcourſed this to the King, he was then to acquaint his Majeſty, what the *Governeſs* anſwered to the particulars, according to his Notes containing the ſummary of his Embaſſage. Laſtly, ſhe charged him, upon the ſame heads, to be ſure to remember, That *Egmont* had lately told her, it was by his onely means, that *Granvell* lived to that day; but that hereafter he would leave that care to the *Governeſs*, whom he had now clearly informed, that the *Cardinalls* life was every houre in danger: and therefore when his Majeſtie ſhould well conſider, what Inſurrections ſuch publick crimes draw along with them, he would in his wiſdome reſolve how to diſpoſe of *Cardinall Granvell*. With theſe Commands; after a moneths voyage, *Armente-*

[Margin notes: 1563. — *She ſends* Armenterius *into* Spain. — *Who was to inform the King among other paſſages,* — *Of the Lords complaints againſt* Granvel. — On the 25. — *Of* Granvells *danger.* — *Septem.* 13.]

The King at large hears him.

menterius arrived in *Spain*; and as he found the King very deſirous to know the State of the *Low-countreys*, accordingly at his firſt Audience he held him four hours together, in the ſpeech which he made out of his Notes. At which, as likewiſe at other not much ſhorter Addreſſes, he exceedingly ſatisfied the King with the *Governeſſes* endeavours, firſt ſuſpending (which ſeldome any man could do) and finally altering his reſolution, to retain the Cardinall in the *Low-countreys*. But whilſt the King deferred his purpoſe, buſied in the aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Caſtile*, then ſitting: and being likewiſe of himſelf a Prince naturally jealous and apt to demurre; the *Low-countrey* Lords, as if their ſuit were neglected, in the beginning of the new year with-drew from Court; all but Count *Egmont*, who told the *Governeſs*, the reſt would not return till *Granvell* was departed, with whom in compaſs of the ſame walls they would be no more confined.

Who firſt ſuſpends, and then alters his Majeſties reſolutions.

The Belgick *Lords leave the Court.*

1564.

The End of the third Book.

The Hiſtorie of the LOW-COUNTREY WARRES.

The fourth Book.

BEfore the end of this year, a ſad uncertain rumour was raiſed at *Madrid*, and immediately diſperſed through all the further *Spain*, That King *Philip* was piſtolled. This report he was ſo farre from ſleighting (though otherwiſe ſubject to delays) that he laid it, before it could paſſe out of *Spain*; ſending Duplicates of letters poſt both by ſea and land, into the Low-countreys: wherein, under his own hand, he certified his ſiſter, that in all probability this fame was forged by the hereticks, upon ſome cloſe deſign ſet afoot by that treacherous kind of people. Withall he commanded her, that if ſhe did but hear the leaſt intimation of ſuch a report, ſhe ſhould preſently diſpatch letters through the Low-countreys, and ſo into *France, Britain,* and *Germany,* to rectifie the errour; not onely that his uncle the Emperour, and his couſen-germane the King of the *Romans,* might be freed of their fears: but likewiſe the inſurrections prevented, for encouraging whereof theſe reports, whether true or falſe, did equally prevail with men deſirous of innovation. But the Governeſs having certain intelligence, that the news was no where divulged in thoſe parts, would not mention it at all: leſt ſhe might ingraft the opinion ſhe indeavoured to eradicate. Eſpecially when ſhe had buſineſs at home of greater concernment; the Nobility being diſcontented, and notorious Libells read upon every poſt, or paſſed from hand to hand; the remedy whereof was ever difficult, whether you take no notice of them, and ſo invite them by impunity; or puniſh them; for neither way can extinguiſh the memory of what is done, nor deterre abuſive writers from the like boldneſſe. And King *Philip* grown now more ſevere, ſince the tumult at *Valenciens* from whence that liberty chiefly took its riſe, injoyned the Governeſs not to ſuffer ſuch ignominious verſes, that commonly uſhered in rebellion. But ſhe quickly gave over her inquiry, fearing to take knowledge of the Authours, or to run the hazzard (as ſhe wrote to the King) of ſtruggling with ſo deſperate a diſeaſe. At this time beſides thoſe jeers againſt *Religion* and the *Biſhops,* eſpecially *Granvel,* boldlyer vented becauſe pleaſing to the Nobility: there were added dark riddling Emblems and Cognizances of the

1564. *A report raiſed that King* Philip *was murthered. Which he himſelf was active to ſuppreſſe.*

4. *January.*

Scandalous Pamphlets poſted up, and handed through the Low-countreys.

15. *July* 1561.

10. *Auguſt.* 1562.

Emblematicall Cognizances given by the Lords-Conſpiratours.

1564. 29. *of March.* *Invented at a feaſt.* *In imitation of the* Germans. *They throw the Dice who ſhall name the Livery.* Egmont *chuſes* 29. *of March.* *How the People interpret the Device.* *The Governeſs gets them to leave off part of it.* *Which the Lords ſupply with another Embleme.* *As the King anſwered* Egmont. *Prince of* Orange *in his Apollogy* 1481.

Lords, great ſymptomes, as many thought, of a conſpiracie. The whole paſſage (as the Governeſs related it to the King) I ſhall briefly repeat.

The laſt year, in the beginning of December, the Lords *Egmont, Bergen, Montiny*, and the reſt of the Order, were feaſted by *Gaſper Schertz* Lord of *Grobendonch* the Kings Receiver; There, in their cups, they fell into diſcourſe, of the moderating of expence in Liveries; whether it came in queſtion by accident (as the Dutcheſs affirms upon their own relations) or out of premeditation, I leave to others judgement. They commended, upon this occaſion, the *Germane* faſhion where all the year long they are waited on by men in the ſame leathern breeches and black cloth-cloaks, or coats with ſleeves: nor have about them any thing of gallantry; but that the pinnions of their ſleeves, which they call wings, are laid with ſilk fringe of divers colours; ſpending their money much wiſelier, in their ſtables upon horſes for ſervice. This example pleaſed the whole company, and they reſolved to leave off their ſumptuous and ſilken Liveries, with all the pomp of their gawdy trains: and never after to be diſtinguiſhed by the ſeverall colours worn by their ſervants, eſpecially by their footmen; but that they would all give one Livery, and ſo it ſhould not be thought the invention of any particular perſon that deſired to ſave charges. And by the uniformity of their apparell, it would appear their minds were uniform. Some therefore propoſing what colour would do beſt, they caſt the dice who ſhould chuſe, and the lot fell to Count *Egmont*, who made choice of black cloth-coats with long ſleeves, ſuch as I told you were called ſilken wings: in which were imbroidered the heads of men and hoods of divers colours ſuch as fools and jeaſters wear upon their coats. A pattern of theſe wings, that nothing might be concealed from the King, the Governeſs ſent him. And now imbroiderers and taylours ſhops were full of theſe Coats and Cognizances, and the people looked and talked high upon the matter: nor are they alwayes out in their conjectures. For ſome ſaid the hoods ſignified the *Cardinall*, who according to the habit of his illuſtrious, Order wore ſuch an hood falling upon his ſhoulders; and the heads, they gueſſed to be the *Cardinals* and his adherents, among whom they numbered the Duke of *Areſchot*, Count *Barlamont*, and *Viglius* Preſident of the Councell; and they interpreted the fools coats to ſignifie, that the Low-countrey Lords were not fools heads, as *Granvel* once called them, but that *Granvel* himſelf and his party might be pointed at for idiots. Others rather thought thoſe heads and fools-hoods were brought in faſhion by the Lords, as if they were contented to be called fools: but yet they would have the *Cardinall* underſtand how *unanimous* the fools were: and to beware, leaſt in that number there might be a *Brutus*. But the Governeſs, though ſhe made a better conſtruction of theſe Emblems, yet feared that the people, which ſhe ſaw begin to grow diſcontented and mutinous, ſhould divide into factions and raiſe tumults: ſhe was therefore very earneſt with Count *Egmont* and the other Lords, to give off their deſign, and lay aſide the new incouragements to inſurrection. But becauſe a great ſort of the coats, and above two thouſand of the wings were already made: her Excellence thought it would be well, if ſhe could get them to leave out the heads and hoods, the principall matter of offence; which with much ado they did; and inſtead of the old, Count *Egmont* deviſed another Embleme, *viz.* a ſheaf of arrows, which he ſaid was the arms of the Kingdome of *Caſtile*, (though it was not the arms of the Kingdome; but of the Catholick *Queen Iſabella*, and afterwards given by the States of *Holland* when they were confederate, and revolted from the King) and

gave out, that it ſignified the concord of his brothers of the Order in their duty to his Majeſty. Yet this very change was cenſured by many that ſung *Granvels* Dirge, expounding it, as if the conſpiracy were made now not with *hoods*, but *arrows*, and thoſe tied together in a bundle, and therefore not eaſie to be broken. Nor did the Governeſs take notice of the alteration, hoping to cure the evil by contempt, and having often found by experience, That ſome mens proud natures are inraged if forbidden, but if left to themſelves will in time recover. By which connivence, the faſhion of giving this kind of Livery was long followed by the Lords: till the Kings command and other new accidents interpoſing, it was quite left off.

1564. *What many men conceived it to boad.*

The King and Occaſion puts an end to theſe Rebuſes.

20. In February *Armenterius*, long looked for, at length returned from *Spain*, and changed the face of the Governeſſes Court. For among other Mandates which he brought from his Majeſtie the firſt was, the ſending Cardinall *Granvel* out of the Low-countreys; to which the King finally conſented, that the Low-countreymen might not have ſo much as this colour of Grievance. For King *Philip* as he had no Courtier that governed him, nor would have his favour to any one eclipſe his own authority: ſo he advanced and cheriſhed divers perſons, but ſuch as were very uſefull to himſelf and his Kingdomes; among whom *Granvel* may deſervedly be numbred. Yet becauſe his Majeſty knew that, eſpecially in the Low-countreys, the power of forreiners would not be long indured; and that he had an eye upon the example of the *French* Court: and thought it beſt to do that, while his authoritie was intire, which perhaps neceſſity might unhandſomly inforce him to; for quieting the Provinces, he granted the Low-countreymens Petition, whereto was added the approbation of the Governeſs either altered in her mind or Counſels, and hoping by that ſacrifice to the publick odium, to gain the affections of many of the Lords. This *Granvel* long ſince foreſaw, & upon the return of *Armenterius* preſently obſerved the Courtiers, which uſed to adore him, would not take pains to ſtoop ſo low, and that he had a thinner train and fewer ſuiters waiting at his gates, divers of his friends then forſaking him, when they were brought to the teſt. Nor did *Granvel* upon receit of the Kings letter decline his departure: but very cheerfully ſhewed himſelf ready to go whitherſoever his Majeſty would pleaſe to ſend him. And before his departure, as if he were tired out with tedious cares, he was often heard to argue with his friends like a Philoſopher, Of eaſe, and retirement from the hurry of affairs; *That he had long enough followed others occaſions; that a man broken with continuall toil could not but wiſh for reſt, and that to one beſieged with Petitioners liberty was not to be refuſed, eſpecially when he knew that Petitioners and flatterers met like pitcher-carriers at a ſpring, which they drain and trouble; That favour at Court hath a better face, then inſide; and that all humane things are found to be farre leſſe in the poſſeſſion, then they are fancied in our hopes.* You would think he diſcourſed this out of a mind armed againſt dangers, long foreſeen and exſpected. Unleſs perhaps it was not *conſtancy*, but *diſcontent*, putting a face of mirth upon his griefs, whereby he might at leaſt defraud his Rivals eyes, of that ſad object which they looked for. Indeed a few moneths before, when he ſaw his Remove inevitable, he wrote to his old friend the *Duke of Alva*, that if he muſt needs leave the Low-countreys, he would pleaſe to make it his ſuit to the King to ſend for him into *Spain*. But the *Duke* was in great ſuſpence, whether he ſhould bring a man to Court, that was not unpractiſed in Court-deſignes, and might happily precede him in the Kings favour (for no virtue is leſſe raiſed at Court, then that which is moſt feared) or whether by the acceſſion

Granvel ſent for out of the Low-countreys.

Why the King conſented.

Why the Governeſſe wiſhed it.

Granvel preſuppoſed as much by the change of faces at Court.

Nor is he at all dejected.

But ſeems to deſire a diſcharge.

Yet rather wiſhes to be removed to Spain, and to that end ſolicits the Duke of Alva. Who deliberates upon it.

1564. *Octob.* 1565 *At laſt moves for him.* *But prevails not.* *For* Granvel *is commanded into* Burgundy. Thomas Perenot *Lord of* Cantonet. *whether at length he goes, giving out, that he will return very ſhortly.* 10 *of Marc.* 6 *of March.* *Which report ſpoiled the mirth of his adverſaries. And troubled the Governeſſe.* 29. *Of March.* *who certifies his danger and labours to keep him out of the Low-countreys.* *The joy for Cardinal* Granvels *departure, as well of the People as the Lords.*

acceſſion of a friend, he might increaſe his power, or at leaſt by uſing a man hatefull to the Low-countreys (as *Armenterius* wrote to the Governeſs out of *Spain*) he might revenge himſelf of his enemies in the *Netherlands?* this later reaſon carried it with the Duke of *Alva*; his *fear* was overcome by his *fury*, the ſtronger motive to prevail with Courtiers, whom long proſperity makes not more *ſecure* of favour then *impatient* of affronts. But in vain the Duke ſolicited for *Cardinall Granvels* coming into *Spain*. For the King had been lately perſwaded by *Armenterius*, that it would be greatly to his prejudice, to have the *Cardinall* in his Court: who out of his hatred to the Low-countreys would be ſuſpected, in all their affairs to corrupt the Kings commands, which would be thought to be the Cardinals pleaſure. His Majeſty therefore would rather have him retire into *Burgundy*, and to live not far from the Low-countreys, where He hoped in time to ſettle him again. *Granvel* was the more willing to go thither, becauſe he had the fair pretence of doing his duty at *Beſonçon* to his mother now old and diſeaſed: in company of his brother *Cantonet*, who having diſpatched his *French* embaſſage was for the ſame cauſe travelling towards *Burgundy*. Therefore not ſuffering his going away to be named till his brother arrived at *Bruxels*, that it might ſeem he reſolved of himſelf, and with his brothers advice, to viſit his Countrey, and not upon the Kings command to leave the *Netherlands*; on the tenth of March he took his journey into *Burgundy*, giving it out, that he would ſhortly return. Likewiſe about this time, the Low-countrey Lords, upon letters from the King commanding them to ſit again in Councel, and more to regard the authority of their Prince, then their own hatred to any private man, waited again at Court, to the joy of all degrees and qualities. Save that it took off a little from the generall contentment, that it was reported the Cardinall would come back; though many thought it an idle rumour, invented by the man himſelf, who (as they ſaid) was proud in miſery, and would not ſtoop, but even as he *fled* ſtill *threatned*. But others were not of that opinion, eſpecially the Governeſs, that knew with how much difficulty and reluctation the King had called him away. By her letters therefore ſhe acquainted his Majeſty, That *Egmont* concealing the Authours names had diſcovered to her a plot againſt Granvel, who, if ever he ſet foot again within the *Netherlands*, was to be murthered the ſame day. The Low-countrey writers, out of uncertain reports name one *Villet*, a Countreyman of *Granvels* that undertook to kill him. And the Counts *Egmont* and *Horn* were charged, as privy to *Villets* intention, at their Triall in the year 1568. Beſides in the private intelligence, which a Lady of quality from the Borders ſent into the Low-countreys, I find this deſign againſt the Cardinall mentioned; unles perhaps all this was feigned, to fright the Governeſs.

Granvell being gone for *Burgundy*, the Town and the Court ſeemed quite another thing. The people that, as a comfort to their low fortunes, uſe to behold with greedineſs the fall of powerfull men, eſpecially of ſuch as are Princes Favourites, becauſe they impute to theſe Privadoes all the ſeverer mandates of the Prince; began now to rejoyce, as if they were freed of a heavie tax-maſter. In particular the officious Courtiers joyed the Lords for having baniſhed their Corrival: and they themſelves boaſted, That now they had ſued out the *Governeſſes* Livery, who had lived long enough under a Guardian; That it was ſufficient, they had for ſo long time endured the inſolence of a new man, an upſtart, that triumphed in his ſcarlet robes, for his Conqueſt over the *Low countryes*. From thence forth, they were much more obſervant to the *Governeſs*, came oftner to the Councel-board; beſtowed

ſtowed more time upon the Publick. The *Governeſs* thinking it beſt to uſe that opportunity, preſſed them to many things at once; particularly to continue the Subſidie of the new year, for three years yet to come: which ſhe had often, but in vain attempted; and moſt of her Propoſals were in a fair Way to be effected; when by letter after letter, coming from the *Cardinall*, that ſpake of his return into the *Low-countreys*; and by increaſe of the faction of the *Cardinaliſts* (for ſo they called the Duke of *Areſchot*, Count *Barlamont*, and the Preſident *Viglius*) many mens minds were filled with freſh ſuſpicion, and much of their new joy and alacrity abated. For on the one part diverſe of the Lords ſaid, They feared, (unleſſe they pretended fear, to colour their private meetings) that if they ſhould, removing all Obſtructions, diſpoſe things to a good concluſion, *Granvell* upon a ſudden would return, and boldly claim a ſhare in the ſucceſs: On the other part, the *Cardinaliſts* more ſlowly followed the Kings buſineſs; either offended at the *Governeſs*, or to endear the *Cardinall* by his abſence, and to make him the more longed for. But the *Governeſs* perſiſted in her deſires to bar all hope of his return, and wrote to his Majeſty many letters, wherein ſhe did not a little tax the life of *Granvell*, I ſuppoſe to ſhew ſhe had reaſon for conſenting to his remove. Which was the cauſe, why an Officer extraordinary was ſent into *Burgundy* in the Kings name, to take the accounts of the Exchecquer, and ſo by the by to examine *Granvells* actions. At this Inquiſitours return, the *Governeſs* made it her ſuit, foraſmuch as the Lords ſuſpected, *Granvells* ſtay in *Burgundy* had too near an influence upon the *Low-countreys*, and that they likewiſe ſaid, Though his perſon was abſent, his Counſels and Directions ſtill ordered the affairs of State, his ghoſt as it were haunting the *Low-countryes*, that his Majeſtie would pleaſe to free the Provinces of that kind of fear; and ſend the man to *Rome*, the place he had long ſince choſen, whither afterward *Granvell* went of his own accord, not by the Kings command.

> 1564.
> *The Governeſs makes uſe of this* alacritie *in both.*
> *But it was daſht again by new fames of the Cardinals Return.*
> *That they may have no more ſuch frights, the Governeſs moves the King.*
> *Novem. 29.*
> *To ſend him away to* Rome.

For in *December* the year following, *Pius* the fourth deceaſing, *Cardinall Granvel* came to *Rome* to the Conclave (it will not do amiſs, I ſuppoſe, to let you know the further progreſs and end this great man) where he was re-imployed by King *Philip* (the *ſhow*, not *ſubſtance* of whoſe favour he had loſt) in ſoliciting all buſineſſes at *Rome* that nearlieſt concerned his Kingdome: with higher expreſſions then ever of his affection to the *Cardinal*. By which is evident, what difference there is, between ſuch as get into favour with a Prince by *accident*, & ſuch as are advanced by *merit*: for thoſe if they once fal, never riſe: theſe their *abſence* ingratiates with their Prince, and *neceſſitie* reſtores them to their places. And it fell out very opportunely for *Granvel*, who, being as ambitious of employment, as prepared for preſent buſineſs (the League betwen the Princes of *Chriſtendome*, ſo often begun to be treated, & ſo often broken off, coming now again in agitation) received from the King a large Commiſſion, that together with *Francis Cardinall Paceco*, and his Majeſties Embaſſadour *John Zuniga*, he ſhould upon what conditions he thought good, make a league between *Rome, Spain*, and *Venice*, which he (clearing the matters of controverſie that daily were revived) faithfully and actively endeavoured on the Kings behalf. After this, he was created by King *Philip* Vice-roy of *Naples*, and delivered from the *Pope* to *Don John* of *Auſtria* the Standard and commanding Staff, that declared him Generall of the *Chriſtian* Fleet. After the *Popes* death, coming to *Rome*, he ſo applyed himſelf, that beſides his advancing the *Spaniſh* party, whereof he was chief, he was the principall cauſe that *Gregory* the thirteenth, to the great benefit of *Chriſtendome*, was created *Pope*. And yet he exceedingly diſpleaſed that very Biſhop at his re-

> 1565.
> *The reſt of* Cardinal Granvels *life.*
> *He goes to* Rome *to the Conclave.*
> *Solicites the Generall peace of Chriſtendome*
> *Is created Vice-roy of* Naples.
> *Delivers the Colours to Don* John *of* Auſtria
> 1571.
> *Labours and votes in the Conclave for the Papacy of* Gregory XIII.
> 1572.
> *Into whoſe diſpleaſure he ſhortly after falls, for violating the rights of the Church.*

turn to *Naples*; where he carried himſelf ſomewhat more harſhly towards he Church, then could be exſpected from a Prelate of his Robe; but not otherwiſe then we ſee many ſacred and mitred perſons do, that ſhew themſelves more earneſt then the Lay-miniſters of Princes, to advance their politick Dominion. Whether it be their care to decline the ſuſpicion of being for the other party: or that their knowledge and emulation diſcovers the abſtruſeſt points that are to be oppoſed. Nor are they leſſe violent for being in holy Orders, familiarity and injoyment taking off their reſpect to that of which they are poſſeſſed. The *Vice-roy Granvell* had ſigned a warrant to his Officers, to take out of *Marius Caraffa* the Archbiſhops priſon, a notorious offendour; whoſe cauſe *Granvell* ſaid belonged to his Juriſdiction: For which fact, *Marius Caraffa* excommunicated the Kings Officers, whereat *Granvell* being implacably diſpleaſed, laid the Archbiſhops ſervants by the heels; and ſequeſtred the rents and profits of the Archbiſhoprick: the *Popes Nuncio Anthonius Saulio* in vain labouring againſt it, and threatning the *Popes* indignation if he perſiſted. *Gregory* the thirteenth was exceedingly vexed thereat, eſpecially becauſe when this was done at *Naples*, the like was attempted in *Caſtile* by the Preſident of the Councel, *Didaco Covarruvia* Biſhop of *Segovia*. His Holineſs therefore commanded *Saulio* to go to the *Cardinal Vice-roy*, and directly tell him, That unleſs within ſo many dayes, he would revoke and make null all he had done againſt the Archbiſhop and his ſervants, he by the authority given him by his Holineſs, would turn *Granvell* out of the Colledge of *Cardinalls*. Which meſſage (though ſome fearing the *Vice-royes* diplea[ſ]ure, perſwaded *Saulio* to put in milder terms) boldly delivered according to his inſtructions, ſo terrified *Granvell*, that he diſcharged the priſoners, and reſtored the Biſhop to his own. Nay, he gave the Archbiſhop a priſoner in exchange for the condemned man taken from him, that occaſioned the diſpute, and had been forthwith executed. Afterwards he ſubmitted to the Canons with much more care and reverence. So you ſee Threats and Menaces, proportioned to the greateſt ſpirits, will at laſt humble them. *Granvell* having now four years governed that Kingdome with great Prudence indeed, but not ſo great regard to Chaſtity, as beſeemed his age and ſcarlet, being in ſome meaſure reconciled to the *Pope*, returned to *Rome*: From whence three years after, he was ſent for by the King into *Spain* (being then 62 years old) and the *Italian* affairs of State wholly intruſted to his diſpoſall; which was diſtaſtfull to ſome of the Grandees, whoſe weaker and leſſer iudgements were eclipſed by his old and ſolid experience, and looked on by him with a kind of ſcorn. I find likewiſe the King himſelf was offended with him, whileſt by too paſſionately extolling the Actions of *Charles* the fifth, and inſtancing what he had done upon the like occaſions, he ſeemed to urge them as preſidents for his ſons imitation, with a freedome odious to Princes, which had ruined many of *Alexanders* greateſt Commanders, that ſpake too liberally in his fathers commendations. But *Granvell* knew he had to do with a Prince, enamoured of his merits, whoſe favour towards him he had found rather ſuſpended, then extinguiſhed; whereof he had this further proof, that King *Philip* going to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdome of *Portugall*, left *Granvell* to govern *Spain*: and returning out of *Portugall*, when he made his entrance into *Madrid*, waited on by infinite multitudes, and received with the acclamations of all ſorts of people, he rode through the Town with this aged Cardinal onely on his left hand. Laſtly, three years after *Granvell* returning from the Citie of *Auſpurge* (where he had married the Infanta *Katharine*, King *Philips* daughter, to *Emmanuel* Duke

In a ſuit with the Archbiſhop.

The Pope by his Nuncio juſtifies the Archbiſhop.

The Vice-roy at laſt ſubmits.

1575. *He is made Preſident of the* Italian *Councel in* Spain.

His free carriage towards the Grandees.

And towards the King him ſelf.

Q.Curt. *lib.* 8.

1580. *He governs* Spain *in the Kings abſence.*

1583. *The honour done him by the King at his Return.*

His death.

Duke of *Savoy*) being now ſeventy years of age, departed this life at *Madrid* the very day 28 years after the death of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. His corps a little while afte? was carried to *Beſanſon*, and buried in his fathers Monument. The man is particularly remarkable to the favourites of Princes, becauſe without the help of flattery, for about fourty years, with unſpotted fidelity he mannaged the principall affairs of a great Court, and being once outed, from his fall rebounded with eaſe, and roſe higher then before:. becauſe he was gracious with a Prince that ſuffered him (a happineſs ſeldome known) to enjoy both *favour* and *freedom* to the laſt. But our preſent Hiſtory bears older Date.

1564.
At Madrid.

His ſpeciall Commendations.

The *Governeſs* in the mean time, bent her endeavours to maintain Religion, which ſhe heard went to decay in many places: for the King by *Armenterius* enjoyned her that in the firſt place: and ſince then, wrote many effectuall letters to the ſame purpoſe. Indeed that King *Philip* did more then pretend to be carefull of Religion, the letters (about a hundred of which I have) written with his own hand, or in cypher to the Governeſs, do clearly teſtifie. Wherein he never uſed diſſimulation, as in thoſe that were read to the Councel by the *Governeſs*; but diſcovered to his ſiſter without reſervation, all his neceſsities, fears, and ſecret thoughts. And in theſe private Letters, he ſo earneſtly commends and commits unto her the protection of Religion; that he plainly declares it was to be her maſter-care, and all other Intereſts whatſoever, ſhould give place to it. Nay, many times he inſtructs her how to hunt out Hereticks, and trace them to their holes. His Majeſty likewiſe had Catalogues of their names (which I have by me, encloſed in his Letters) ſo exactly taken, as every ones condition; neighbourhood, age, and ſtature is to the life deſcribed, that truly it is wonderfull, how a Prince diſtracted and diverted with ſuch a multiplicity of State-affairs, could have the leaſure to inquire out, for the moſt part, obſcure people, which a private man could hardly get time to turn his thoughts and hand to. And by this means, as often as Catholicks fled out of *England* into the *Low-countreys*, in whoſe behalf the *Governeſs* wrote to the King; with incredible celeritie (beſides his Penſions beſtowed upon Prieſts of that Iſland, which for the cauſe of Religion lived as baniſhed men in the *Low-countreys*) he divided among them ſometimes 2000 Ducats at once: ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, alwayes ſomething. Incouraged by this royall bounty, ſome Colledges of that Nation were begun to be ſettled, to the great good of Catholicks in *Spain* and the *Low-countreys*. The *Governeſs* therefore of her own accord, and by the Kings command, laboured to preſerve Religion; and having the Nobility particularly obliged to her for her late favour; ſhe diſpatched letters to this effect to the Biſhops and Governours of Towns, which exceedingly awaked their induſtry.

The Governeſs provides for Religion. Commended to her by the King, Seriouſly,

With almoſt incredible care to root out Hereticks.

And with no little bounty to the baniſhed Engliſh.

And now the Hereticks were carried to priſon, and put to death: which terrified many, and thoſe that died were often reconciled to the Church. At *Rupelmond*, a Prieſt that was turned Heretick, when he ſaw no hope to eſcape out of the Tower wherein he was impriſoned, fell upon a deſperate deſigne of firing the next room in which the Records and Monuments of the Provinces were kept, ſuppoſing that while the guards were buſied in preſerving things that concernd the publick, he might get away. He acquainted his fellow-priſoners, which were nine, with the plot; and now the Tower was in a flame, which the ſouldiers preſently extinguiſhed, and the Prieſt being taken, was, with the reſt of his companions, but a little more happily, executed. For openly renouncing his Hereſie, before the multitude that

Hereticks put to death with various ſucceſs.

A bold fact of an hereticall Miniſter.

But it ſaved him at laſt.

1564. was aſſembled to ſee him die; twice he curſed *Calvin,* and all the contrivers of Hereſie, and bad the good people take warning, how they came near that plague-ſore, which the Devil had ſent from hell to infect mankind; and ſo profeſſing he died a Catholick, his head was ſtruck off. The *Governeſs* left out none of theſe paſſages in her Letter to the King, not doubting but they would be welcome to a Prince deſirous of ſuch news. But at *Antwerp* matters were carried ſomewhat more tumultuouſly. *Chriſtopher Fabricius* was to be executed, who forſaking the Order of *Carmelites*, married in *England*, and had corrupted ſome citizens of *Antwerp* with hereticall opinions. When the Executioner brought him to the ſtake to be burned, ſuddenly as the faggots were kindling, a ſhowre of ſtones (caſt from what hands was not known) fell upon the place; the Hangman ſeeing his own danger if he ſtayed, yet reſolving not to leave the condemned man to the people, whipped out his ſword, and when he was half burned, killed him: then leaping down among the ſouldiers, ſaved himſelf in the crowd. The mutineers thus defeated of their hopes, gave over for the preſent; either unable to maſter the ſouldiers, or conceiving they ſhould ſtir to no end, the priſoner being dead. Yet, the next day, ſome of them lighting upon a woman, who (they ſaid) firſt diſcovered *Fabricius*, they made a ring about her, railed and threw ſtones at her; and had killed her, but that ſhe fled and hid her ſelf in a neighbours houſe. The ſame day Verſes were poſted up in the Market-place, writ in bloud, to this effect. *That there were in* Antwerp *ſome that vowed ſhortly to revenge* Fabricius *his death*, whereof vvhen the King had knovvledge (perhaps vvith ſome addition to the truth and manner) he ſeverely commanded his ſiſter, not to let crimes of that nature eſcape long unpuniſhed. And her Excellence cauſing one of the ſtone-caſters to be hanged (for the reſt, as they vvere all of the baſeſt ſort of people, vvere either fled the Tovvn, or lay there concealed) quieted the City for the preſent, rather by Terrour, then Puniſhment. But at *Bruges*, the very Senate offended at the ſame time far more contumaciouſly; if vve credit a *Spaniſh* Monk, vvho lay then privately in *Bruges*, and ſent intelligence into *Spain*. For the Inquiſitour by his Deputy (the Pretour of the Tovvn delaying to aſſiſt him for fear of the Senate) had ſent an Heretick to priſon, guarded by three Officers, the Senate preſently commanded thoſe Officers to be ſeized, and committed them cloſe priſoners, to be kept vvith bread and vvater, till themſelves had ſpoken vvith the *Governeſs*, and this vvas proclaimed by the Crier in the Market place, the Heretick in the mean time being releaſed; a grievous vvrong both to Religion, and to the Inquiſitour. The Senate did not in very humterms acknovvledge their contempt; but poſting to the Governeſs, complained to her of the tumult that undoubtedly vvould have been raiſed by the Inquiſitour, in a City that vvould not ſuffer the Breach of any of their Priviledges: if they themſelves, peradventure by a *ſharp*, but yet by a *ſafe* remedy, had not opportunely pacified the peoples minds. What vvas done herein by the Governeſs, or vvhat ſhe anſvvered to the King, after ſhe received his letters by the Monk, I find not.

Auguſt 13.

The puniſhment of Fabricius *the Apoſtate,* out of her Excellencies letters, 8. *Octob.*

The Executioners dexterity.

The people mutiny.

25 *Novem.*

They are quieted

The Senate of Bruges *affront the Inquiſitour.*

Septemb. 10

Novem. 25.

Of the Councel of Trent.

Theſe and the like attemps (as I conceive) moved the Governeſs to conſult, how the Decrees of the Councell of *Trent* againſt Hereticks lately brought into the Low-countreys (ſome of which were not yet clearly expounded) might be there obſerved. For the King having many times wrote letters to her, wherein he ſhewed himſelf diſpleaſed with the Hereticks boldneſſe, and the connivence of the Biſhops: and having commanded his fathers Edict to be revived, which had long lyen dormant, the judgement being

ing tranſlated to Eccleſiaſticall perſons, The Governeſs replyed, that although it would be very ſeaſonable, in regard that many of the new judges and inquiſitours had not been more ambitious of their places, then timerous in them; yet ſhe ſaid the Edict could not poſſibly be executed, if the Councell of *Trent* were received: by authority whereof the cognizance of theſe cauſes was transferred to the Eccleſiaſticall Tribunall. Beſides that, when *Pope Pius* had ſpent the moſt part of this year one thouſand five hundred ſixty four in propoſing and bringing in the decrees of the Councel, earneſtly commending their uſe and patronage to Chriſtian Princes, it pleaſed the King of *Spain* to be the firſt that gave his aſſent: not onely out of his Majeſties native piety, but likewiſe becauſe that Councell was called at the requeſt of his father *Charles* the fifth, when he was at *Rome*: and therefore he conceived the maintenance thereof deſcended upon him by inheritance.

1564.

The diligence uſed by Pius iv. *to get it to be received.* *Which was readily done by King* Philip.

1536. Paulo iii. Pont.

But whilſt his Majeſtie firſt took order to eſtabiſh the Councel in *Spain*, and then wrote to his ſiſter to do the like in the Low-countreys; ſomething happened at *Rome*; which it was thought would alienate the Kings mind from the *Pope*, and conſequently that no farther regard would be had of the Councel either in *Spain*, or the Low-countreys. For there was an accidentall Diſpute in the Councel of *Trent*, whether the *French* or *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour ſhould take place; this would not indure the other ſhould precede him, nor would he ſuffer this to his equall. The controverſie was for that preſent time compoſed, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour being honourably ſeated apart from all the reſt. But when the Councel was ended, upon the deſire of *Lodwick Requeſenes* King *Philips* Reſident at *Rome*, that the precedencie might be determined, *Pope Pius*, it being *in re odioſa*, firſt began to put it off, and then adviſed *Requeſenes* to give over the conteſt: finally, he perſwaded them ſeverally and in private, to referre the cauſe wholly to the ſacred Colledge of *Cardinals*; in the mean time, they were to forbear the ceremonie of coming to the *Popes Chappell*; his Holineſſe ſuppoſing the contrary factions of the *Cardinals* would be a means to make the ſuit depend for a long time, and free him of the neceſſitie, and ſo of the envie, of giving ſentence. For, as he ſaid very handſomely, a Prince ſhould imitate *Jupiter* who (according to the old tradition of the *Thuſcan* Soothſayers) hath two kinds of thunder-bolts, the *proſperous* he himſelf uſeth to ſhoot, but for the *unfortunate* he calls a Councel of the Gods. Notwithſtanding when mens minds are inflamed, they are like horſes at full ſpeed, hard to be ſtopped; and both the Embaſſadours took it ill, that the *Pope* ſo delayed them, eſpecially *Henry Oſſellie* King Charles his Reſident, who thought himſelf by this means in a manner equalized, eſpecially fearing leaſt the contention might be ended now, as formerly it had been in *Ferdinand* the *Emperours* Court, where it was reſolved the *French* and *Spaniſh* Embaſſadours ſhould take place of each other by turns; which cauſed the *French* Embaſſadour to leave the *Emperours* Court; and this perhaps might be a preſident for the Court of *Rome*. But the *Pope* that the ceremonies in his Chappel might not any more be intermitted, at laſt, upon the ſacred day of Pentecoſt, commanded, that next the Imperiall the *French* Embaſſadour ſhould take place. Whereat *Requeſenes*, in a fury, after he had in the *Popes* preſence taken publick notice of the injury in his maſters name; by his Majeſties command left *Rome*. This buſineſſe held many in ſuſpence, what king *Philip* would do, particularly concerning the Councel of *Trent*, which the *Pope* was ſo earneſt with him to ſettle in his Dominions; and it exceedingly troubled the *Dutcheſs* of *Parma*,

The difference between the Pope and King. Onuph. Pan. in Pio iv. Adrian. l. 8. Hiſt. Thuan. l. 35. Hiſt. *About the* Spaniſh *Embaſſadours place.* *Which began at the Councel of* Trent. *And being there compoſed, Was revived at* Rome.

The Pope not willing to determine it. *Puts it off to the Cardinals.*

At laſt he explains himſelf. *Whereupon the* Spaniſh *Embaſſadour in a fury leaves* Rome. *This Accident troubled many.* *Eſpecially the Governeſſe.*

 becauſe

1564. becauſe ſhe governe'd the Low-countreys, which among all his Majeſties Dominions lay moſt open to the invaſion of Hereticks: and therefore the *Pope* moſt of all deſired that the Councel ſhould be firſt eſtabliſhed there. The Governeſſe therefore doubtfully exſpected the Kings pleaſure in his next letters, and withall was ſomewhat more ſlack in puniſhing Hereticks; and ſome were abſolutely of opinion, the Councel of *Trent* ſhould be no more heard of in the Low-countreys. This rejoyced the Hereticks, who jeered the wiſdome of the *Pope*, that found ſo *ſeaſonable* a time to provoke the *Spaniard*, by whom if the Councel were refuſed, what Kingdome would obey the Canons made at *Trent*. Though ſome upon the ſame premiſes, concluded otherwiſe, and ſaid, the *Popes* juſtice was not ſhaken either by hope or fear: nor did they doubt of the Kings piety and conſtancie, or that a private offence could move him to put the Councell out of his Protection: which if he ſhould do, the *French* would not fail to undertake it, if it were but onely becauſe the *Spaniard* had rejected it. And behold, Letters came from King *Philip*, which acquainted the Governeſs, that the Diſpute was ended, but farre otherwiſe then he conceived the equity of his cauſe, or his obſervance to the *Pope* deſerved. *That he had therefore called away his Embaſſadour from* Rome, *where he might not appear with honour, that being the laſt private buſineſſe he was likely to have with his* Holineſſe : *but for the publick, or his ſervice and obedience to the* Pope, *and the holy* Apoſtolick See, *from which he would never depart, he had commended thoſe to Cardinall* Paceco, Patron *of the* Spaniſh *at* Rome, *with whom ſhe ſhould hereafter tranſact all buſineſſe appertaining to the deſignation of Biſhops and eſtabliſhment of Religion: for defence whereof, as likewiſe for propounding and impoſing the Councel of* Trent *upon the Low-countreys, it was fit her care and endeavours ſhould not be ſlacked upon any cauſe whatſoever.* And indeed the King having thus declared himſelf, ſhe would eaſily have brought it in, if ſhe had not ſtumbled at the threſhold. For deſiring the advice of thoſe that had the care of ſouls, and of the greateſt *Caſuiſts* in the Univerſities: and likewiſe putting it to the ſuffrage of the Senate; they voted againſt the Councel, and adviſed her not to propound the Decrees, containing certain heads repugnant to Monarchy and the Priviledges of the Subject, unleſſe the ſaid heads were excepted. And this they urged more freely and peremptorily, becauſe they imagined, ſuch confidence could not but be acceptable to the King, which, under the pretence of liberty, ſerved the Princes ends, and yet excuſed the Prince from any fault. But the King, whom the Governeſs in every thing conſulted, liked it not: and therefore made anſwer, *It was not his pleaſure in propounding the Councel to his Subjects any thing ſhould be excepted, leſt* Rome, *a Citie apt to prejudicate, ſhould from thence have matter of cenſure, and other Chriſtian Princes, that looked upon* Spain, *occaſion of imitation. For that which is ſaid in the Councel, touching Sovereignty and Subjection, was ſufficiently conſidered, when the publiſhing thereof was diſputed in* Spain, *where all thoſe difficulties were diſcuſſed. And as at that time no exception was taken, but the Councel abſolutely propoſed, onely with a little moderation to be uſed in the practice: ſo it ſhould be in the Low-countreys, whither he had ſent a copie of the* Spaniſh *Proclamation, that his Subjects, throughout all his Dominions, might obey him by one rule.* The Governeſs according to his royall Mandate, beginning to be active, and indeavouring to put an end to what ſhe had in the *Netherlands* begun; how ſad a commotion followed, in the end of the next year, when the people, to the ruine of many, broke out into Rebellion, I ſhall in its due place commemorate. In the mean time, the Governeſs ſeeing the difficulties

The Hereticks rejoyce in hope the Councel of Trent *will never be received in the Low-countreys. But they were deceived.*

Auguſt 6.

A letter from the King offended with the Pope.

Yet carefull to eſtabliſh the Councel of Trent.

The Governeſs doubts whether ſome Decrees of the Councel are not to be excepted in the promulgation. The Senate would have it ſo.

But the King will not.

Septemb. 30

Novem. 25

The Governeſſe finds it difficult.

1565.

Count Egmont *ſent into* Spain.

difficulties of the Exchecquer and Religion to increaſe: and that ſhe could get nothing of his Majeſtie by Letters, reſolved to ſend ſome great man her Embaſſadour to the King, and looking upon Count *Egmont*, as one, that, beſides the Nobilitie of his birth and his experience in the affairs of the Low-countreys, ſhe did believe would have all things granted to his great and acknowledged merit: her Excellence deſigned, and in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred ſixty five, with the advice of the Senate ſent him into *Spain*. And Count *Egmont* willingly undertook the imployment, becauſe (as he ſaid to the Governeſs and ſhe informed the King) by the opportunity of this publick Embaſſage he ſhould diſpatch his own private buſineſſe with his Maieſtie. Having therefore received large inſtructions, with the conſent and hopefull exſpectation of all, many of the Nobilitie for honours ſake bringing him on the way, he ſet forward, the ſame day that *Francis Hallevine* Lord of *Zeveghem* returned from *Germany*, whither he was ſent by the Governeſs, in the name of King *Philip*, to the *Emperour Maximilian*, his Empreſſe, and the Princes of *Germany*; to condole the death of his father, that religious Prince the Emperour *Ferdinand*, which the Emperour *Mazimilian* took extreme kindly, and made great promiſes of ſervice to his uncle.

1565. *Feb.* 15.

The Lord of Zeveghem *ſent to condole the death of the Emperour* Maximilian.

At this time the Prince of *Orange* had, by Princeſſe *Anne* of *Saxony*, another ſonne called, by the name of the Prince Electour her father, *Maurice*. This is the Prince *Maurice* whom we muſt often mention, not without the commendations of a valiant and cautelous *Generall*, who (being choſen by the States Confederate in the place of his father lately killed) after he had for two years commanded the *Hollanders* as a Prince, though by another *name*, which is commonly the end of long Governments; dyed of grief, conceived at the ſiege of *Breda*, when he ſaw, it muſt inevitably be taken. The Governeſs wrote to the King, that the child had all the Orthodox rites of Baptiſme: but that which moſt troubled her was, on his Chriſtening day they delivered him in tutelage to the Prince Electour *Auguſtus* Duke of *Saxony* and *Philip Landgrave* of *Heſſen*, both Lutheran Princes: in whoſe names, two Lords, infected with the ſame hereſie, were his Godfathers. For even in this likewiſe, the Prince of *Orange*, who alwayes acted two parts, had ſomething Catholick and ſomething Hereticall, to pleaſe both ſides, ſtill attending their ſeverall fortunes as a neuter.

The Princeſſe of Orange *brought a bed of Prince* Maurice.

Feb. 15. *Chriſtened with Catholick rites by hereticall Godfathers.*

In the letters, the Dutcheſſe informed the King, what jealouſies and reports were raiſed by the meſſage which ſhe had communicated to the Senate, touching the meeting, that was to be upon the borders of *Aquitaine*, between Katharine of *Medices Queen-mother* of *France*, governing that nation joyntly with the King; and her daughter *Iſabella* Queen of *Spain*. For King *Philip*, by his letters, had commanded his ſiſter to aſſure the Low-countrey Lords, that nothing more was intended by that interview, then the ſatisfaction of King *Charles* and his mother, being in their progreſſe come ſo near the confines of *Spain*. To the ſame purpoſe, he either wrote or ſent Embaſſadours to moſt of the Princes of *Europe*, not ſo much as any Lord of *Italy*, or *Spain*, or any one Miniſter of State, but was by inſtructions from King *Philip* acquainted with the occaſion of that conference. Yet all this took not away the Low-countreymens fears and jealouſies, but rather increaſed them; many, eſpecially Hereticks being apt to believe, that the Queen-mother did not this out of love to her daughter, but to lay the foundation of ſome great deſign againſt the hereticall factions, and the diſturbances of both Kingdoms: which they ſuſpected the rather, becauſe it was rumoured

Of the conference of K. Charles *of* France *and the two Queens at* Baion.

Feb. 3. *For which the King of* Spain *gave reaſons to the* Belgick *Lords.* *And to the Princes of* Europe.

Yet many were jealous.

Eſpecially the Hereticks.

1565. *Who were troubled the more fearing King* Philip *would be at the Conference.* *Why the Governeſſe diſſwaded his coming.*

rumoured, King *Philip* would be there in perſon. And indeed when Queen *Iſabella* moved him, to add to their contentment his preſence; I find by his letters to the Governeſs, that he was pretty well inclined to the iourney: though ſhe diſwaded him, and ſaid it was below the Majeſty of ſo great a Prince, to truſt himſelf to the power of the *French*, at that time, when partly the *French* Kings minority, partly the condition of a Quen-regent, made the ſubjects ſo contumacious towards their Governours. Yet his Majeſty replyed, that if he were ſure his preſence were neceſſary for the good of Religion, he was reſolved, for Gods cauſe, to decline no trouble or danger whatſoever. Yet conſenting to the going of his Queen, and commanding *Ferdinand* Count of *Toledo* and Duke of *Alva* to wait upon her, and preſent, in his name, to the King of *France*, the Order of the *Golden-fleece*, he himſelf went not: either diverted by many cares, having then (as he wrote to the Governeſs) received intelligence that the Turk beſieged *Malta:* or elſe, to give his reſolutions with greater authority at a diſtance; which, I ſuppoſe, was the cauſe why he left it not in his wife's power to determine any thing, before ſhe had, by her letters adviſed with him. But at this enterview, ſo highly celebrated in the writings of all Scholars, even of the Poets themſelves, when in ſo great ſtate and glory, King *Charles* and the two Queens met at *Baion*, the *French* ſleighting the *Spaniſh* pride, with greater pride; all that was concluded, the more ſecretly it paſſed, onely in preſence of the Duke of *Alva*; with the more confidence, do ſome writers (as if they had a blank before them) fill up the ſpace with wit, and deduce from hence, ſtrange ſecrets of State. Omitting ſuch divination, out of the letters, which I have, written in King *Philips* own hand, to his ſiſter about that conference, this I know. The Queen of *Spain* for divers weighty reaſons (no doubt by the command of King *Philip*) had deſired her Brother, and Mother, whom it nearly concerned to preſerve Religion then greatly indangered in *France*, and they, very well affected to the cauſe, had laid their deſignes; the Queen Regent by the by propounded ſome Marriages, wherein ſhe would have ingaged her Daughter, but the Queen of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Alva* returned thereunto no abſolute anſwer, reſerving the finall determination of all things to King *Philip*. Laſtly, upon occaſion of an Embaſſadour ſent from *Soliman* the *Turkiſh Emperour* to renew the league between King *Charles* and him, the *French* ſpake of renouncing the ſaid League, and that their King ſhould joyn with King *Philip* and the Emperour againſt the common enemie. But this, though it was opportune, took no effect, the Queen of *Spain* declining all overtures, but onely, concerning Religion: which ſhe, at the Duke of *Alva's* earneſt motion, again commending to them, after they had imbraced and kiſſed, they took their leaves. The Hereticks (that gueſſed at their intentions) exceedingly fearing, leſt by the meeting of theſe Princes, as by the conjunction of malevolent Starres, was portended ſome fearfull ſtorm that would fall upon their heads. And indeed that great maſſacre of the *Hugonots*, which ſeven years after was acted at *Paris*, was they ſay plotted at this meeting, which I will neither denie, nor affirm. Though I am rather inclined to believe, that the mutuall ſuccours which ſince this time we ſee have been often ſent, by the *French* into the Low-countreys, and from thence into *France*, againſt the Rebells to Religion and their Prince, together with the marriage five years after ſolemnized by King *Charles* and *Eliſabeth* daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, were concluded at this conference. For King *Philip*, in the fore-mentioned letter, gives an intimation of mutuall aſſiſtance to be from

March 3. *Duke of* Alva.

Why King Philip *was not preſent.*

*Septemb.*17

Various reports touching the conference at Baion.

*Septemb.*25 *what they conſulted of.*

The Hereticks very much afraid Thuan. l. 36. Hiſt. An. Herrera l. 12. c. 1. in the Life of Philip II. and others. *The maſſacre at* Paris *thought to be deſigned at this meeting.*

thenceforth

1565.

thenceforth given, to expell hereſie out of their Kingdomes: and plainly ſaith, the Queen had not directly declared her ſelf againſt the marriage, but left a door open to a new conſultation; ſince in regard of their tender years, the young Prince and Princeſſe (he being but fifteen, and Princeſſe *Eliſabeth* eleven) might very well ſtay a good while before they married.

C. Egmont *arrives in* Spain.

Feb. 15.

In the beginning of *March*, Count *Egmont* came to *Madrid*, contrary to the exſpectation and command of his Majeſtie, who would have had his journey put off; I ſuppoſe, becauſe the *Governeſs* had informed him that the Count was willing to go, in hope of his private advantage. Yet the King received him very graciouſly, anſwerable to the quality of ſo noble a perſon, and ſo great a Generall, famous for many victories: and often with good approbation heard him move for relief to the publick neceſſities of his Countrey. Nay, when he deſcended to his particular affairs, the King granted his ſuit, almoſt in every thing. Finally, his Majeſtie gave him large inſtructions in writing for anſwer to the *Governeſs*, and that he might reſolve upon more certain grounds he adviſed, in that which concerned Religion, with Divines, which to that purpoſe waited on him. In that Aſſembly of learned men, I have heard one that was preſent, ſay, The pietie of the King was admirable: For having ſummoned the greateſt Schoolmen and Caſuiſts; and demanding their opinions touching the Libertie of Conſcience which ſome Low-countrey Towns ſo earneſtly petitioned for: when many of them conſidering the preſent condition of the *Low-countreys*, ſaid, That for the avoiding of a greater evil, much to be feared, in Cities ready to revolt and ſhake off Obedience to their Prince, and to the Orthodox Faith, his Majeſtie might, without offending God, allow his ſubjects the free exerciſe of their Religion; He replied, That he ſent not for them to inſtruct him, whether ſuch a Permiſſion were *lawfull*, but whether it were *neceſſary*. And when they told him, they ſaw no neceſſity; then the King, in their preſence, kneeling before a Crucifix; *And I*, ſaid he, *pray and beſeech thy Divine Majeſtie, thou King of all men, O God, that thou wilt pleaſe to keep me alwayes in this mind, that I may never care, that the men which deny thee for their Lord, may either be, or be called my Subjects:* and then he opened his determination concerning Religion in thoſe Letters, which I told you were delivered to Count *Egmont*. But before he had his diſpatch, the King dealt plainly with him, That he was not a little offended at the laſt conſpiracie of the Lords, when they gave the Coats and Cognizances, wherein they ænigmatically threatned Cardinal *Granvel*, that eſpecially *Egmont* (reputed the Authour of that invention) might therein have ſhewn, if not more fidelity, at leaſt more diſcretion. But Count *Egmont* faithfully aſſured his Majeſty, that it was mere mirth, and childiſh ſport at table, to make a jeſt to laugh at in their cups, not to be feared by any man: that done, he omitted not to accuſe the *Cardinall* as the principall cauſe thereof, becauſe he daily muſtered thoſe of his faction againſt the Nobility, and therefore deſerved to be requited with the like Aſſemblies. Yet in theſe meetings (and this he often confirmed by oath) they did not ſo much as think of any thing contrary to their ſincere Allegiance to his Majeſty: Nay, if he had found any of their party an Enemy to the King; he himſelf would have been firſt, though he were his own brother, that ſhould have ſtabbed him to the heart. This Diſcourſe having paſſed between the King and Count *Egmont* (of all which the King by a private Letter certified the *Governeſs*): Inſtructions were given to the Count thus indorſed; *Inſtructions of thoſe things which thou, Prince of* Gavera, *Count of* Egmond, *our* Couſen, *and*

The Kings Anſwer and Commands.

April 2.

Having firſt conſulted the Divines,

In this manner.

His Majeſty checks C. Egmont, *for the Cognizances deviſed to affront* Granvell.

Egmont *excuſes himſelf,*

And accuſes the Cardinall.

1565. *The Kings inſtructions delivered in writing to Count* Egmont.

Counſellour in affairs of the Empire, *art commanded in our Name, to communicate to Our Siſter the Dutcheſs of* Parma. The ſumme of his large Inſtructions was this: At his arrivall in the *Low-countreys*, after he had ſaluted the *Governeſs* from the King, and returned her his royall thanks for her good Government of thoſe Provinces, and for ſending into *Spain* the fitteſt man to negotiate for the *Low-countreys*; he was to deliver her this anſwer from his Maieſty: That in the firſt place he was ſtruck with unutterable grief, to hear of the growth of Hereſie; and that he was firmly reſolved, and would have the whole world know, that he would not ſuffer it within his Dominions, though he were to die for it a thouſand times. Therefore he deſired the *Governeſs* to call a Senate extraordinary, to which divers Biſhops ſhould be ſummoned, particularly *Rythovius* Biſhop of *Ipres*, with the like number of Divines, and ſuch Counſellours as ſtood beſt affected to Religion and their Countrey. The *pretended occaſion* ſhould be to examine the Councel of *Trent*; but the *reall meaning* to find out an Expedient, how the people might be kept in their ancient Religion; how their children might be virtuouſly bred up at School; how to proceed in puniſhing Hereticks, by ſome other courſe, that might take off the odium: not that he meant to pardon them (for that he neither reſolved to do, neither did he think it would be acceptable to God, or ſafe for Religion,) but that he might in their deaths prevent all hope of glorying, which was the cauſe of their impious and wilfull ſufferings. Moreover the Senate was to be ſo ordered, that the Councel of Eſtate was to ſuperintend the other two Councels of Law and the Treaſury, but nothing to be concluded, before the Governeſs knew their Reſolutions and Reaſons. This vvas the Effect of his Majeſties Letters, delivered to Count *Egmont*. But he wrote others to the Governeſs, wherein he gave her to underſtand, That it pleaſed him not, that the Authority of the Senate (wherein ſate the principall Lords of the *Low-countreys*) be inlarged, which both ſtraitens the power of the *Governeſs*; and might open a way for divers great men, enriched by the Treaſury, to change (as from other hands was intimated) the preſent form of Government. He likewiſe commanded Count *Egmont* to let the *Governeſs* know, That his Majeſtie remembred the neceſſities of the *Netherlands*, which ſhe had ſo often moved him in: and therefore ſent her, part in ready money, part in Bils of Exchange, 60000 Ducats to pay the common ſouldiers, and 200000 to be diſtributed among the Garriſons; and for the Governours of Provinces, and the Magiſtrates penſions 150000, and that he would have returned her more, for the fortifying of Towns, and disbanding of ſouldiers, if he had not been in many places to provide for his Fleet againſt the *Turk*. But ſome of this money could not be got of the Bankers, becauſe they were not ſatisfied in *Spain*. Laſtly, commending the integrity of his Judges and Officers, he put the Governeſs and his Subjects of the *Low-countreys*, in hope, that he would make a voyage thither, purpoſely to hear their Grievances, and in perſon to redreſſe them. The ſame day that his Majeſtie gave theſe Letters to Count *Egmont*, he called in *Alexander* (ſonne to *Octavio Farneze* and *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Princes of *Parma* and *Piacenza*) and delivered him to Count *Egmont* with theſe words; *Among other things which thou art to carry to the* Governeſs, *I truſt thee likewiſe with this Youth: do him thoſe ſervices, which the Sonne to my Siſter, and your Governeſs deſerves.* Count *Egmont* kiſſing the Kings hands again for this ſpeciall favour, departed the more pleaſed, becauſe it would add to the *Governeſſes* joy, for the ſucceſs of his *Embaſſage*, that he ſhould bring her ſonn, a happineſs ſhe had long deſired. Indeed it rejoy-

For preſervation of Religion.

For deſtruction of Hereticks.

For regulation of the Councel.

April 2.

For diſpoſall of the moneys ſent by his hand.

For ſignification of his Majeſties intended journey thither.

Prince Alexander Farneze *delivered by the King to Count* Egmont, *who is to conduct him into the* Low-countreys.

reȷoyced her very much; for when ſhe ſaw her ſonne *Alexander*, ſo well bred, ſo lively ſpirited, yet tempered with ſuch gravity, as became one that had been educated in ſo great a Court, under his uncle King *Philip*; ſhe received infinite ſatisfaction. Eſpecially for that Count *Egmont*, together with her Sonne brought her the news of a Marriage intended him by the King. Whereupon the Steward of her Houſe, the Lord *Theuloi*, was purpoſely ſent into *Spain*, to give his Majeſtie moſt humble thanks, for his Royall favours conferred upon her, and her husband the Duke of *Parma*, by deſigning ſuch a wife for their Sonne.

1565. *The Governeſſes joy upon the ſight of her ſon. And news of a Match intended him by the King* April 30.

King *Philip* had been moved about a match for Prince *Alexander* four years before. His Father *Octavio* was inclined to marry him to the Siſter of *Alphonſo* Duke of *Ferrara*, Daughter to *Hercules* the ſecond and *Renè* Daughter of *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*; becauſe he thought it would be a great ſupport to his Power, to joyn in alliance with Princes ſo near neighbours to him; and he ſaid, (which I believe he had from *Charles* the fifth) That as in the Globe of the Earth and Sea, the Moon is more predominant then moſt of the Starrs, not becauſe ſhe hath a *greater*, but a *nearer* influence; ſo we ſhould think of our neighbours. And he maintained this opinion, as I ſuppoſe, more fervently, becauſe about that time *Pope Pius* the fourth challenged the Principality of *Camertio*, which he entended to beſtow upon *Frederick Borromeo*, his Siſters ſonne, lately married with his conſent, to the Noble Lady *Virginia Ruveria Verana*. *Octavio* therefore, weighing, in caſe this diſpute might beget a War, how much it concern'd him to be in amity with the Duke of *Ferrara*, held it very convenient to make up this Marriage. Nor did the *Governeſs* diſapprove of the deſigne; but in her husbands and her own name, wrote about it to the King. But he, either becauſe he would have no affinitie with a *Duke* of the *French* Faction; or becauſe he had thought of another Wife for him, and had already ſhewed himſelf in it; anſwered the *Governeſs* in theſe words. *ILLUSTRIOUS Princeſs, long ſince when I reſolved upon the Treaty of a Marriage for your Sonn and my* Alexander *(for I eſteem him as mine own Sonn) with the Daughter of our Uncle the Emperour* Ferdinand; *I did aſſure my ſelf, it would be very well received by you, Siſter, and by the Duke your Husband. Nor have your Letters altered my Opinion, or what was ſaid to me by* Ardinghell *in favour of the match with* Ferrara. *She that I have deſigned him, is Daughter to an* Emperour, *and our kinſwoman. The Duke of* Ferrara's *Siſter and Prince* Alexander *are of years ſo diſproportionable, that it may cauſe diſagreement. Indeed I commend the Duke of* Parma, *that ſeeks the friendſhip of his neighbours, by deſiring to match into this family, but he ought likewiſe to conſider, that ſo long as he hath me for his Brother and Protectour, no man dare preſume to trench upon him. As he may well perceive by the late change of things, when* Pius *the fourth gave over his attempt. For after I had taken care to inform his* Holineſs *of my reſolutions, and how I am obliged in honour both now and for ever, to maintain the Rights of the* Farnezes: *he anſwered me, He would not onely forbear to moleſt the Duke, but would be as much a Patron to his Family, as I my ſelf. But though I have commanded* Ardinghel *to ſignifie this to the Duke; yet out of my brotherly love, I could not but acquaint you with it, that I might ſatisfie the near relation of our bloud, and likewiſe deſire you to inſert this my determination in your Letters to your Husband: and with all poſſible ſpeed to let me know both your reſolutions.* But while the Father and Mother remained in ſuſpence, and knew not which of theſe matches they ſhould wiſh: the one being more *noble*, the other more *advantageous*; the King upon ſecond thoughts, pitched upon *Mary* Princeſs of *Portugall*, Daughter to

Of Marriages treated for Prince Alexander.

Duke Octavio *would match him to the Duke of* Ferrarars *ſiſter.*

His reaſons.

The Governeſs is of the ſame mind. Octob. 1. 1560.

The King diſſents. 1565.

and names another. Decem. 9. 1560.

His Majeſties Letter.

1565. *The King upon further conſideration propoſes* Mary *Princeſs of* Portugall. *The Offer is embraced.*

1565. Edward brother to Iohn the III. ſon to Emmanuel.

Prince *Edward* and *Iſabella* of *Briganze*, Niece to King *Emmanuel*; and by his Letters ſounding the inclination of the Duke and Dutcheſs; the Match was at once propounded by the King, and approved of by all parties: For at that time, the name of *Portugal* was glorious, a great part of the Earth being diſcovered by their religious and fortunate Souldiers. And King *Philip* was not onely deſcended from this Houſe of *Portugall*, by his Mothers ſide, being Sonn to *Iſabella*, and therefore Nephew to *Emmanuel*; but he himſelf, almoſt twenty years before, married into this Family, to *Mary* Daughter to *John* the third, and Niece to *Emmanuel*. It was therefore thought an high honour to the *Farneze's*, that one of King *Emmanuels* Nieces ſhould be married to King *Philip*, and the other to *Alexander* Prince of *Parma*. Eſpecially becauſe She and King *Philip* were Brothers and Siſters children, and *Mary* of *Portugal* was in the ſame degree of bloud, both to King *Philip* and his Queen: beſides, by her Mother ſhe was of the noble familiy of the *Briganzes*, which had often match'd with the Bloud-royall of *Portugal*, and kept a Houſe like a Kings Court. But Prince *Alexander* was farre more in love with the Beautie and Virtue of the Ladie, then with the Merits of all her Anceſtours.

Her Nobility both by Father *And Mother.*

Princeſſe Maries *peculiar commendations. Her wit and learning.* *Sanctity of life.* *Childiſh exerciſes.* *Modeſty.* *Care to preſerve it.*

The fame of this Princely Virgin was ſpread through *Spain*, and moſt deſervingly; for ſhe had ſuch an underſtanding that it was reported, there was nothing ſhe did not comprehend. She ſpake *Latine* fluently, and very well. She was a pretty good *Grecian*; not ignorant of Philoſophy, and excellent in the Mathematicks. So verſed in Scripture, that ſhe could readily turn to any Text in the Old or New Teſtament. But above all, ſhe was admired for innocency and holineſs of life. Nothing pleaſed her ſo much in her hours of retirement, as the contemplation of things Divine. And in her familiar diſcourſe, ſhe often quoted ſhort Maxims out of the Bible, or the Fathers: wherewith in the day time while ſhe was at work, ſhe ſweetly offered up her heart to God. Indeed ſhe never put her hand to ſowing, either needle-work or imbroyderie, but onely to adorn the Altar, and for the uſe of the poor, that ſhe might in both, adorn and cover Chriſt himſelf. Touching her modeſty, ſhe was not onely *carefull* but *proud* of it, and ſaid, *Though women were to conceal their other virtues, yet they might glory in their Chaſtity.* Therefore ſhe forbare all publick Shews and Entertainments: as often as her Parents and the King her Uncle would diſpenſe with her abſence. And in readding of the Poets, though ſhe was very much taken with their wit, yet ſhe looked upon them with great fear, leſt ſhe might encounter any amorous paſſages; and once, when ſhe had took up *Franceſco Petrarch*, and had run over a few of his Verſes, ſhe threw him out of her hands. For the ſame reaſon ſhe could not be induced to let any Courtier lead her; or to lean upon their arms or ſhoulders, the common garb of great Ladies, either out of pride, or to be the better ſupported, going in high Chopines. Theſe, and many other virtues, commended the Match with *Mary* Princeſs of *Portugal*.

The Low-countrey Fleet ſent to tranſport the Bride.

The *Governeſs* therefore, looſing no time after her Sonn *Alexanders* coming: ſent the Royall Fleet well manned to ſea, and made *Peter Erneſt* Count *Mansfeldt*, a great Commander, Admirall, ſending with a noble train of Lords and Ladies onely the Count himſelf with his Lady, *Mary* of *Momorancy*, ſiſter to Count *Horn*, and his ſonn *Charles Mansfeld*. Weighing Anchors from *Vluſhen* in Auguſt, about the beginning of September he arrived at *Lisbon*, and not long after, the Bride, attended by many of the *Portugall* Nobility went aboard, but would not ſuffer them to hoyſt ſail, till ſhe had ſent for the *Portugeſes* a ſhipboard, and deſired a Prieſt of the Soci-

14 day. *Who left* Portugal *nobly attended.*

etie,

etie, who uſed to preach to her, and to hear her Confeſsion, that he would arm her and the company with ſome Exhortations, as an Antidote to preſerve them from Hereſie, that had poiſoned the *Low-countreys*, whither they were bound. Which being accordingly performed, by that eloquent and religious man, with a fair gale of wind they ſailed out of the Port. But when they were upon the main, the billows on a ſudden growing angry, ſwelled, they knew not why, and the ſtorm increaſing, the other ſhips being ſcattered, onely one fell foul upon the Admirall that carried Princeſs *Mary*, and having ſprung many leaks, the poor ſhip was left a miſerable ſpectacle, the ſea almoſt devouring her in their ſight, and within hearing. But Princeſs *Mary* moved with the piteous cries and lifted-up-hands of the wretched drowning people preſently called the Admirall, Count *Mansfield*, and prayed him to vere to them, and take in as many men and women as he could poſſibly, before the Veſſel ſunk, and ſo many Chriſtians ſhould be caſt away, whileſt ſhe looked on. The Admirall told her it could not be done, without endangering her Highneſs, and the whole ſhip. The Marriners affirmed the ſame, particularly the Maſter, an excellent Pilot, but unskilfull in that Art of Navigation, which is directed by Divine hope. Then ſaid the Princeſs: *But I, mark what my mind preſages, do hope in God, if we do our beſt to help them, that he will ſo graciouſly accept our endeavours, as it will pleaſe him of his Goodneſs, to help us all.* And this ſhe ſpake with ſuch a ſenſe of Piety, and ſo ſweet a look, that the Admirall durſt not oppoſe her, but gave order for the ſhip to ſuccour them, which ſtruggling and crowding through the furious waves, at laſt came near them, and putting out her long Boat opportunely ſaved them all; but the ſhip it ſelf, out of which they eſcaped, having obeyed the Princeſſes command, a little while after ſunk before their faces, onely one man being loſt in her. Nay, the very hour that Princeſs *Mary* by Divine inſpiration ſaid, her mind preſaged they ſhould do well, the rage of the winds abaited, and the ſcattered Fleet came together again. Though within a few dayes, a new ſtorm riſing, drave them upon the unhappy Coaſt of *Britain*, and forced them to put in at an *Engliſh* Harbour. Where whilſt they lay for a wind, Count *Mansfeldt* thought it a fitting Civility, to ſend ſome Noble perſon to preſent her ſervice to the Queen of *England*, in whoſe Dominions they remained. But Princeſs *Mary* would not, ſhe ſaid, hold any correſpondence with the Enemies of the Church. And though others preſſed her to it very much, affirming that ſhe might ſafely, upon ſuch an occaſion interchange common courteſies, ſhe was conſtant to her firſt reſolve; adding, that it was ſafeſt for her ſelf, and beſt for the example of others. Yet beyond all exſpectation, at the ſame time, ſhe courted a noble hereticall Lady, that came, among a multitude of the *Engliſh*, to ſee the fleet. For Princeſſe *Mary* caſting an eye upon her, and two fine boyes, her ſonnes which ſhe brought with her; entertained her in a very friendly manner: and finding, by her diſcourſe, that ſhe was the Mother of many more children, ſhe importuned the Lady to beſtow theſe two upon her, promiſing that ſhe her ſelf would be ſuch a Mother to them, as it ſhould not repent her of the change. This ſhe did, becauſe (as ſhe her ſelf profeſſed) ſhe was not able to ſuffer ſuch a pair of young Innocents, that looked like Angels, being corrupted with hereſie, to be made Devils, and numbered among the ſlaves condemned to eternal torments. And although Princeſſe *Mary* could not prevail with the Mother, in her ſuit for theſe boyes; yet a few years after, God gave her the ſame number of that ſex: and it is probable that her deſire of breeding up anothers children to be

1565. *Septemb.* 21

Sebaſtian Morales *afterwards Biſhop of* Japan.

She is overtaken with a ſtorm at Sea.

She pitties and helps the poor creatures ready to be drowned.

Another tempeſt drives her upon the coaſt of England.

She refuſes to ſend her ſervice to Queen Eliſabeth.

She invites an Engliſh *Lady.*

Begs her two ſonnes of her.

But is denied.

3565. *One of her ſhips fired accidentally.*

Gods ſervants, was recompenſed by God himſelf with as many children of her own. Nor will I omit a memorable paſſage, that happened in the ſame Port, where one of the Kings ſhips, by accident was ſet on fire, not farre from the Admirall where the Princeſſe was aboard. And while ſome ſtrove to quench the flame, and ſome to ſave themſelves, and their goods: ſhe running out of her Cabin to the Prow, made a little ſtop, and ſaid, Well, and ſhall I loſe my box of ſacred Reliques? preſently the flame approaching near her, ſhe ran back, and with a mighty courage plucked the box out of the Cabinet: either forgetting or deſpiſing the jewels it contained, to an infinite value. Preſently returning again from her Cabin (for the furie of the fire was not yet aſſwaged) a Gentleman met her, and ſtepping in, with great reverence, took her by the arm, and beſeeched her, whilſt ſhe might, to flie the danger. But ſhe, caſting a frown upon the man, ſaid, Sir, you were beſt unhand me. As if ſhe were more fearfull to be touched by him, then by the flame: ſo, unſupported, ſhe went forward to the Prow, and the fire being preſently extinguiſhed, they ſet ſail for the Low-countreys. About the beginning of November, the fleet arrived at *Ulushing*, where ſhe was received, and attended, by ſuch as the Governeſs had ſent upon the ſudden news of her landing: that train being augmented by the horſe and foot of the ſeverall towns through which ſhe paſſed, till ſhe came to *Bruxels*. Where all ſorts of people welcomed her with greater joy and gratulation, becauſe they heard ſhe had ſo difficult and dangerous a paſſage. *Octavio* Duke of *Parma* being, a few dayes before, come out of *Italy*, purpoſely to be at his ſonnes wedding; upon the next Saint *Andrews* day, appointed by *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* for the Anniverſary feaſt of the Order of the *Golden-fleece*, which he inſtituted, and commended to the patronage of that Saint; the Nuptials were celebrated at *Bruxels*, with ſuch magnificence, as befitted the Neice to *Emmanuel* King of *Portugall*, and the Grand-ſonne to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth; but likewiſe, with ſuch Chriſtian Pietie, as was exſpected, out of the opinion conceived of ſo religious a Lady, and made good by her preſence, beyond all imagination. *Maximilian de Bergen, Archbiſhop* of *Cambray* married them. The King of *Spain* was preſent by *Didacus Guſman à Silva* his Majeſties Embaſſadour to the Queen of *England*, commanded, for this reaſon, to take the Low-countreys in his way: Embaſſadours of neighbour Princes were at the wedding to joy them from their Maſters. All the Low-countrey Nobility was there; the Knights of the *Golden-fleece* expreſſed a particular contentment, becauſe about a hundred and fifty years before, their Order had been founded at the marriage of Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy*, with *Iſabella* of *Portugall*, and now at the like marriage of this Princeſſe of *Portugall*, they revived the memory of that Day in all kind of ſhews and pleaſures, ſeeming to forget their preſent diſcontents and factions. So great was the gallantry of the Lords, and they ſo taken up with revells.

Her care greater for her Reliques then for her jewels.

For her ſoul then for her body.

She lands in the Low countreys.

3. *Day.* *Is conducted to* Bruxels.

The Marriage ſolemnized on the Anniverſary of the Inſtitution of the Order.

Octob. 8. 1430.

Emmanuel K. of Portugall Paternall Grandfather to Princeſſe Mary Charles the fifth maternall Grandfather to Prince Alex.

The particular joy of the Knights of the Golden-fleece.

But after the nuptiall feaſt was over, and the Bride and Bridegroom departed from the Low-countreys: as if the Truce were ended, they fell to their differences again. The narration of which differences I ſhall wave a while, till I have, in reference to Princeſſe *Mary*, related ſome paſſages noble in themſelves, but rendered more illuſtrious by her royall Bloud: and becauſe they equally concern her husband Prince *Alexander* and his poſteritie, which we muſt often mention in the progreſſe of this Hiſtory, therefore it will be the beſt, in this place to ſumme them up together. Princeſſe *Mary* now come into *Italy*, was received with unuſuall pomp and ceremony.

The Bride and Bridegroom leave the Low-countreys.

She is welcomed into Italy *with great magnificence.*

ny. For drawing near to *Parma* ſhe was met by two gallant troops, one of Lords, the other of Ladies, her husband *Alexander* being in the head of that, and this led by his Aunt *Vittoria Farneze*, wife to the Duke of *Urbin*. On that ſide, ſuch a multitude of horſes, and on the other, ſuch a world of Coaches, vying bravery and rich Liveries; that ſeldome hath been ſeen a more magnificent and glorious Show. But the Princeſſe, after ſhe had been the ſecond time thus entertained, applyed her ſelf to ſerious matters, her example and endeavours, in a few dayes changed the face of *Parma*. And ſhe her ſelf many times having prayed to God for a Sonne to continue the name of the *Farnezes*, accidently conceived a hope, that if ſhe took up ſome Orphan or beggar-boy, and bred him for Charity, ſhe ſhould compaſſe her deſire. She therefore took up one in the ſtreet and bred him in her Court: and nine moneths after, ſhe was delivered of *Ranucio*. But her *hope* proving as fruitfull as her ſelf, ſhe reſolved to beg of God another Sonne, that ſhe might ſettle the houſe upon more pillars; and directing her prayer to our Lady, in the Church called the *Scala*, Prince *Alexander* by chance coming thither, ſhe turned to him, and ſaid, *Come, Sir, let us joyn our prayers to God, that in obedience to his Virgin-mother, he will gratiouſly pleaſe to give us another Sonne*. They prayed together with great faith, and within nine moneths after, ſhe brought forth *Odoardo*, which was not the cauſe of greater joy in Prince *Alexander*, then it was of admiration and reverence towards his wife, at whoſe ſuit, God had given him both his Sonnes. From thenceforth, he more and more honoured her Sanctimonie; inſomuch, as at the battle of *Lepanto*, boarding the enemy, with more valour, then caution, and afterwards being reproved by *Don John* of *Auſtria*, he replyed, He had at Home the Cauſe and Patroneſſe of his confidence. Indeed ſhe ſpent the whole time of that warre in devotion and penance for her husband. But for her children, becauſe ſhe knew they were granted her by Gods ſpeciall favour, ſhe bent her ſtudy, while ſhe lived, to ſeaſon their tender years with divine precepts: and when ſhe came to die, was not ſo earneſt with her husband for any thing, as to be carefull of their education, uſing that very prayer to God, which ſhe heard was made by the Queen of *France*, Mother to Saint *Lewis*, *In this moment of time, which is my laſt, I pray and beſeech thee, O Father of mankind, that if my children be inclined to commit any fouler crime againſt thee, thou wilt haſten their ends, and prevent their treaſon againſt thy Majeſty*. A prayer worthy all mother-Queens, that would have no children, but ſuch as will acknowledge God, the Lord of all, to be their father, And ſo the eleventh year after her marriage, dyed Princeſſe *Mary*, no leſſe admirable in her death, then in her life. For as in this, ſhe was moſt nobly active, ſo in the other ſhe was moſt undauntedly paſſive, the onely glory that remains for dying perſons. Her patience, and the ſtrong aſſaults of the Devil, divers, then preſent, have ſet down in writing. A little after her departure, in a private box within her Cabinet, was found a ſhort Diary written by divine inſtinct with her own hand, containing the heads of her actions, every day, and almoſt every houre of her life. In which may be ſeen (for it is printed, and bound up with her life) what her judgement was, concerning Chriſtian perfection; and how ſhe applyed her ſelf to that progreſſive rule, indeed ſo exactly, as the Houſes of *Portugall* and *Farneze* may glory in the beauty of her mind: and the example of Princeſſe *Mary*, may be ſet for a pattern to all princely maids and wives.

And now, to proceed with the buſineſſe of the Low-countreys: The Governeſſe had begun with great induſtry to execute the Kings commands, brought

Margin notes: 1565. — *Her example reforms* Parma. — *Her pious deſign to beg a Son of God.* — *She prayes for and obtains another.* Ranucio Duke of Parma and Piacenza. — Cardinall Odoardo. — *Prince* Alexanders *confidence in her prayers.* — *The education of her children.* — *Which ſhe dying commends to her Lord.* Qu. Blanch *with an excellent Prayer.* 1577. — *Her patience in the pangs of death.* — *The Form of her dayly exerciſe penned by her ſelf.* — *The Low-countreys in new trouble.*

1565. *June* 2. brought by Count *Egmont* out of *Spain*; but receiving new letters from his Majeſty at *Validolid*; wherein he ſeemed to command the quite contrary to what he wrote by the Count; the Governeſſe, amazed, was at a ſtand: and Count *Egmont* exceſſively troubled in his mind, complained, *That his authority & eſteem would be loſt among his enemies by that change of the Kings Counſell; as if he had delivered one thing, and the King enjoyned another; that it ſeemed the Kings Councellours were in a way, if they held on, to force the Low-countreys into the receiving any form of Government, rather then the preſent; though it were to put themſelves in the power of the* Germans, *the* French, *or of the* Devil *himſelf. For his own part, he was reſolved, if the King would not make good his determinations, to retire to his own houſe: and leaving his Government of* Flanders, *to teſtifie to the world by his abſence, that* Egmont *had no hand in the troubles of his Countrey.* When the Governeſſe had writ this to the King as ſhe had it, from the mouth of Count *Egmont*: three moneths after, ſhe received an anſwer from his Majeſtie dated at *Segovia*, in theſe words. *That it was a falſe allegation of thoſe men, who affirmed he had commanded any other thing in his diſpatch of Count* Egmont, *then in his late letters from* Validolid, *therefore to expreſſe himſelf more fully, In the firſt place, he would have the* Anabaptiſts *and other* Hereticks *put to death, of what families ſoever they were deſcended, and their puniſhment, neither remitted, nor themſelves reprieved. Since experience had ſufficiently demonſtrated that a violent and volatile diſeaſe, was but ill cured by indulgence or delay; Then, That he commanded the Inquiſitours of faith (a judicature neither new, nor unneceſſary for the Low-countreys) to be every where with reverence retained, and aſsiſted with all the power of the Dutcheſſe her ſelf, and the Governours of the reſpective Provinces. Laſtly, becauſe the Councel of* Trent *was now eſtabliſhed in the Low-countreys, it was their duty to obey the Decrees of the ſaid Councell, and likewiſe the Imperiall and Royall Edicts. Moreover, he deſired the Governeſſe that in the execution thereof, ſhe would uſe her greateſt care and induſtry: foraſmuch as no one living could do any thing more acceptable to himſelf, or more advantagious to the Provinces.* This was the ſumme of thoſe letters, which the Prince of *Orange* charged with all the calamities that befell the *Netherlands*. And though the Governeſſe thought it a work of danger, to undertake ſo many things at once, and therefore wrote many letters to beſeech the King to excuſe her; yet ſhe attempted it, and by her Proclamation, commanded all the King had enjoyned her; and adviſed the ſubordinate Governours, in theſe words, as appears by her Edict ſpeedily ſent to *Erneſt* Count *Mansfeldt*, Governour of *Luxemberg*, the reſt being onely tranſcripts of the ſame. *Foraſmuch as nothing is dearer to the King, then the peace of theſe Provinces; and that his Majeſty deſires to prevent the great evils wherewith we ſee many nations afflicted that change their Religion. Therefore it is his Royall pleaſure, that the Edicts of his father* Charles *the fifth, and his own, with the Decrees of the Councel of* Trent, *as likewiſe of Provinciall Synods, be kept intirely. That all Favour and Aſsiſtance be given to the* holy Inquiſitours, *and the Cognizance of Hereſies left to them, unto whom it appertains both by divine and humane Laws. This is the Kings command, who reſpecteth onely the Worſhip of God, and the good of his people; and hereof I give you notice, that you may, without exception, imbrace it your ſelf, publiſh it to the Magiſtrates of y ur Province, and take ſpeciall care, that no man, upon any pretence whatſoever, ſlight its due obſervation, you terrifying the contumacious with thoſe puniſhments ſpecified in our letters annexed to the Edict. And that you do this with more facility; you ſhall chuſe ſome one out of the Senate, to viſit and ſuperintend your Province,* whether

Marginal notes: *Count* Egmonts *complaints.* — *July* 22. — *Octob.* 2. *His Majeſties Letter touching the puniſhment of Heretiks.* — *The Inquiſitours.* — *And the Councell of* Trent. — *Out of which Heads the Governeſſe conceives an Edict.* *Novemb.* 9. — *And ſends it to the Governours of Provinces.* — *Decem.* 18. *A copie of the Edict.*

whether the Edict be punctually and juſtly obſerved by the Magiſtrates and the People: you your ſelf, together with the Magiſtrate you make choice of, every quarter of a year, giving us an axact account of the premiſes. And it ſhall be our part to endeavour that your pains may receive due recompence and advancement. In ſhort, partly the care of theſe Edicts, partly of the late Marriage ended this yeare; which was the laſt of peace and happineſſe that ever the *Netherlands* enjoyed.

The End of the fourth Book.

The Hiſtorie of the *LOW COUNTREY* WARRES.

The fifth Book.

1565.

NOw comes in a year, memorable for the open conſpiracy of the Gentry, ſeconded by the mutiny of the people, and the turbulent counſels of the Lords, the furious incurſion of Herețicks, Sacriledge; with *ruine* of Religion, and no leſſe ignominy to the Authours. The Edict formed by the *Governeſs*, was ſent and publiſhed in the Kings name, by the ſeverall Governours of Provinces, but ſome of them firſt complained to her Excellence, proteſting they were not able to govern the people with that ſeverity enjoyned by the Edict. Nay, divers plainly told her, they would not be guiltie of burning five or ſix thouſand men in their Provinces; whereof the Governeſs advertiſed the King, warning him of the ſtorm which ſhe foreſaw. The firſt ſigne and terrour of the Tempeſt lightened out of *Brabant*. For when the Chancellour of that Province had propounded the Kings Edict to the *Brabanters* (who have no other Governour but his Majeſties Lieutenant over all the Low-countreys) immediately the chief Cities of the *Netherlands*, that is, *Lovain, Bruxels, Antwerp*, and the *Bus*, aſſembling the Senate, and petitioning the Chancellour, very violently and angerly, deſired that their Priviledges might not be violated, to which in regard the Judicature of the Inquiſitours, and the Emperours Decrees were repugnant, they ought not to have been ſo eaſily propoſed by the Chancellour, nor could they poſſibly admit them. The Governeſs having notice of the Petition, commanded it to be brought and read at the Councel Table. And though ſome held it a bold requeſt, yet it was her pleaſure, the Annals and Records of *Brabant* ſhould be ſearched, eſpecially the Commentaries of *Francis Hulſt* a *Brabanter*, who firſt executed the Office of Inquiſitour in that Province. Upon ſight whereof, anſwer was made. That becauſe from the year 1550, this kind of Inquiſition was not uſed in *Brabant*, and that the King had declared his reſolution, to innovate nothing, therefore it pleaſed his Majeſtie there ſhould be no change within their Government; but onely that the Decrees of *Charles* the fifth ſhould be in force, till it was otherwiſe ordered by the King. Which moderate Anſwer neither ſatisfied the *Brabanters*, that promiſed

What the Governours of Provinces conceived of the Edict propoſed.

January 9.

Brabant *firſt refuſes to obey the Edict.*

Bolduc.

Some condeſcenſion made, but it gives no ſatisfaction.

miſed themſelves all their deſires: and yet encouraged thoſe of *Flanders*, to preſent ſuch another Petition to the Governeſs. But her Excellence was by a ſpeciall Meſſenger, ingaged in buſineſs of higher concernment. For ſhe received fearfull intelligence from a man, till then unknown, but by the endeavours of *Chriſtopher Aſſonvill*, a worthy Senatour, privately admitted to her preſence; That many noble perſons of *Brabant* had entred into an Aſſociation, in caſe the King ſhould by force impoſe the Inquiſitours upon their Province, that they would by force defend themſelves: which confidence was built upon a privy confederation betwixt them and certain forreiners, principally *Gaſpar Colligny* Admirall of *France*. Some ſuch thing the Prince of *Orange* a little while after wrote from *Leyden* to the Governeſs. And the ſame was diſcovered to her by the Counts of *Egmont* and *Megen*, who ſaid, The Conſpiratours had privately iſſued out Commiſſions to Captains and Colonels; and that if need required, they had in a readineſs above twentie thouſand men: But what manner of Conſpiracie this was, and the Original of it, I ſhall now demonſtrate out of the Letters, which are in my cuſtody, written by ſome that were purpoſely appointed to examine the matter of fact. For when the *Governeſs*, the year after this, by the Kings command ſent certain perſons, haſtily to inquire in the reſpective Provinces, who they were that had raiſed or fomented this years tumults: they ſeized upon the Letters, Books, and Notes of many men, out of which compiling a Treatiſe, they informed his Majeſty and the Governeſs, of the beginning and progreſs of this deſigne. And in diſcharge of what I have undertaken, partly from thence, partly from other Records, I borrowed this which in ſhort I ſhall deliver to you.

1565.

Intelligence of many perſons of quality in Brabant, *that were to enter into a League againſt the Edict.*

March 29.

Long before the bloudſhed of this year 1566, ſome of the Nobilitie of the Low-countreys, in particular ſome young Lords (none of which I can readily name, but onely *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*) ſojourning for a long time at *Geneva*, and ſuch like Towns, were eaſily intrapped by the Hereticks. For they had onely been ſo far inſtructed in Religion, as might ſerve to keep them Catholicks at home; but not abroad to teach them, if they ſhould be circumvented, how to diſtinguiſh truth from falſehood; and truly no man ought to come near infected perſons, without a Preſervative about him. Theſe young Noblemen therefore having been new-catechiſed by Hereticks, when they returned to their Countrey, often ſpake in commendation of forrein Religions, and libertie of conſcience: and found the people intentive and inquiſitive after new Doctrines. Nor did many of the Merchants wiſh a greater happineſs, then this Liberty: for themſelves were inveigled with the like ſtrange opinions, and conſequently would have no one for Religion to be barred free Traffick. Theſe joyning their Counſels, plotted, for which they had divers examples, by degrees to ſhake from the ſhoulders of their Countrey, the yoke of the Catholick Faith, that would not ſuffer any other doctrine to predominate within their Cities. This deſigne, I collect, was laid in the year 1559, when King *Philip*, reſolving to return to *Spain*, commanded that his Fathers and his own Edicts (which during the Warrs could not) ſhould now be ſtrictly obſerved. Which happening in that conjunction of time, when the Prince of *Orange* adviſed the Low-countrey men, to petition for diſbanding the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers, leſt by their means the *Spaniſh Inquiſition* ſhould forcibly have been impoſed upon them (as he himſelf hath left recorded in his Apology) I do not think it improbable, that the Prince of *Orange* might be privie to matters then in agitation: Yet I believe not, that upon the firſt conference of

1550.

The Originall of the Low-countrey mens conſpiracy, ſome Noblemens ſons bred up Hereticks abroad.

Which coming home wiſh for liberty of Conſcience.

The Merchants are of the ſame mind.

They conſult together.

When they firſt ſet afoot their Deſigne.

Falling juſt upon the point of time, whilſt the Prince of Orange *endeavoured to expell the* Spaniſh.

1581.

3566. *For a long while they are quiet. Upon accaſion of the Councell of* Trent, *they ſhew themſelves.* 1564.

of the Nobility and Merchants, any thing was certainly pitched upon, or the form of a Confederation conceived in writing, Nor is it likely, that a Conſpiracy of many perſons, ſhould for ſix years lie undiſcovered. But then the ſeeds of Rebellion were onely ſown, which afterwards in the year 1564, when Cardinal *Granvell* went into *Burgundy*, ſprung up by occaſion of the Councel of *Trent*, as I am well aſſured out of the ſaid Notes and Letters. Moreover, in that year 64, thoſe Gentlemen and Merchants which met about it, knowing that ſo great a weight could not be ſupported without arms, determined to try the Hereticall Princes of *Germany*, either to get their aſſiſtance, or at leſt to have ſome colour for uſing of their names to aw the *Governeſs* and her Party. For this cauſe they ſent Agents into *Germany*, which had ſecret conference with the Prince Electour *Palatine*, and brought all their tranſactions to *Egidius Clerus*, a Lawyer of *Tournay* imployed by *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, and lying at *Ausburg* onely for this purpoſe, as appears by many Letters and Pamphlets of his writing. Whence it may be conjectured, that Prince *Lewis* himſelf was at the ſame time in *Germany*, ſoliciting the ſame buſineſs. Which though it was concealed with wonderfull ſilence, till the end of the year 65; yet in the beginning of 66, when the Edicts concerning the holy Inquiſitours, with the Decrees of *Charles* the fifth, and of the Councel of *Trent* were Proclaimed, which were by many accounted great grievances; then the Conſpiratours, pretending to maintain the Liberty of the Subject, with incredible dexterity ſcattered Libels over all the Provinces (to the number of five thouſand, as the Governeſs afterwards wrote to the King) jeering, curſing, and railing at the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, and adviſing the people; *Not to enſlave themſelves to Tyranny, which all Nations, and as it were the generall conſent of Mankind reſiſts. That the Inquiſition was not introduced at* Rome *without a tumult; what then ſhould be done in the* Low-countreys, *armed with ſo many Priviledges againſt any Innovation whatſoever.* Fears and Jealouſies were increaſed by preparation for a war, made in *Spain* by the King: wherein the Duke of *Brunſwick*, Pay-maſter-generall for his Majeſtie in the *Low-countreys*, was very active. The deſign was commonly reported to intend the eſtabliſhment of this new Judicature in the Low-countreys. Though the Duke (as afterward it was evident) levied men onely to defend his own towns amidſt the tumults then threatning the Low-countreys; the King, to ſupply *Malta*, and to oppoſe the *Turk* in other places Yet when the Governeſs went about to perſwade the multitude, ſhe found it Labour in vain; the Hereticks diſputing againſt her, and affirming That it was the ordinary trick of State, to pretend war for one place, and fall upon another. So that many men openly profeſſed, they would ſell their houſes and land, and ſeek their Countreys loſt Libertie in forrein Nations. At publick meetings, in the Market place, and upon the Exchange, divers men were heard boldly to ſay, that againſt the crueltie of the Kings Edict, they onely wanted a Generall; which if once they ſhould have, they would make the King leave meddling with the *Priviledges* of the *Low-countreys*. The multitude thus ſtorming, the Lords neutrall or wavering, and the Hereticks, that were in danger of the Edict, ſtirring them up to mutinie, the Conſpiracie was ripened.

And have recourſe to the Princes of Germany,

About the beginning of 1565.

After Promulgation of the Edict they grow tumultuous, Printing Libels. *April* 3. *And Books againſt the Inquiſition, to ſtir up the people.*

They are troubled with fears and jealouſies.

Brunſwick.

K. Philip.

They threatningly inveigh againſt the Kings Edict.

Which matures Rebellion.

Nine Lords, that were not Officers of State, at *Breda*, a Town belonging to the Prince of *Orange*, ſubſcribed and propounded unto the reſt a confederation penned by *Philip Marnixius* Lord of Saint *Aldegund*, long ſince corrupted and now a corrupting Calviniſt. In the Preamble, they inveighed againſt the Inquiſition, which being contrary to all Laws divine and humane,

The Governeſs to the King. *March* 25 *An Ingagement ſigned.*

mane, farre exceeded the cruelty of all former Tyrants. *The Lords declared their ſenſe of this indignity, the care of Religion appertaining to them, as Counſellours born; and proteſted they entered into a* league, *to prevent the wicked practices of ſuch as by theſe ſentences of baniſhment and death, aimed at the fortunes of the greateſt perſons: they had therefore taken an holy oath, not to ſuffer the Inquiſition to be impoſed upon the* Low-countreys: *and prayed, that both God and Men might forſake them, if they ever forſook their* Covenant, *or failed to aſſiſt their Brethren ſuffering for the Cauſe. Laſtly, that they called the Lord to witneſſe, by this agreement they intended nothing but the Glory of God, the Kings honour, and their Countreys Peace.* This is the ſumme of their *League*, which either for the interchange or multiplicitie of their promiſes was called the *Covenant*, and was afterwards printed, that it might be every where publiſhed, in divers languages: with this Title (according to the Engliſh copy) *A tranſcript of the Covenant ſigned by the Lords and Gentlemen of the* Low-countreys, *by reaſon of an attempt to impoſe upon them the* Spaniſh Inquiſition. Their Emiſſaries were forthwith diſpatched to the ſeverall Provinces, to acquaint them with what was reſolved, and to court the people, which took exceedingly, For at their Aſſemblies, many were ſo violent, as when they but heard the *Spaniſh Inquiſition* named, not knowing any more of the matter, they ſet to their names. The firſt that ſubſcribed were *Nicholas Hames* Herauld to the Knights of the *Golden-fleece*, commonly called *Toſond'or*, a principall inſtrument in the Conſpiracy, *Baronius Glibercius Leſdal* ſervant to Count *Egmont*, *John Marnixius* Lord of *Tholoſe, Ghiſell, Meinſer*, and *Olhain*, as *Anderlech* ſteward to Count *Megen* wrote to the Governeſſe. The number and quality of the reſt cannot eaſily be deſcribed: they that took Catalogues of their names, varying them, as they ſuppoſed it would conduce to the augmentation of the *fame*, or extenuation of the *fact*. Indeed *Hames* bragged to *Anderlech*, whom he indeavoured to bring into the faction, that he had a roll of above two thouſand noble perſons names ſubſcribed: But *Anderlech* abhorring the treaſon, not onely refuſed to ſubſcribe, but thought it the duty of a good Subject, to diſcover their proceedings to the Governeſſe. And though he found her not ignorant of many of their names, and curious to know them all: yet he opened ſome things to her, wherewith as his familiar friends they had privately acquainted him. That, among others, the Duke of *Cleve* had ſigned the Covenant, with the Princes of *Saxony*, Count *SuartZemberge*, *Gaſper Colligny*, and many others. Beſides ſome *Abbots* of the Low-countreys, and certain *Lords* of the Order of the fleece. I cannot tell if this were given out to countenance the faction, but I am ſure the Rumour of the Duke of *Cleve's* Revolt ſoon vaniſhed, as that of the Companions of the Order increaſed; and Count *Megen* that was one of the Colledge, told the Governeſſe, that two of his Colleagues (whoſe names he knew not) with divers other Noblemen were joyned with the Conſpiratours. But one of them might be well ſuſpected; and the Prince of *Orange*, expreſſed himſelf very ſenſible of mens opinions, for he complained in Senate, that he was commonly reputed one of the number of the Covenanters; the other muſt be either Count *Horn* Admirall of *Flanders*, or *Anthony Lalin* Count *Hochſtrat*, as appeared by their converſation, out of which men ordinarily draw conjectures. Nor doubt I but many others were reputed Abettors of the faction, (as, beſides the above named, it was thought *Eliſabeth Queen* of *England* might be one) though upon no other argument, but onely their ſeverall intereſts in the troubles of the Low-countreys. For every one will allow of *Caſſians Maxime, That we may*

The ſumme of the Ingagement.

which they called, the Covenant.

Its Title or Inſcription.

Many take it.

Theſe firſt.

March 24.

They bragge of more.

Some do it ſecretly or are but ſuppoſed to ingage.

Of which number was the Prince of Orange.

Count Horn.

Count Hochſtrat.

The Queen of England.

Onely 400. Gentlemen declare.

may juſtly ſuſpect thoſe for Authours, that are advantaged by the deſign. But, it were ſuperfluous to inquire after dubious or concealed perſons, when enow declare themſelves, no fewer then four hundred of great quality, giving in their names: whereof almoſt one hundred were Hereticks, as Count *Megen* informed the Governeſſe: beſides Merchants, and others of the vulgar ſort, not to be numbered. The chief of the Conſpiratours were, *Henry* Count *Brederod, Lewis* of *Naſſau,* Brother to the Prince of *Orange, Florence Pallantius* Count of *Culemberg*, a town in *Holland,* he himſelf being a *Burgundian,* and *Willam de Bergen* Count of *Bergen* in *Gelderland*, all of that youth and courage as animated them to high attempts; *Brederod* eſpecially, who took place of them all: either for his antient Nobility, being deſcended from the old Earls of *Holland:* or for the ſharpneſſe of his wit, which he uſed with great freedome againſt ſuch as were in authority; and it was therefore applauded by the people, and very uſefull for the Mutineers. But the nobler and baſer ſort of the Party were not all of the ſame mind, nor had the ſame ends, as it is uſuall in actions of this nature, For ſome would reſt quiet if the Pontifician Inquiſitours were outed, and the penalties of the Edicts qualified. Others had yet a further deſign, for the Liberty of Religion. Many cared neither for Religion nor the Edicts, but onely deſired ſpoil and pillage. Laſtly, there were ſome that had yet an higher reach, and aimed, by theſe troubles, to ſhake off their old Prince, and ſet up a new Government. But all of them pretended and petitioned for the taking away of the Inquiſition, and a gentler execution of the Emperours Edicts againſt the Hereticks. And this Petition was preſented in all their names to the Governeſſe, who by her letters certified his Majeſtie, as well of the publick as private carriage of the conſpiracy. Moreover, as ſhe was ignorant of nothing that paſſed among them (for in their Cities and private houſes her Spies, which are the ears and eyes of Princes, knew all they did, and gave her intelligence) ſo, making no ſhew of fear, ſhe thought it beſt to ſtrengthen her ſelf, in caſe they ſhould break out into Rebellion. She therefore minded the people of their duty by her Edict, the Magiſtrates by her letters, and ſhe had her private Confidents that viewed the towns and their Fortifications. She cauſed it to be reported that the King would ſhortly come in perſon. She ſent Expreſſes poſt to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadours reſiding with the Emperour, the King of *France,* and Queen of *England*, to let them know what a conſpiracy was ſet a foot in the Low-countreys, whereunto, as it was ſaid the *Germans, Engliſh*, and *French* were the Incendiaries. Shortly, ſhe omitted nothing, that might either expreſſe her knowledge of what was then plotted, or her courage to oppoſe it. At this time ſhe had intelligence given her by Count *Megen*, That about the beginning of April, ſome five hundred Gentlemen intended to come to *Bruxels,* and preſent her a Petition againſt the Inquiſition, and the Emperours Edicts. Others told her (as commonly true reports are mixed with falſities) that the conſpiratours were reſolved, unleſſe ſhe gave them audience, to bring their forces into the Town, and carry away the Governeſſe to *Vilvord*, there to detain her priſoner, till ſhe had granted their deſires. Which though at firſt ſhe laughed at, yet in the end (as it may be gathered by her letters) ſhe doubted, whether it would not be ſafeſt for her to leave the Town, and retire to ſome place of ſtrength. In the mean time, ſhe ſummoned a fuller Senate then ordinary, to meet upon the twenty ſeventh of March: not ſo much to hear their advices, as to ſound their affections; and leſt they might turn her enemies, whom ſhe did not *acknowledge* to be her friends. Then writing

Which had four Protectours.

All theſe Conſpiratours had not one aim.

March 15. *The Governeſſes diligence to fruſtrate their deſigns.*

She hath intelligence of their reſolution to come to Bruxels *which frights her very much.*

She ſummons a great Councel.

writing new letters into *Spain*, ſhe repreſented to his Majeſtie the preſent condition of the Low-countreys, complaining, that ſhe had often foretold it, but never could be heard.

The Governours of Provinces, the Knights of the *Golden-fleece*, and the Lords of the privy Councell, met all upon the day appointed, and ſate in Senate next day; where by the Senatour *Filibert Bruxellius* divers letters were read containing, whether true or falſe, the conſpiracie of the Lords, and the Hereticks deſignes. The Governeſſe making a ſhort ſpeech, That ſhe had called that noble Senate, to prevent by their counſels and indeavours the impendent evils, in the firſt place, asked their advice, whether it were ſafe to admit thoſe that were ſhortly to come to *Bruxels* led By *Henry Brederod.* Then, what anſwer ſhe ſhould make to their demands, which Fame had then divulged. Laſtly, what courſe ſhould be taken to diſſolve that confederation, and how the new motions of thoſe turbulent men might ſpeedily be compoſed. The Lords came thither ſeverally affected, many hated the Inquiſition, others had ſecret projects, and few but preferred their private intereſt before the publick. *Philip Croi* Duke of *Areſchot* and *Charles* Count *Barlamont* were of opinion, that the Conſpiratous ſhould not be ſuffered to enter the citie ſo many at once, *For what need of five hundred men to deliver one Petition? that they could not think ſuch pomp fit for ſuppliants: that they might ſend, out of their number, ſome one of quality, to preſent their deſires with leſſe oſtentation and envie. Laſtly, that either the Ports ſhould be ſhut, which they rather inclined to; or that, in the next place, there ſhould be many eyes upon their behaviour, and ſuch as carried themſelves contumaciouſly to be forthwith puniſhed.* Contrarily the Prince of *Orange* (that hated thoſe Lords as *Cardinalliſts*, and eſpecially *Areſchot*, for the old conteſt of the Houſes of *Croi* and *Naſſau* about Precedency) affirmed thoſe fears to be vain, that were conceived againſt perſons not unknown to him, many of them being allyed to him in friendſhip, ſome in bloud; that it would be a great indignity, if that were not permitted to Noblemen which is lawfull for the pooreſt peaſant, to petition. To the ſame effect, that no danger could be in their coming, ſpake Count *Egmont:* Eſpecially ſince, if they were to be reſiſted forcibly, or by the ſword, he did not ſee how the Governeſſe was prepared to encounter men already armed, and likely, by ſuch a repulſe to be exaſperated: That it was not ſafe to affront thoſe we have not power to deſtroy. But though Count *Mansfeldt* liked not the *Popes* Inquiſitours in the Low-countreys, yet he ſaid, it was ill done of thoſe that by ſuch mutiny and tumult behaved themſelves more proudly then became petioners; and added, that he had ſchooled his Sonne *Charles,* who he heard was one of the Conſpiratours. And indeed I have a letter of his, wherein with great fury he diſclaims him for his ſonne, unleſſe he preſently renounce that league, and bids him otherwiſe never hope to recover his fathers favour. But the youth being of a fiery nature, ſlighted thoſe admonitions and threatnings, belike he thought his Father was not in earneſt, and therefore would not leave his party for the preſent. The Counts of *Aremberg*, and *Megen,* had the ſame ſenſe of the conſpiracy and Covenant, as if by ſuch oſtentation of their forces, they came to *compell,* not to *intreat* their Prince: and concluded, That a Treaty of this kind ſhould be rejected, or, to uſe milder terms, put off. Nor could ſuch a ſudden confederacy laſt long, but in a little time muſt neceſſarily fall aſunder, for no Mutineers were ever conſtant to their Principles, or to one another. The reſt of the Senatours ſpake doubtfully and moderately of the Covenanters, violently and plainly againſt the Inquiſition. The ſame

April 3.

The Governeſſe asks the Senatours advice whether the Covenanters were to be admitted.

Duke Areſchot *and Count* Barlamont *anſwer negatively.*

The Prince of Orange *is for their admiſſion.*

Count Egmont *concurs with him.*

Count Mansfeldt *is againſt their coming.*

March 26.

So are the Counts Aremberg *and* Megen.

How the reſt voted.

Many of them complain of the King.
The Prince of Orange *particularly.*

ſame arguments, though in a more obſcure and remiſſe manner, were made againſt the Emperour's Edicts. By degrees, they fell to complaints againſt the King, and preſſed them with more confidence, becauſe they knew he had then more uſe of their ſervices. The Prince of *Orange* ſaid, he could add to thoſe old Grievances (but perhaps he feigned new ones, that he might have the more colour to deſert the Kings intereſt, and to purſue his own) becauſe he was lately informed, ſome enemies to the Houſe of *Naſſau*, had moved his Majeſtie to take off his head, and confiſcate his eſtate: and that the King onely exſpected an opportunity to ſign the warrant. *Was this the reward of ſervice done in the late warres by the Low-countrey Lords, for defence of his Authority in the* Netherlands? *though he had now ſufficient experience, that King* Philip *looked not upon the Low-countreys with the eyes of his Father* Charles *the fifth. That the King had ſent forty thouſand Ducats to the Queen of* Scots *to pay her ſouldiers, whileſt the Low-countreys were greatly diſtreſſed for money, which his Majeſtie never thought of. That he taxed not the King for the unſeaſonableneſſe of that aſsiſtance, nor the unfortunate ſucceſſe it had, but he feared the* Engliſh, *whoſe throats were to be cut (if report were true) for that ſumm of money, would revenge it upon the Low-countrymen. Eſpecially ſince the money was come into the Q. of* Englands *hands, driven upon that Iſland by a tempeſt.* The Governeſs to break off his ſpeech, intreated him to forbear his private expoſtulations whilſt the publick buſineſs was in agitation: & that he would not wrong his diſcretion ſo far, as to have ſuch thoughts of the King, who was the mercifulleſt of all Princes. That ſhe knew for certain, what was reported of that money, was the mere invention of ſome ſeditious perſons, intending, by ſuch lies, to bring an odium upon his Majeſtie; as well with his ſubjects of the *Low-countreys*, as with forrein Princes. For all this, the Prince of *Orange* would not make an end, though he was at other times a rare diſſembler, and had power over his paſſions. But it may be, he thought it concerned him to ſpeak on, leſt it ſhould be imagined he begun without a cauſe. As if it were an argument of juſt anger, not to be friends upon the ſudden. Following his example, neither Count *Horn*, nor any of the reſt were ſilent, but every one made his complaint. Nevertheleſs, qualifying them with gentle and gracious language, and putting them in hope of his Majeſties royall favour, the *Governeſs* called them into the Senate; and by the major-vote it was reſolved, that the Covenanters ſhould be admitted, but without arms, and upon promiſe of their good behaviour. And the Governours of Provinces (through which it was ſuppoſed they would paſs to *Bruxels*) were commanded by their Letters, to acquaint the people with this reſolution of the Senate: Courts of guard were likewiſe appointed through the Citie, Centrees to keep the gates, and a Garriſon put into the Tower, leſt there might be a tumult among the diſtracted people. It being now almoſt night, the Senate was adiourned till the next morning. At which time, the Lords and Senators meeting in the Houſe, the Governeſs fearing they would fall upon private differences, and obſtruct the buſineſs of the day, prevented them with a ſpeech, which I give you, as ſhe wrote it to the King. *If the approaching Evils could be cured with quarrelling and complaining, I ſhould not have deſired you to take the pains of coming again this day to Councel, ſince we had complaints enough yeſterday: ſcarce any thing being ſpoke in publick by the moſt of you, but what related to your private diſcontents. But admit they were juſt, yet they looſe part of that Juſtice if they be importune; at leaſt they avert the minds of the Councell, and provoking their ſpirits, hinder their diſcovery of the Truth.* Brederod *intends to petition Us, in the name of his Confederates, for aboliſhing the Inquiſition*

In theſe words.

For the money was loſt, as we have told you.

Her Excellence endeavours to give him ſatisfaction.

At firſt in vain.

But at length he and all ſeem better contented and the Councell proceeding reſolves to admit the Covenanters

At the Senates next meeting,

The Governeſs ſpeaks to them in this manner, April 3.

on, and mitigating the Penalties inflicted by Edict for the cauſe of Religion. I now deſire Advice from you, (of whoſe fidelity and diſcretion I have had ſo good experience) what Anſwer I ſhould return them. But before you declare your ſelves, I think it will be neither troubleſome to you, nor improper for the buſineſs in debate, to prepare you with a few words. I hear there are many that preſume openly to cavil at the Edicts of the Emperour my Father (for to the Inquiſition I will ſpeak anon) as if it were a barbarous tyrannie, not to be endured by Subjects. Truly whoſoever ſayes it, not onely injures the memory of that wiſe Prince, and moſt affectionate to his Countrey; but wrongs your Order of the Fleece, *this Senate-houſe, and the States Generall of the* Low-countreys: *for by all your approbations and conſents, the Emperour paſſed theſe Laws, as no doubt but ſome of you remember; and all may read in the Edict publiſhed the year* 1531; *upon which, all the reſt of his Decrees are grounded. Why then do they now accuſe the ſeverity of the Emperour? Why do they condemn thoſe Acts which they did once approve: and which they know were eſtabliſhed by the ſuffrages of all? What? becauſe the diſeaſe is more violent, muſt the remedie therefore be neglected, and that which reaſon perſwades? When the Gangrene of Hereſie daily creeps upon new parts of the Common-wealth, ſhould we remiſſely uſe fire and inciſion? Nor was the Eccleſiaſticall power of the Inquiſition againſt Hereticks, delegated for any other cauſe, but that the impudence of wicked men might be abated by fear, or extinguiſhed by puniſhment. I know there is a generall hatred againſt this Court of Juſtice, which for the preſent my meaning is not to contradict or confute; yet you know, this Tribunall is no* innovation *in the* Low-countreys: *It is now ſixteen years ſince my Father ſettled it in theſe Provinces. But I pray, what ſeveritie is in this Cenſure of the Inquiſitours, that is not in my Fathers Edicts? Nay, if you will rightly conſider it, they were much more ſevere; ſo that his Majeſtie in his Letters, which three years ſince I read to many of you, iuſtly admires how the* Low-countrey *men could be ſo terrified with the* Spaniſh Inquiſition; *they being for the ſame cauſes of Religion, liable to farr more and greater penalties, comprehended in the Edicts of* Charles *the fifth. Which Edicts, if they were wiſely drawn up and paſſed, by the Conſent of the Eſtates; I ſee no reaſon why men ſhould ſo bitterly and violently inveigh againſt the Inquiſition, that relates to the ſame thing in a more gentle manner. Nor have I ſpoken this to controll the freedome of Your votes, they had and ſhall ever have their full libertie for me: Be you carefull that neither diſcontent nor faction may deprive you of that Libertie.* So proceeding to ſuffrages, many voted that nothing in the Emperours Edicts ſhould be altered. *Lawes before they paſſe ſhould be debated: after they are paſſed, obeyed. Nor can a State be more indangered, then by the altering of their Laws: eſpecially ſince it concerned them in point of honour at this meeting, to make no conceſſion to the Hereticks, who, if they prevailed in their firſt ſuit, would never make an end of petitioning.* Divers others argued againſt it, very paſſionately ſhewing, *That it plainly appeared thoſe Imperiall Edicts neither provided ſufficiently for Religion, which every day was leſſe obſerved; nor for the ſecurity of the State, which they ſaw was diſturbed merely upon that occaſion. And yet the end and intention of Laws is, to preſerve Religion and Peace, but neither was effected by theſe Edicts. Why therefore ſhould it be thought unlawfull, that ſome penalties ſhould be remitted, ſome changed? The Edicts by that means rendered more moderate, and the Subjects more obedient to them. Truly it was more diſhonour to a Prince to keep Laws in force, which his Subjects will not obey; then to apply them unto their natures, and ſo keep his people in obedience. But for the Inquiſition, it was apparent, that none of any condition whatſoever, would receive it: inſomuch that the meaneſt tradeſman of* Antwerp, *can ſhew either a Musket or a Pike, which he threatens to uſe upon them, that ſhall en-*

1566.

Of the Edicts.

Of the Inquiſition.

Which ſhe proves to be neither new, nor more ſevere then former Edicts.

Then leaves them to the freedome of their Votes.

Some approve the Edict, and would not have the Laws altered.

The major part diſlike it, and would have a temporary alteration.

Rayling at pleaſure againſt the Inquiſition, as hatefull to all ſorts.

Injurious to the Biſhops.

And oppoſed by the Covenanters.

endeavour to bring in the Inquiſition. Nay, it was no little iniury to the Biſhops to have the cauſe of Religion, which by Law appertains to their Juriſdiction, tranſferred to this late Judicature of Inquiſitours. But it is to no purpoſe any more to diſpute this point, when the Covenanters are at the gates, before whoſe Requeſts be denied, it muſt be conſidered, in caſe the Hereticks joyning with them, ſhould offer to ſtorm the Town, whether we have ſufficient forces to reſiſt the people and their Confederates.

And they prevail.

The Reſolution of the Councell upon both the points.

To put down the Inquiſition.

So the Covenanters are to be anſwered.

Pius V.

And to qualifie the Emperours Edicts.

Laſtly, the opinion, number, and faction of theſe men carried it: For though there wanted not ſome that eaſily refuted all that was pretended in behalf of the Biſhops; yet hardly any one of the Senate thought this kind of Judicature ſeaſonable for the time: therefore after many heats, the buſineſs was thus compoſed. Foraſmuch as the Emperours and the Kings deſigne reached no farther in theſe Edicts and Queſtions of Faith, but onely to preſerve Religion in her ancient purity; thoſe remedies were onely ſo far to be made uſe of, as might conduce to its preſervation. Beſides, there was a twofold Inquiſition, the one annexed to the function of Biſhops, the other granted by Commiſſion from his *Holineſs* to certain Judges Delegates. Now the odium onely fell upon the *Popes* Inquiſitours; which though brought into the *Low-countreys* by *Charles* the fifth; yet he was inforced thereto, by reaſon of the ſmall number, and great negligence of the Biſhops. This being no longer a reaſon, and men ſo much abhorring the name of this forrein Inquiſition; ſo violent and impolitick a Remedie ought not to obtruded upon refractory people. Therefore without preiudice to Religion, ſome part of the Covenanters petition might be granted. But leſt they ſhould ſeem to be over-awed by the Hereticks, or to paſſe any thing in favour of them, this anſwer was to be returned: *That they had no cauſe to trouble themſelves about the Inquiſition, which was out of date; the Inquiſitours themſelves forbearing to exerciſe their authority, having not renewed their Commiſſion from the new* Pope, *which they uſe to do, for the better confirmation of their power. Touching the penalties which by the Imperiall Edicts were to be inflicted upon Hereticks, they ſhould not be repealed; but whereas moſt of them were capitall, they ſhould be hereafter qualified; for the Biſhops, the greateſt Divines and Lawyers, and the Inquiſitours themſelves had ſo adviſed: which* Charles *the fifth would have conſented to, if he were now living, who himſelf upon the like difficulties, in the year* 1550, *at the requeſt of his Siſter* Mary *Queen of* Hungary, *thought it not unneceſſary nor unbeſeeming his Imperiall Maieſty, to rectifie and moderate the Laws he had formerly decreed. Thus, for the preſent the Conſpiratours being graciouſly received, in a little while their meetings would be diſſolved (a work of great conſequence) and in the interim, time might be gained to agitate the publick buſineſs without Tumults, and therefore with more Authority.* The Governeſs, though ſhe wiſhed better, yet approved the Counſel given, becauſe ſhe knew that in this juncture of time, ſhe muſt either grant ſomething to the Conſpiratours, or elſe forcibly reſiſt them. But this ſhe durſt not attempt, being unprovided of a Generall, for ſhe truſted not the Prince of *Orange:* and putting the queſtion to Count *Egmont*, he denied to draw his ſword againſt any man for the Inquiſition, or the Edicts. For the reſt of the Nobility, they either had not much more loyaltie, or had far leſs abilities. Her Excellence therefore told them, ſhe would follow their advice, and ſo anſwer *Brederod* and his Companions, that ſhe might at once both ſatisfie them, and withall reſerve the Judgement entire to the King, without knowledge of whoſe pleaſure, nothing could be done in a matter of ſo great importance.

Why the Governeſs rather receives then approves this Decree.

Every

Every one of theſe particulars ſhe wrote to his Maieſtie by ſpeedy meſſengers, beſeeching him preſently to reſolve her what ſhe was to pitch upon. The ſame day about evening, the Covenanters came into *Bruxels.* They were full two hundred horſe, apparrelled like forreiners, every one a caſe of piſtols at his ſaddle-bow. *Brederod* their Generall, rode in the head of them, next him *Lewis* of *Naſſau,* for the Counts of *Cuilemburg* and *Bergen* arrived not till three dayes after. *Francis Verdugo*, a Gentleman that followed Count *Mansfeld*, told the Governeſs, that *Brederod* bragged at his entrance into the City, in theſe words: *Some thought I durſt not come to* Bruxels; *behold I am come to ſee the Town, and will ſhortly make another viſit, but upon a new occaſion.* Then *Brederod* and Grave *Lewis* went to his Brother the Prince of *Oranges* houſe, where the Counts of *Mansfeld* and *Horn* were come to wait upon them. That night, no body being preſent but Count *Mansfeld*, Count *Horn* uſed many arguments to perſwade the Prince of *Orange* to ſend back his Order of the Fleece into *Spain*, and thereupon *Verdugo* was commanded to bring the Statute-book of the Order, that they might ſee in what words they had obliged their faith to the King, as ſupreme Maſter of their Society. But Count *Mansfeld* interpoſing, nothing was determined. The ſame was moved another time, as *Anderlech* informed the Governeſs. The next day *Brederod*, ſtaying for the Counts of *Cuilemburg* and *Bergen*, in *Cuilemburg*-Houſe at *Bruxells* aſſembled his Confederates, to encourage them in the enterprize they had undertaken. Firſt, he ſhewed them a Letter, writ in *Spaniſh*, lately ſent him, as he ſaid, out of *Spain:* unleſs the man, who wanted no ſubtiltie, had peradventure counterfeited it; as he ſuſpects that wrote all theſe paſſages in cypher, to the Governeſs. In which letter it was certified, that one *Moro*, a man known in the Low-countreys, was with a ſoft fire burned alive in *Spain*, which infinitely exaſperated and enflamed the minds of his Aſſociates againſt the cruelty of ſuch ſentences. Then taking his hint to come to the matter; as if he were to make a generall muſter of his Army, he produced the Roll, ſigned by all the Conſpiratours. Which he and *Lewis* of *Naſſau* reading unto the people, they anſwered to their ſeverall names, profeſſing conſtancy to their reſolutions: For thoſe that were abſent (being to the number of two hundred) they that were preſent being almoſt as many, engaged themſelves. Then he required them, in confirmation of the Covenant, every one to joyn his heart, and ſet to his hand again. Which was accordingly done, and they all now the ſecond time took the Covenant, their Oath being this in ſubſtance; *That if any of the Covenanters ſhould be impriſoned either for Religion, or for the Covenant, immediately the reſt, all buſineſs laid aſide, ſhould repair to both or one of thoſe that were to tender the Covenant in the ſeverall Provinces, and that all of them, if need were, ſhould preſently take up arms to aſſiſt their brethren.* So he diſmiſſed them full of courage and alacrity, reſolved next morning to attend the Governeſs; Which day being the fifth of *April*, the Conſpiratours to the number of about two hundred, met again at *Cuilemburg*-Houſe, and from thence took their way directly to Court, marching through the high Street, the whole City beholding the ſpectacle with amazement, and many not well knowing by what name to call that new kind of Embaſſie. For they looked not like Petitioners, that came to make demands in ſo confident and imperious a way; eſpecially being led on by *Brederod* and *Naſſau*, that did not uſe to ſupplicate: nor did they ſeem to be a Faction, or to pretend force, coming with ſuch appearance of ſimplicity, that rather ſhewed like Fryars going in Proceſſion. They rode two a breaſt, moſt of them matched in years: *Brederod* and *Naſſau* brought up

April 3.

The Covenanters enter Bruxels,

Led by Henry Brederod.

Publickly vaunting.

They alight at the Prince of Orange's. *Where with o- Lords, they fall upon turbulent Propoſals.*

Afterward Brederod *aſſembles the Covenanters at* Cuilemburg-*houſe.*

An additionall Oath taken.

The form of the Oath.

From thence they march to the Court.

1566. up the Rere. The Town took notice that one of the Generalls was lame, which many looked upon as an evil Omen, and not without much laughter. Entring the Court, they found the Governeſs, (the Senate then newly riſen) ſpeaking with ſome of the Lords; *Brederod* coming up to the chair of State, after he had done his duty with the Ceremonies due to the *Governeſs*, ſpake in this manner: *Theſe Gentlemen of the* Low-countreys, *now ſtanding in your Highneſs preſence, and others of the ſame quality that will ſhortly follow in great numbers, are come with me to let Your Highneſs know by their multitude, how earneſt they are in their demands, expreſsed in this humble Petition: and whilſt you read it, I beſeech your Excellence to believe, that theſe honeſt men propound nothing to themſelves, but obedience and honour to the King, and ſafetie to their Countrey.* When he had ſpoken this, he preſented the Petition, and ſaid that he had ſomething elſe to offer to her Highneſs in the names of his Confederates; but leſt he ſhould miſtake their ſenſe, if he might preſume ſo far, he deſired leave to read it out of his own Papers. The Governeſs was pleaſed he ſhould read his Notes, the ſumme whereof was, *That the Gentlemen were much aggrieved, becauſe her Excellence had writ to the Provinces of their League, as if it were made by a concurrence and aſſociation with the* French *and* Germans, *pretending indeed the ſafetie of their Countrey, but intending onely ſpoyl and plunder. Which information given unto the* Governeſs, *as it was an inſufferable injurie to the Low-countrey Gentlemen, ſo they humbly and earneſtly beſeeched her Excellence to declare their names, and compell them to bring in their impeachment publickly, in a Legall way. That if their Confederates be found guilty, they may be ſentenced; or if they be cleared and acquitted of the Crime, thoſe informers, by the Law of a Retaliation, may have the puniſhment of Traitours.* The Governeſs ſuppreſſing the trouble and indignation of her mind, as well as ſhe could, with a chearfull look received the Petition, wherein it was prayed, that the Inquiſition might be aboliſhed, the old Edicts repealed, and new ones made by the Eſtates of the *Low-countreys.* Her anſwer was, *She would conſider of their Petition, and ſince it related onely to the Kings Honour and their Countreys ſafety, they need not doubt but ſhe would give them ſatisfaction. But whereas they complained of her Letters written to the Provinces, they had no reaſon for it: ſhe did but what her place required (having received intelligence from many hands, of a certain League made with forreiners) in adviſing the* Governours *and Magiſtrates to be vigilant, leſt upon that occaſion, their Provinces might be troubled, not ſo much by the Low-countrey men, whom the King ever found loyall; as by the Borderers that reſorted to them.* Without more words, ſhe diſmiſſed the Gentlemen, not naming her Intelligencers, which they exceedingly preſſed, her Highneſs letting ſuch queſtions paſs, as ſhe had not minded them; or rather ſeeming offended, that they ſhould preſs her to reveal ſecrets of State. Nay, the ſame day at evening, when a Senatour in the Houſe perſwaded her Excellence, to give in the names of thoſe Intelligencers to the Covenanters; ſhe anſwered ſomewhat angerly, That ſhe admired, that he, who refuſed to name his Authour for things which he himſelf a little while ſince had diſcovered, ſhould now perſwade the contrary, that might be prejudiciall to ſo many. In that Senate the Governeſs read the Petition of *Brederod*, and asked them if they had not altered their opinions. But when they had debated it, they voted the ſame again, in other words. It was then diſputed, Foraſmuch as the Covenanters had writ in generall, *We his Majeſties moſt humble Subjects*, whether it ſhould not be required that every particular perſon under-write his name, whereby the King might know, whom to thank, or rather whom to be revenged upon. But it was carried by moſt voices in the

Brederod in the name of them all ſpeaks thus the Governeſs.

And preſents her a Petition conſiſting of three Heads. Subjoyning theſe Complaints out of his Papers.

To part ſhe anſwers.

Part ſhe takes no notice of.

Put to the queſtion, whether the Covenanters ſhould be required to ſet their names to the Petition preſented to the Governeſs.

1556.

the Negative: leſt upon occaſion of getting the names of ſuch as were abſent, the Petition ſhould be ſent to the great Towns, and more drawn in. The next day, the Confederates returning in greater numbers (for the Count of *Cuilemburg* and *Bergen*, were yet in time come poſt) the Governeſs returned the Petition, which ſhe had received the day before, together with her Anſwer written in the Margine; wherein ſhe gave them hope, that the Inquiſition ſhould be taken away, and the Edicts moderated, onely ſhe muſt firſt acquaint the King with their deſires. But becauſe this did not ſatisfie them all; they withdrew to conſult together, and having paſſed their votes, came back, and in all their names *Euſtachius Fiennes* Lord of *Eſquerd* (for *Brederod* durſt not ſpeak in publick, unleſs he had conn'd his Leſſon, or that he read it out of his Book) giving her Highneſs humble thanks for that Anſwer, deſired, that ſhe would pleaſe to certifie, whatſoever had been done at this meeting of the Gentry, was out of their dutie to the King, and for his Majeſties advantage. But the Governeſs expreſly denying it, replyed, Time & their Actions would teſtify that ſufficiently to all the world; and ſo left them.

Reſolved, that they ſhould not be required to ſubſcribe their names.

The Governeſs returns the petion, with her Anſwer annexed.

Florence Pallantius C. Cuilenburg. William C. Bergen.

The ſame day *Brederod* entertained the Covenanters at *Cuilenburg-houſe* and made them a great feaſt, but unfortunate to the very Houſe where they were feaſted, which for this onely cauſe was afterward pulled down and levelled with the earth. The invited were about three hundred, and therefore more confident, eſpecially at the table in their jollity: Among other paſſages, they put the queſtion, how that Society ſhould be named, and it pleaſed them to give it the title of the *Noble Concord:* and they called their *Generall* the *Reſtorer of loſt liberty*. But theſe denominations after this feaſt were never heard of. Perhaps, becauſe they were of another mind when they were ſober, and rejected thoſe titles, as lyable to envie and offence: or perhaps, becauſe a new and accidentall *nickname* was received with greater ſucceſſe, and eaſily cancelled all thoſe former appellations. For *Brederod* told *Cuilenburg* and *Bergen*, that he himſelf, and divers others which yeſterday ſtood near the Governeſſe, heard *Charles* Count *Barlamont*, whiſpering in her ear, ſcoff at the aſſembled Nobilitie and call them in *French Gieux*, or as they pronounced it, *Gheuſes*, uſing that word of diſgrace to encourage the Governeſſe, as if ſhe needed not fear Beggars and Rogues. But ſignifie what it would, they willingly accepted of the name, and for their King and Countreys ſake ſeemed contented in good earneſt to be *Gheuſes* and *Beggars*. Count *Cuilenburg* ſtomacked this exceedingly; and ſo did many more, that either were not in the preſence, or elſe heard not *Barlamont* when he ſpake it. Notwithſtanding they were pleaſed to call themſelves by that name & from thence to take the Arms or diſtinctive Mark of their Party. Therefore drinking hard (Count *Hotchſtrat* by chance coming in) they animated one another by the name of the *Gheuſes*, and then calling for great bowls, drank a health to the name, and happineſs of *Gheuſes*, crying *long live the* G H E U S E S. Laſtly, when they were riſing, *Brederod* took a wallet that lay in the room, caſting it over his ſhoulder as beggars do, and holding a wooden diſh in his hand, full of wine, drank to all the company; and gave them thanks, for following him to that day with ſuch unanimous conſent, and therefore, he doubted not, but they would for the future continue in the ſame intentions and deſires. For his own part, he would never be of other mind. Nay he took it upon his honour, that he would die, if need ſhould be, for the generality of his Confederates, and for every particular perſon. At theſe words, they doubled their acclamations, of, *Long live the* G H E U S E S. Then *Brederod* having taken off his diſh, gave it and the wallet to his next neighbour, and ſo

Brederod *treats the Conſpiratours.*

In their cups, they would have a title of honour given to their Aſſociation, and the like to their Generall.

What Gheuſes *ſignifies.*

The Covenanters much taken with the name of Gheuſes.

Enſignes fit for the faction.

1566.

Their mutuall devotement.

ſo when it was gone round, and every one had drunk *Brederods* health, and repeating his words, had devoted their own lives for the reſt of their companions, they roſe from the table, and when the diſh and the wallet were come again to *Brederod,* he nailed them to the wall: and the reſt following his example, every one drave in his nail, and removing them, in a frolick, round about the room, they were initiated with theſe ridiculous Ceremonies. At which time the Prince of *Orange,* Count *Egmont,* and Count *Horn* coming in from Count *Mansfelds* houſe, where they dined, they fell to their cups afreſh, & as they drank about, the ſame wiſhes for the *Gheuſes* were with great ſhouts renewed.

They take another touch.

The particularities of this feaſt I had, out of private letters and notes, which, upon this occaſion were ſpeedily conveighed to the Governeſſe, by thoſe that heard moſt of them from *Sarnapulius, Husband* to *Brederods* ſiſter. Some ſay that theſe good-fellows after they were well fudled, to make their clothes drink with them, caſt wine upon one another; changed hats, and put them on, the crown downward (being turned the wrong way like their brains) with many ſuch like Gamebols, which may eaſily be ſuppoſed in a multitude corrupted with abundance of friends and wine.

And being foxed

Own the ſtyle of Gheuſes, *proper for Low-countrey Hereticks.*

This was the Originall of the *Gheuſes,* a name given in contempt to the petitioners, as to a company of prodigall fools and raſcals, which they took upon them in their drink, and ſo ſtyled their faction, with beaſtly clamours, and ſuch tricks as boyes would be aſhamed of. Afterwards, it was tranſlated from their faction to their hereſie, the next neighbour to it: and made the proper name of the hereticall Rebells in the Low-countreys. And as in *France* the hereticks are called *Hugonots,* ſo in the *Low-countreys* they are known by the name of *Gheuſes.* Nor did the drunkards ſo leave off, but the ſame day, about evening, Grave *Lewis,* ſupping with his Brother the Prince of *Orange,* where *Brederod* was, with Count *Horn,* and many more of the Covenanters; the whole houſe made the ſame wiſhes for the *Gheuſes*; as two years after, Count *Horn* confeſſed, upon his examination taken by the Duke of *Alva.*

1568.

The Gheuſes *walk the ſtreets.*

Thus growing confident, they reſolved, with great pomp, to carry the name of *Gheuſes* out of doors, to trie if the people would be taken with the novitie. Perhaps they obſerved, that ſome of the Lords approved of their proceedings: or perhaps, they hoped, what they had done in private, would be commended, it may be applauded, if they did it publickly, inſerting the Kings name.

Accoutred like beggars.

Therefore the Covenanters, for ſome dayes next following, walked the ſtreets in aſh-coloured cloth-ſuits. Some of them wore little wooden cans, cups, or ſaucers (the beggars houſhold-ſtuff) in their hats: ſome had this Impreſſe ſtamped in wax or wood, afterwards cut in gold or ſilver, which they hung like Medalls about their necks;

Out with gallant Medals.

Arnol. Haven. de novis Epiſc. Franc. Haræus in An. Belg. Fideles au Roy iuſque a la beſace. & An. Societ. Jeſu in Belg.

on the one ſide whereof was the King of *Spains* picture, with this circumſcription, but in *French, Faithfull to the King*; on the other, a wallet in an hand with this inſcription, *down to the wallet.* Laſtly, they began to cut their beards, leaving onely great muſtachios, turned up like *Turks*; I ſuppoſe their meaning was, to take away the contempt of their beggars clothes, by the terrour of their upper lips, and to ſhew themſelves at once both humble and formidable.

And ſhaved like Turks.

The citie upon this occaſion diverſly affected.

Some good ſprings from this evil.

In the mean time, the City was full of doubts and news. Many being glad the conſpiracy went on, and hoping, by thoſe tumults, and the aſſiſtance of the Lords, to free themſelves from the fear of the Inquiſition. Many onely looked on, as at a play, and were glad they had ſeats upon the ſtage, not caring what became of the actours; few there were, which foreſaw the miſchief that enſued.

One thing of great advantage to the Chriſtian faith, I finde at this time

to

1566.

to have happened; which, the place minding me of, I give it in a word or two. At Hall a Town of *Haynolt*, there is a rare and farr famed Image of the bleſſed Virgin Mary. Thither went *Philip Croi Duke of Areſchot*, out of that devotion to our Lady of Hall, which was hereditary to him from his Anceſtours, for the Low-countery Annalls attribute to his family the diſcovery of that Image. There he cauſed certain ſilver medalls to be caſt, repreſenting the Queen of Heaven with her Son *Jeſus* in her armes: and theſe, in oppoſition to the faction of the Gheuſes, he himſelf and many Gentlemen, that followed him, ſtuck in their hatts, as an embleme or cognizance of their holy pilgrimage, and Catholike Nobility. And when Duke *Areſchot* appeared in *Bruxells* with this gallant diſtinction, many of the Gentry, either out of devotion to the Mother of God, or in imitation (as it often happens) of a faſhion brought up by a great perſon, wore the like medalls in their hats. They ſay the Governeſſe much pleaſed with it, among other things which ſhe wrote to *Pius* the fifth, exceedingly commended this piety of the Low countrey men, eſpeciall in that point of time; and Pope *Pius*, who received no leſs contentment, to encourage the Low-countrey mens Religion, conſecrated thoſe Medalls, and (as he wrote to the Governeſs) out of his *Pontifician* power, gave to them that ſhould have ſuch Medalls, ſtamped with the Image of any Saint, indulgence and pardon for their ſinnes. It is reported that (the devotion towards theſe kinde of figures increaſing in the *Netherlands*, and other orthodox countries, ſtriving to follow the *Low-countrey mens* example) the uſe of Medalls was upon this occaſion, brought into the Church, or at leaſt, from hence they received their firſt fame and luſtre; if it be ſo, this likewiſe ought to be recorded in the book of Honour, that regiſters the acts of the Low-country Nobility, and particularly placed among the Monuments of the houſe of *Croi*. But *Brederod*, before his departure from *Bruxells*, returned to the Governeſs, two daies after his laſt addreſs, to get his petition ſigned. There came along with him the Counts of *Bergen*, *Naſſau*, and *Cuilenburg*, heads to the faction of the *Gheuſes*, and they delivered a new petition, containing their old demands, onely with theſe additionalls, That the delay of exſpecting the King of *Spaines* reſolution, would be dangerous, in reſpect of the incenſed and furious diſpoſition of the people. Truly they themſelves, out of that affection they owed unto their Country, could not but acquaint her Highneſs, that the Low-country mens violent deſires, would queſtionleſs break out into inſurrection. Howſoever, if her Excellence were reſolutely bent, to apply to ſuch an imminent danger, ſo ſlow and ſo remote a remedy, they called God and men to witneſs, what miſchief ſoever came of it, the Low-country Nobility ſhould not hereafter bear the blame. But the Governeſs, nothing moved withall this, promiſed to cut of all delayes, by ſending ſpeedily to *Spain*; and all occaſions of tumults, by giving inſtructions to the Inquiſitours and Magiſtrates of Towns, to proceed with greater moderation. Onely ſhe ſeriouſly deſired them, that ſince they conceive they have in this imployment done their duty, they will ſtop here, invent no new deſignes, draw in no new partiſans, nor meet any more at private conventicles: otherwiſe ſhe reſolved to do her duty, in maintaining the Antient Religion, and the Kings authority in thoſe Provinces. Having received this anſwer, many of the conſpiratours took leave of the Governeſs, and preſently departed from the City, leaving ſpies behinde, to give intelligence to the Covenanters, of all that paſſed at *Bruxells*; *Brederod*, *Cuilenburg*, and *Bergen* going out together with 150 horſe, for a military farewell, diſcharged their

J. Lipſius in D. Virg. Haev. de init. lib. 2. & Mich. ab Iſſel. in Hiſt. ſui temp.

Duke Areſchot *having done his devotions to our Lady of Hall, ſtamps hers and her ſons figure in a Coine and weares it in his Hat.*

Many imitate him.

The Governeſs commends him for it, to the Pope J. Ant. Gabut in the life of Pope Pius. lib 6. cap. 2.

Who gives indulgences to all that weare thoſe Medalls.

Thus came Medalls into the Church.

To the great honour of the houſe of Croi.

The Gheuſes preſent a new Petition.

April 8.

Angered at the Governeſſes delay.

She treates them with fair language.

And minding them of their duty diſmiſſeth them

Brederod *goes to* Antwerp.

April 10.

1566. piſtolls before the City gates ; and ſo, the firſt of them went to *Antwerp*, and the other two into *Gelderland*. But there was a poſt diſpatched from the Governeſs, to the Magiſtrate of *Antwerp*, to let him know of *Brederod's* coming, and to be a ſpye upon his counſels and actions. And though the Magiſtrate certified the Governeſs, that *Brederod* carried himſelf with great civility ; yet afterwards ſhe wrote to the King (having it ſeems better intelligence from another hand) that about 4000 of the common people of *Antwerp* flocked to the Inne, where *Brederod* alighted with 43. horſe, and when he heard that ſuch a multitude were come to the houſe, he roſe from dinner, and looking out of the window, with a great bowle of wine in his hand, ſaluted them ſtanding below in the yard, in theſe words, *You of Antwerp, here I am, that will, with the hazard of my life and fortunes, protect your ſelves, and free your children from the tyranny of the Inquiſition and the Edicts. If your conſent goes along with me in this glorious action, come on, and as many of you as would have your liberties preſerved, and mee for your Generall, pledg me this bowle with a good heart, and hold up your hands, in token that you accept of my good will.* Then he drank it off, and firſt held up his own hand, inſtantly the moſt of them did the like, and lifting their hands with an odd kinde of hum, ſignified, that they took it as an argument of his love ; and when he departed from the city, the ſame rabble brought him on his way.

May 14. Where the people come to him in multitudes.

He offers himſelf to be their Generall.

And is accepted.

The reſt of the Covenanters were but newly returned to the towns from whence they came, yet (leſt they might ſeem to have carried their petition to no purpoſe) they made it be reported through the Low-countreys that their buſineſſe was diſpatched. And to that end, they counterfeited a Declaration, ſubſcribed by the Knights of the *Golden-fleece*, either to induce the world to believe, that they were protected by the Knights, or to make the Governeſſe jealous of the Order. The Declaration was thus penned. *The publick faith concluded upon, at* Bruxels, *by the Gentlemen of the League, and ſigned by the Knights of the Order, the ſeventh of* Aprill 1566. *We Lords whoſe names are underwritten, having ſworn by our Order, do promiſe to the Gentlemen choſen by the Eſtates and legally ſent into the City, that the Eccleſiaſticall Inquiſitours, and the other Magiſtrates ſhall, from this day, puniſh no man for his Religion, neither by Impriſonment, Exile, nor death ; unleſs it be joyned with a popular tumult and the ruine of our Countrey, of which crimes Be the Covenanters the ſole legall puniſhers. But this power of theirs onely to be in force till the King with the conſent of the Eſtates of the* Low-countreys *ſhall otherwiſe determine.*

The ſubtilty of the Gheuſes ſlandering the Knights of the Golden Fleece with the patronage of their faction. In a printed Declaration.

The news of this Declaration at firſt ſtartled the Governeſſe, then ſhe ſent for the *Manifesto* it ſelf, and read it. For though ſhe rationally conjectured, that is was an impudent lie, invented by the Covenanters : yet ſhe very much feared it would be ſuch a bait as might eaſily catch the people, prone to believe what they deſire : or making a ſhew of believing, to colour their delinquencie with an handſome excuſe. At leaſt ſhe knew, that before the trick could be diſcovered, many inſolencies might be committed againſt Religion, and the Kings Authority, which afterwards could never be revoked or rectified by any means or induſtrie. And truly many do ſpread abroad ſuch forgeries, not out of hope they will continue long concealed: for they have their ends, if they laſt but till the people that are fooled with them, begin to pull the frame of the State in pieces, the Reſult whereof will be, that when they come to ſee their errour, at the ſame time deſpairing of their pardon, licentiouſneſſe and love of ſinne likewiſe increaſing, they raiſe one tumult upon the neck of another, cruell but cowardly : and imagining

The Governeſſe is at firſt afraid of this kind of Artifice.
April 13.

Which before it can come to be confuted leaves the impreſſion of a wound.

To which end ſuch things publiſhed.

ging danger it ſelf to be the beſt remedy for danger. Many indeed make uſe of lies, as builders do of buttreſſes and ſcaffolds. For as they are uſefull whileſt Arches are in making, but when they be finiſhed are caſt away; ſo the ſubtiller ſort of people deviſe falſehoods, to no other end but to ſupport their Architecture a while, which if compleated and able to ſtand alone, then they eaſily ſuffer their fictions to grow out of date, to be pulled down and caſt away, like props and ſcaffolds when the building is brought unto perfection. And the Governeſs knowing it was now no time for delayes, ſent for as many of the Order as could conveniently attend her (for it was Paſſion week, and the major part had retired themſelves to make their Confeſſions in the Monaſteries of their own Towns, according to the cuſtome of the Nobility) and ſhewed them the Declaration; upon ſight whereof, Count *Egmont* and Count *Mansfeld*, who were the firſt that came, proteſted, that no part of it was either done or ſaid by their Companions of the Order. It was therefore reſolved, that expedition ſhould be uſed whilſt the multitude had onely a taſt of the Errour, but had not as yet ſwallowed down the Falſehood; and that they ſhould not expect till the wooll dipt in Ink, were made uncapable of another die. That the Governours of the Provinces, and the Magiſtrate of every City and Town, ſhould be immediately informed of the truth; and a copy ſent them of the Petition preſented by the Covenanters, with the Governeſſes marginall Anſwer. They were likewiſe to take notice, that if any thing elſe were publiſhed by any whatſoever, it was to be reputed as the Invention of ſome ſeditious perſons, endeavouring to beget domeſtick Tumults, and accordingly by the Kings Laws, and Authority to be puniſhed. Theſe Letters, though preſently ſent into the Provinces, yet failed to undeceive the people: which in many places had already heard and believed the untruth, to the great prejudice (as I ſhall preſently ſhew you) of the ancient Religion, and the Publick peace. Which forced the Governeſs to haſten the Embaſſie into *Spain*, that was lately voted by the Senate. *John Glimè* Marqueſs of *Bergen* and Governour of *Haynolt* was named for the imployment. But he, whether his guilty conſcience could not brook the Kings preſence, or whether the trouble of the voyage frighted him, at firſt refuſed to undertake it; then was willing, ſo that another might be put in Commiſſion with him; *Florence Momorancie* Lord of *Montiny* was therefore joyned with the Marqueſſe. Both of them, becauſe they doubted their buſineſs would not pleaſe the King, were ſuiters to the *Governeſs*, to diſpatch away a Meſſenger into *Spain*, that ſhould prepare his Majeſtie with the knowledge of their coming: in the interim, they reſolved ſo to order and ſpin out their journey, that the Meſſenger ſhould meet them upon the way, with the Kings Letters: wherein they might perceive if his Majeſtie approved of their imployment. Notwithſtanding all this caution, which their ill-preſaging minds rather uſed for their ſecurity, then for their Honour, they eſcaped not, but this Embaſſage coſt them both their lives. They had yet other unlucky Omens; for two dayes before they ſet forth, the Marqueſs of *Bergen*, as he walked in the open Court of the Governeſſe's Palace, was hit upon the thigh with a Ball of wood, by ſome playing at Pall Mall; and being very grievouſly hurt, kept his bed; and was conſtrained to deferre his journey. You would think, this good office was done him by his *Genius*, who not contented by other warnings to have pulled him by the ear, now laid him by the heels, and kept him lockt in fetters to hinder his unfortunate voyage. But what Fate hath ordained for every man, is not ſo eaſily prevented, as foreſeen.

1566.
And ſerve the turn like temporary ſcaffolds till the building be up.

At laſt the Lords denying that any of their Order was ingaged.

She gives notice of the deceit to the Provinces.

April 25.
But not timely enough to all Places.
Whereupon ſhe diſpatches an Embaſſage for Spain, *nominating the Marq. of* Bergen,

And the Lord Montiny.

Montiny *ſets forward.*

ſeen. In the mean while, the Governeſſe (it concerning her to looſe no time) got the other Embaſſadour, though againſt his will, to go before the Marqueſſe of *Bergen* (who ſhould follow as ſoon as he recovered) and to acquaint his Majeſtie with the ſtate of affairs in the Low-countreys, after the Gentlemens petition was delivered. To this purpoſe, beſides letters, inſtructions, and other appendents to an Embaſſage, her Excellence gave him a Book containing in eighteen chapters the principle actions of that year, which ſhe left to his Majeſties conſideration; and concluded, that onely his preſence would, with the leaſt hazard, ſettle the Low-countreys. Yet before his departure, the Governeſſe (as ſhe had promiſed her two Embaſſadours) ſent away *Fabius Lembus a Neopolitan*, an old Courtier, and faithfull; with private commands, and notes, wherein ſhe interpreted moſt of that which ſhe had given in charge to *Montiny*. She ſent likewiſe a copy of *Charles* the fifth's Edicts ſomewhat qualifyed in the penalties againſt Hereticks, by advice of the Senatours and Divines; likewiſe ſignifying, that ſhe had ſhewed that qualification ſeverally to the Eſtates of the Low-countreys, and that by moſt of them it was approved of; yet that ſhe would not publiſh it, nor propound it to the People, without his Majeſties conſent: but ſhe earneſtly beſeeched him, to command it; and to deferre his intention of eſtabliſhing the *Popes* Inquiſitours. So on the ſeventeenth of May, ſhe diſpatched *Fabius Lembus* thus inſtructed. In ten dayes after, *Montiny* followed, and the ſeventeenth of June was by the King gratiouſly received at *Madrid* and divers times had Audience. Yet before he could get a determinate Anſwer, he was commanded to exſpect his fellow Commiſſioner, the Marqueſſe of *Bergen:* nor found he the King inclinable to, or well pleaſed with his Embaſſage. Indeed to divert his Majeſtie from conſenting to the Low-countreymens deſires (though he was of himſelf ſufficiently conſtant both to Religion, and his opinions) *Pius* the fifth interpoſed his authoritie: by whoſe *Nuncio, Pedro Camaiono* Biſhop of *Aſculum* (who had an eye upon that Embaſſie from the Low-countreys) his Majeſtie was continually ſolicited not to ſuffer the Catholick Religion to fall in the Low-countreys; but that he would perſonally by force of arms, puniſh the diſloyaltie of that turbulent people. And for this cauſe, his *Holineſſe* commanded *Julio Paveſio, Archbiſhop* of *Surrentum*, whom he ſent Legate to the Emperour *Maximilian*, to take the Low-countreys in his way: and in his name to ſet a high commendations upon the Dutcheſſe of *Parma*, for her zeal to Religion, maniſeſted in her Government of the *Low-countreys*; wherein he ſhould incourage her, by promiſing ſupplies of money from the *Pope*, with his utmoſt aſſiſtance. For now a Cauſe was controverted, for which he would not fear to ſtake his triple Crown. Moreover, he was to adviſe with the Governeſſe, about delivering the Popes letters to the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Cuilemburg*, exhorting the Count to forſake the Hereticks, unto whom, it was ſaid, he adhered, and to reconcile himſelf to the old Religion: and admoniſhing the Prince not to ſuffer with impunity ſo many foul things, as were committed by Hereticks in his Principality of *Orange*, to the great dammage of all the neighbouring Cities, eſpecially *Avignion*. But the Governeſſe, whoſe counſell the Legate was commanded to follow, did not approve of the delivery of the *Popes* letters to *Cuilemburg*, leaſt, as he was a youth of a weak and fantaſticall brain, he might not value or receive them with due reverence. She ſaid, he might ſafelier treat with the Prince of *Orange*, in regard the like admonition, formerly ſent from *Paul* the fourth, had ſtruck him with a fear of looſing his Principality, nevertheleſſe ſhe would

A Meſſenger, with private inſtructions, goes before him.

The King gives no diſpatch to the Embaſſadour.

The Pope moving him to revenge the Affront offered to Religion.

Who likewiſe ſends his Legate to the Governeſſe.

That ſhould extoll her and promiſe aſſiſtance from his Holineſſe.

Delivering his letters to Count Cuilemburg *and the Prince of* Orange.

She adviſes him not to give the letter to the Count,

But to let the Prince have his, whom ſhe undertakes to prepare.

Decem. 15. 1563.

prepare him for the Legate. But for his liberall offer of aſſiſtance from his *Ho'ineſſe*, ſhe acknowledged her obligations to the great *Biſhop*, and deſired *Paveſio* to repreſent her, for that favour, kneeling at his feet, and humbly kiſſing them: though ſhe had not power to admit of his promiſed ſupplies, unleſſe the King would pleaſe to give her leave. But ſhe aſſured his *Holineſſe*, that the Cauſe of Religion ſhould be alwayes to her, as it had ever been, dearer then her life. Laſtly, touching the nature and induſtry of the Low-countrey *Biſhops* (for *Paveſio* intreated her to inſtruct him in that particular) ſhe very graphically diſcourſed their lives and manners, and gave him their ſeverall characters, telling which deſerved Rebuke, which Praiſe or Pitie. The Legate, finding all ſhe ſaid to be true, and the Prince of *Orange* the eaſier to be wrought upon, (belike her Excellence had prepared him, as ſhe promiſed) admiring her induſtrie and pietie, profeſſed that he would publiſh in the Court of *Rome*, how Religion ſtanding now in the Low-countreys on a dangerous precipice, was ſupported onely by her Highneſſes vigilance and prudence. But the Factions and Tumults ceaſed not for all this. The Covenanters being returned (as I have told you) into their reſpective Provinces, and giving it out, that they had the publick Faith of the Knights of the Golden Fleece for their indemnitie; all thoſe that had been baniſhed for hereſie came back from the adjacent Countreys, and ſuch as had lyen concealed at home appeared again, magnifying the name of the *Gheuſes*, calling them the Aſſertours and Champions of their libertie, and putting themſelves under their protection. Thus the number of the Covenanters was much increaſed, eſpecially in *Antwerp*, even the Merchants themſelves began to wear the *Habit* aud Cognizante of the *Gheuſes*. Nay there ſprung up a new brotherhood of the Common People, wearing in their hats, beſides the wallet ſtampt in ſilver, a wreathed pilgrims ſtaff, the ends bowing acroſſe, ſignifying (as I ſuppoſe) that they were to go a pilgrimage out of their Countrey, and ſeek libertie in another Climate. This conſpiracie was ſpawned out of the other, it being the off-ſpring (as the Goverueſſe wrote to his Majeſtie) of that two years before, raiſed by the Lords againſt *Cardinall Granvel*, where they firſt wore hoods, and then Darts. But that which at the beginning was onely private difference at Court, and the ambition of a few, afterwards turned into the publick mutiny of the Provinces. Great men, it ſeems, never can offend alone; and vices, whilſt they paſſe from hand to hand, are ſoyled with being touched, and grow ſtill fouler. Neither did the Governeſſes letters to the Magiſtrates, concerning the counterfeit Declaration in the Lords names, do any good: nor the Kings letter to the Governeſſe and the Provinces, about that time received, wherein his Majeſtie promiſed, That having now ſecured himſelf from the *Turks* and *Moors*, he would preſently make a voyage into the *Low-countreys*, and in perſon moderate the ſeveritie (if any ſuch were) of his fathers Edicts. In the mean time, he reſted confident that the troubles would be quieted by the Lords endeavours, whereupon formerly relying, both his father the Emperour and he himſelf never feared what their enemies could do: and now, he doubted not but their old loyalty would eaſily compoſe a ſedition raiſed by a few private men. Onely the pardons which the Governeſſe in her letters to the King, deſired for certain perſons, were by his Majeſtie, more reſolutely then ſeaſonably put off till another time. In the *interim*, the evil increaſing, and the opportunitie of applying a fit remedie being paſt, his Majeſtie loſt the Grace and favour he intended.

In the mean time excuſes her ſelf for not receiving the money offered by the Pope.

Her Excellence gives the Legate a true deſcription of the Low-countrey Biſhops.

Who is amazed at her Piety and Prudence.

The impudence of the Gheuſes *incouraged by hope of impunity.*

Their new Conſpiracy.

And new faſhion.

The Originall of theſe kind of confederacies.

May 17.

Not cured either by the Governeſſes care.

6. or 21. *of May.*

Or by the Kings letter gracious indeed.

March 15.

But unſeaſonably protracting the Grant of Generall Pardons to ſome great ones.

1570.

The Low-countreys *overflowed with Hereticks.*

And truly miſchiefs ſprung not up ſeverally, or by intervals; but com-

1566. pleated, and in a knot, breaking forth all at once. For in the bordering Countreys the Maſter-hereticks watching how diſcord proſpered in the *Low-countreys*, that they might take occaſion to vent their outlandiſh wares and ſell them the new Goſpel; flocking in crouds, the *Calviniſts* out of *France* and the *Lutherans* and *Anabaptiſts* out of *Germany*, invaded, and as it were attached their neareſt neighbour-towns. Firſt, they held their Conventicles in the fields by night, then, ſucceſſe ſmiling upon them, fearing likewiſe that if differences chanced to be compoſed, they ſhould fail of diſpatching what they came for; they thought it beſt, by way of prevention, to ſhew themſelves in the light; and before the people (that ran to meet them out of towns and villages) boldly to preach againſt the *Spaniſh* tirannie, againſt Religion corrupted by the Biſhops, and for the pure and ſincere light of the Goſpel. Emulation made them more impudent, leſt the *Calviniſts* (that had indeed fewer great perſons of their faction, but more Proſelytes and applauſe) ſhould be leſſe powerfull then the *Lutherans*. And the *Anabaptiſts* being farre more in number then the *Lutherans*, ſcorned to be worſted by the *Calviniſts*: or that the *Lutherans* ſhould have more great Protectours then both the other Sects. Therefore they made haſte in zeal of ſpirit to ſeiz upon Cities and Towns, as if they were to make new plantations; every one being for himſelf, and all againſt One. Miſerable and calamitous at that time was the condition of the *Low-countreys*, many of the nobleſt Provinces being ſuddenly hurried into factions, and running upon the rocks of errour. Whilſt impure men, Apoſtates both from divine and humane faith, whilſt the ſcumme of their own nations, the Refuſe of *Germany* and *France*, promiſed themſelves a kind of ſovereignty in the *Low-countreys*, and ran up and down as if hell had been broke looſe, filling all places with turbulent ſermons, infamous libells, hopes, fears, and jealouſies. Whilſt ſuch a multitude; firſt out of the next villages, but at laſt out of great towns, came, with incredible deſire, to hear theſe trumpeters of the new Goſpel; that once, in the fields of *Tournay* above eight thouſand men were ſeen at a ſermon. Near *Liſle* they appeared in greater ſhoals. At *Antwerp*, in one day, were gathered together thirteen thouſand, next day fourteen thouſand, a while after ſixteen thouſand men. Laſtly, taking more freedome in many places, eſpecially at *Valenciens* and upon the borders of *Flanders*, they married people in the fields, and baptized infants after the *Calviniſticall* manner. And that all this might be done with ſafety, they meet at theſe Conventicles and Sermons, armed with pikes and muskets. I know the Reader will not a little wonder to hear (what they ſay the Low-treymen themſelves were amazed when they ſaw) how the Peoples zeal of hearing ſermons came to ſuch a height, that neither the Magiſtrates by authoritie, nor their Officers by force, nor the Laws by reverence, could contain them, but that men, women, and children left their houſes, and ran like mad, to theſe Teachers in the fields. But all the Auditory were not drawn by the ſame motive. For many that had long ago baniſhed the Catholick Religion out of their hearts, went chearfully to imbrace the opinions of Hereticks, and to joyn in Communion with them: and in their violent motion, took others along, that knew not well whither they wandered, but half againſt their wils, ſhoved on by the croud, like ſwimmers by the ſtream, I cannot properly ſay they *went*, but were *carried*. Many were taken with the noveltie, and a longing to ſee what kind of Religion thoſe forreiners had brought from *Saxonie* or *Geneva*; out of which Countreys, as it was reported, they had at a diſtance wrought ſo much upon the reſt of the Provinces.

Privately at firſt,

Then openly preaching.

Three Sorts or Claſſes of them. Calviniſts. Lutherans. Anabaptiſts.

Catholicks.

What they were that came in.

Infinite Reſort to hear them.

And to the Sacraments after the hereticall way.

Why the people are ſo fond of ſermons.

Some out of zeal to hereſie.

Divers taken with the Rarity.

1565.

Many delighted with ſinging of Pſalms.

ces.

ces. A great ſort were drawn in, with the tunes ſet to the *Pſalmes*, tranſlated, as I have told you, into French meeter, by *Marot* and *Beza*, and now ſung at their great meetings in the fields according to *Geneva mode*. But moſt of them itched after the ſlanders and jeers of their preaching miniſters. Among which, as every ignorant Mountebank had ſome little ſmattering of learning, and abounded in impudence, and the juggling art of catching applauſe; ſo with greater lies and fooleries they railed againſt the *Biſhop* of *Rome*, the Councel of *Trent*, and the Eccleſiaſticall *Inquiſitours*, ſhamefully and fouly abuſing all things holie; but yet ſo, as the peoples minds were tickled: who clapped their hands, as if they had been in a play-houſe; and meaſured things that were ſpoken, not by a true eſtimate, but meerly by the pleaſure of their ears. Nay, though ſome of the wiſer ſort, underſtood their feats of activitie, and knew they told fables and gulleries, yet they were pleaſed to be deceived themſelves, meaning ſhortly with the ſame artifice to coſen others: and to repeat thoſe Sermons as truths, which they had by their own induſtrie diſcovered. Calumnies and defamations without any diſtinction of truth or falſehood, are ever greedily entertained, and as greedily communicated. Laſtly, the Cities were by theſe incendiaries diſtracted into factions. Thoſe that bordered upon *France* favoured *Calvin*, thoſe neighbouring to *Germany*, were for *Luther*; both of them followed the Preachers, not out of any will to be inſtructed in their Tenets, but onely ſiding with their own Nation. Nor was the Governeſs leſs active all the while, but tried all wayes poſſible to obviate and encounter the increaſing miſchief. She ſent the Marqueſs of *Bergen*, as ſoon as ever he was recovered, in all haſte to *Spain*, to give his Majeſtie an account of what he had ſeen with his eyes, and to beſeech him to think no more of the Inquiſition; but that he would pleaſe, and ſpeedily, to mitigate the ſeveritie of the Edicts, leſt while they conſulted in *Spain*, the *Low-countreys* ſhould be loſt. But the Marqueſs of *Bergen* falling ill again at *Poictou* in *France*, received inſtructions from her Excellence, to ſend ſome truſtie meſſenger before him, to deliver the King his Letters and Embaſſage. Which was done by his Major-domo, upon the 25 of *July*. The Governeſs was likewiſe informed by the Magiſtrate of *Antwerp*, that forreiners every day came into the Town, and peſtered it extreamly. Whom her Excellence commanded to depart, by Edict, ſet forth by authoritie of the Senate; and many perſwading her, upon that occaſion, to revive the penall Laws againſt baniſhed men, that ſhould return into the *Low-countreys*, againſt ſcandalous Libellers, and ſuch as read and kept their Pamphlets; as likewiſe againſt all Conventicles and hereticall Sermons; though a while ſhe remained in ſuſpence, becauſe on the one part, ſhe knew there was no hope to maſter the ſtubborn multitudes without ſouldiers, which then ſhe had not means to levie, and therefore held it more wiſdome to wave thoſe Laws, the contempt whereof ſhe had not power to puniſh: and on the other part, that ſhe might not ſit ſtill, and ſeem to ſleep over ſo many affronts, with a kind of encouragement to the tumultuous Rebels, ſhe confirmed and augmented the old Edicts. But all to little purpoſe; for the Miniſters ſtill preached, and becauſe they were ſilenced, were followed with more eagerneſs: it being a fault in humane nature, to conceive things greater becauſe prohibited. The worſt diſorders were at *Antwerp*, that Citie lying between the *French* and the *Germans*, and therefore expoſed to their factions. Inſomuch as a few dayes after the Edict was publiſhed, when the *Lutherans*, according to their cuſtome, met in the fields on the one ſide, and the *Calviniſts* on

1566.

But the moſt, with hearing them rail and jeer in the Pulpit.

Their audience increaſed by ſeverall Countreymen ſtriving to have their hereſie preferred.

Which neceſſitates the Governeſs to haſten away the Marq. of Bergen *into* Spain.

Who ſickning by the way, Sends the Steward of his houſe before with his Letters.

1566.

Her Excellence by Edict baniſhes Forreiners. But cannot reſolve what courſe to take with the new Preachers.

She revives the Edict againſt them.

Who were more followed becauſe prohibited. Eſpecially at Antwerp.

on the other, theſe being no fewer then fifteen thouſand, their number encreaſed their confidence. When the Sermon was done, they ſet the preacher of *Calvins* Goſpel on horsback, and carried him into the Town triumphantly, attended with a great guard of Horſe and Foot. The Magiſtrate not daring to oppoſe that ſudden tumult, contented himſelf with ſending ſpeedy intelligence thereof to the Governeſs, beſeeching her Excellence (in regard that many thought thoſe aſſemblies might at laſt engage the City in ſome inſurrection) by her preſence there to give aſſiſtance unto *Antwerp*. And her Highneſs, as if ſhe meant preſently to come, ſent before her *Charles Brimey* Count of *Megen*, a faithfull and valiant Commander, enjoyning him to make experience of the ſtrength and loyaltie of the Citizens, what they would or could do, for quieting thoſe commotions; leſt neceſſitie might force her to be an eye-witneſs of things, which ſhe might with leſſe danger to her Authority, hear of at a diſtance. But upon ſight of the Count, the Town began to mutiny: the people crying out, That Count *Megen* was come to do a miſchief to the *Gheuſes*, and that Count *Aremberg* was to follow with twelve Enſignes; and when thoſe ſouldiers had poſſeſt themſelves of *Antwerp*, then the Governeſs would appear, and at her pleaſure, together with the *Spaniſh* tyranny, erect the Pontifician Tribunall, and put a Garriſon into the Fort to aw the Town. Laſtly, the *Brabanters* having received that yoke, ſhould be juſt ſo enſlaved as the *Millanois* and *Neapolitans* are in *Italie*, caught by the like ſtratagem. Theſe tumults ſtill increaſing, the Governeſs called away Count *Megen*, pretending it was neceſſary he ſhould attend his Government of *Gelderland*. And when the Magiſtrate of *Antwerp*, by divers poſts, wrote to the Governeſs fot the Prince of *Orange*, who was deſired by the people, nor would they eaſily endure another Governour, the Prince of *Orange* himſelf promiſing his utmoſt fidelity and endeavours in that employment; the Governeſs not knowing what to do, ſeeing no way ſafe, at length, leſt ſhe might ſeem to diſtruſt his integrity and promiſes, and conſequently, in that point of time, diſtaſt ſo great a man with a publick repulſe, ſhe gave him Commiſſion to compoſe the mutinie at *Antwerp*. He was met upon the way, a mile without the Town, by *Brederod*, with a great ſort of Citizens of *Antwerp*; who ſaluting one another with diſcharge of their piſtols, they joyned companies, and went on; ſuch multitudes of men, partly meeting them upon the rode, partly ſtanding to behold them upon riſing ground, and tops of houſes; that you would think *Antwerp* had emptied it ſelf of all the inhabitants. Yet the Prince of *Orange* ſeemed not to be elated in his looks, perhaps conceiving it to be a point of magnanimity: or rather, fearing that immoderate popular applauſe, might offend ſuperiour Powers. And therefore, when that huge crowd began to ſing Pſalmes in *French*, he commanded them preſently to hold their peace. Others in divers places crying, *Long live the Gheuſes:* he often ſilenced them with his hand. Nay, thoſe that were got upon the walls, louder then before ſhouting out the ſame wiſhes for the *Gheuſes*; when he could not rule their tongues by ſignes, he grew in choler, and ſwore by God, they were beſt conſider what they did; for if they proceeded, ſome of them ſhould repent it. But the greateſt preſumption of the people was, when he entred *Antwerp*; and rode through the ſtreets, then in many places they clamoured in this manner, *Behold the man that brings us liberty. Behold the man that brings us the Confeſſion of* Auſpurg. *We have no more need of the Covenanters. This is he whom hereafter we will follow, this is he whom we will petition to.* But the Prince of *Orange* appeared much offended at theſe expreſſions, eſpecially in *Brederods*

pre-

The Governeſs is deſired to come thither.

1564.

She ſends Count Megen *before her.*

But upon a mutiny of the people

He is called away.

The Town petitions for the Prince of Orange,

Who is made Governour of Antwerp.

Multitudes of people meet him upon the way.

He ſilences their ſhouts, and the Hereticks acclamations.

preſence. He lighted at the Palace, and that night conſulted with the Magiſtrate, how to reduce the people to their former duty and obedience; how to hinder the Merchants from leaving the Town, which they reſolved to do; and how to break the meetings at ſeditious Sermons; for theſe were his inſtructions from the Governeſs. But whileſt the remedies were referred to the Senate, the diſeaſe abroad being fed with the ſame humour, increaſed, and it was thought, ſeldome leſs then 4000 men met at one Sermon, which exceedingly grieved the Governeſs, who by many Letters, ſometimes remembred the Senate and People of the promiſe, wherein they obliged themſelves to the King, when (to avoid the impoſing of a Biſhop) they undertook to be more tender of Religion, then ever any Biſhop was. Sometimes ſhe praiſed and encouraged the Prince of *Orange* for his induſtry in preventing miſchiefs; and withall remembred him of the Duty of his place, his faith to the King, and ingagement to her ſelf in this preſent Office; that many had ill thoughts of him, and the occaſion was now in his own hands either to enflame, or extinguiſh them: When behold, upon the ſudden, new troubles call away the attention of the Governeſs to another quarter.

Conſults about a remedie for the preſent miſchief.

Sermons in the fields frequented as much as ever

For which ſhe juſtly reprooves the Senate of Antwerp, *and tries ſeverall wayes to make the Prince of* Orange.

News was brought, that the Confederate *Gheuſes* had a new deſigne, and were about two thouſand. to meet at *Centron*, and in that Citie, belonging to the Biſhop of *Liege*, to reſolve whether they ſhould take up arms, whereunto in every place they had animated the people. The report of the taking up arms was falſe, but their determination to meet proved true. And *Brederod* with the chief of the Covenanters, wrote Letters to the Towns about them, in the end of *June*, ſummoning them to convene the 14 day of *July*. *Lewis* of *Naſſau* undertook to make the Biſhop, ſending unto him the Lord of *Villers*, who in the name of *Lewis* and his companions of the League, ſhould work him to give way to their holding an Aſſembly at *Centron*. The Biſhop excuſing himſelf, as bound by the Imperiall Laws, not to ſuffer any ſuch meeting in an Imperiall Town; wrote all that had paſſed, in cypher, to the Governeſs, and commanded the Governour of the Town, not to admit them if they came. But the Townſmen fearing, that if they did ſhut their gates againſt them, they would ſpoil their Harveſt, and fire the houſes and Villages round about; without conteſt received *Brederod* and his men into the Town. In this convention (begun about the middle of *July*, and ended the laſt day of that moneth) two things were put to the queſtion: The firſt, How they ſhould be ſecured, in caſe the King were minded to revenge himſelf upon them: and then, Whether they ſhould move for more, then was expreſſed in their Petition delivered in *April*, touching the Edicts and Inquiſition. The generall vote was, that ſecurity ſhould be demanded of the Governeſs; but the other paſſed in the negative: ſome affirming that upon the grant of thoſe particulars for which they took the Covenant, they ought to proceed no farther. Others ſaid, That if they had ſucceſs in their firſt Petition, they would enlarge it, and deſire, that no certain form of Religion might be preſcribed the people; but that every one might be left free, to ſerve God his own way. Many were extreamly offended with that abominable opinion, and thereupon by degrees diſengaged themſelves from the Covenant (among which was *Charles Mansfeld* ſonne to Count *Erneſt*) ſo as nothing was determined in that point. But whether the Hereticks among themſelves, unknown to their other complices, reſolved upon that which preſently followed in the *Netherlands*, that is, the violation of holy Images, I ſhall in its proper place deliver. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, the Governeſs ſent Count *Egmont* and the Prince of *Orange*, to fright

A meeting of the Gheuſes *at* Centron, *or* San-Truden.

They deſire the uſe and freedom of the Town, from the Biſhop of Liege, Gerard Grosbech. *Which he denies*

But the Townſmen let them in.

They convene in the City.

Where they unanimouſly agree to petition for their Indemnity.

Touching Libertie of Religion they differ among themſelves.

A few Pages lower.

The Governeſs ſends Count Egmont *and Count* Horn *to break off the Convention.*

1566.

fright the Covenanters and theſe Aſſemblies; not that ſhe was ignorant, how farre either of them was to be truſted, but that by ſuch expreſſions of her confidence, and by making them of Counſel with her, ſhe might oblige them, and put it in their power to ſet things right, and conſequently to merit the Kings favour. They appointed *Brederod* and the heads of the Covenanters to meet them at *Duffle*, a village hard by *Antwerp*. And among other things, they admoniſhed them, in the Governeſſes name, that they ſhould forbear by thoſe kind of Aſſemblies to make any Innovation, till his Majeſtie ſent his abſolute determination concerning their demands: but rather, that by their authoritie with the Commons they ſhould reſtrain them (as they had promiſed) growing dayly more and more ſtubborn and contumacious. *Brederod* wrote the heads of this conference (which were nine) to his confederates at *Centron*; who agreed among themſelves, to ſend *Lewis* of *Naſſau* with twelve Gentlemen to preſent the *Governeſſe* a new Petition, conſiſting likewiſe of nine heads, wherein partly they ſtood upon their juſtification; and that ſo abſolutely, as they refuſed the act of Oblivion promiſed them by the *Governeſſe*, affirming what they had done was more worthy to be publiſhed, then forgotten: partly they deſired that the *Governeſſe*, by her own letters and under the hands of the Knights of the *Golden-fleece*, would ſecure them from force of arms, which as it was ſaid were preparing againſt them. Moreover, that ſhe would give Commiſſion to the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Egmont*, and Count *Horn* to hear the Grievances of the Covenanters, and to mediate betwixt his Majeſtie and them. Laſtly, they moved for a generall Convention of the Eſtates, as the beſt expedient for reſtoring peace to their Countrey. Otherwiſe, though againſt their wills, they muſt be neceſſitated to have recourſe to forrein help. Theſe letters being read in Senate, after every man had delivered his opinion, the Governeſſe anſwered *Lewis* and his companions (that were called, by jeering people, his twelve Apoſtles) that upon the twenty ſixth of Auguſt the Knighrs of the *Golden-fleece* were to meet at *Bruxels*, and ſhe would adviſe with them about it. In the *interim*, the Prince of *Orange* returning to *Antwerp*; when no good could be done there, certified the Governeſſe, that the Citizens had been earneſt with him to receive the Government of *Antwerp*, and for his ſecuritie to put a Garriſon into the Town. The Governeſſe conſenting to it, he not onely raiſed men, but was ſo bold, as to ask leave to have a Guard about his perſon, which ſhe likewiſe granted. And ſo to his great contentment he was made Governour, meaning ſhortly to make himſelf an abſolute Prince, by the too much indulgence of the *Governeſſe*, who with theſe favours endeavoured to ingage the Prince of *Orange*; or at leaſt would have him believed to be of the Kings partie. But the deſpair of ſuccours long looked for out of *Spain*, together with her fear, increaſed her indulgence. Now at length, upon *Montinyes* ſollicitation, the Kings letters came, wherein thoſe three particulars the Dutcheſſe had ſo often requeſted of his Majeſtie, were all granted, but upon certain conditions. For his Majeſtie gave way to the remove of the Eccleſiaſticall Inquiſitours; provided the Biſhops were firſt placed in their ſtead: for he was reſolved and fixed, not to leave *Religion* naked, without a guard of thoſe that ſhould take cognizance of her cauſe, and revenge her injuries. It was his pleaſure likewiſe, that the Imperiall Edicts ſhould be ſomewhat moderated by his Councell in the Low-countreys; but it muſt be certified to, and approved of by, his Councel in *Spain*, before it ſhould be publiſhed in the Provinces. In the laſt place, his Majeſtie was contented that the Covenanters

[T]heſe Lords re[m]ember the [C]ovenanters of [th]eir promiſe.

[B]ut they by a [n]ew meſſage [fr]om S. Tru[d]en *make high [de]mands from [th]e Governeſſe.*

[S]he puts them [o]ff for the pre[ſen]t.

[Th]e Prince of [O]range *would [be] made Go[ve]rnour of* Ant[w]erp, *to enable [hi]m for ruling the Town.*

[An]d is made [G]overnour ac[co]rdingly.

[W]ith power to [u]ſe himſelf a [G]uard.

[Bu]t this conceſ[ſio]n was a great [we]akning in her [E]xcellence.

[Th]e Kings let[ter]s wherein he [gr]ants the Go[ve]rneſſe her de[ſir]es.

[Bu]t limited, as [to] ve the people [ſ]atisfaction.

venanters and others ſhould be pardoned; but the other two heads were firſt to be diſpatched. But theſe remedies came from *Spain* too late, when the face of things was altered in the *Low countreys*: When the fury of the Hereticks, plundering the Churches, and openly defacing all venerable and ſacred monuments of Religion, was to be incountered in another way.

1566. *And ſo long a coming, as rendered them unuſefull to the King.* *Of the plunder of Churches.*

And indeed that deſtruction (which I think was one of the greateſt that ever happened, if we conſider the ſudden miſchief to Religion, the rage of the People, their ſmall number, and mean qualitie) from what parts or by whoſe Counſell it was brought upon the Low-countreys, is no more certainly known, then the cauſes and originall of a ſudden plague. I ſhould think by many letters I have read, that in all probability it came thither from the *Geneva Calviniſts*, their next *French* neighbours: perhaps by accident, perhaps upon deſign; for ſo *Peter Erneſt* Count *Mansfeld* informed the Governeſſe, and ſhe the King. The very ſame intelligence ſhe received from *Pedro Ceballio*, an old *Spaniſh* Commander, who aſſured her, that the Prince of *Condè* and the three brothers of the *Colygn* the heads of the *Hugonots*, to advance their own partie in *France* while Hereſie reigned in the *Low-countreys*, by their Emiſſaries, dayly ſolicited the Hereticks in theſe Provinces to make ſome attempt, wherein they promiſed ſufficiently to furniſh them with men and Arms. The like hope they had of the *Queen* of *England*. This agrees with what was reſolved upon at *Centron* by the confederated *Gheuſes*, in which number the Admirall of *France* and others of that nation being comprehended, it was eaſie for them, upon this occaſion, to trouble the *Low-countreys*. Beſides theſe myſteries of State, other things were plain to be diſcerned. For the people, partly corrupted with Hereſie, partly dreading the Inquiſition, exceedingly favoured the Hereticks that ſought to overthrow that judicature. The confederated *Gheuſes* willingly took upon them the protection of the Commons, becauſe many of the Covenanters were birds of the ſame feather, and all of them ambitious to be Maſters and Tribunes of the people. The Knights of the Order, and the Lords, were divided among themſelves. Thoſe that continued faithfull to their Religion and their Prince, were the weaker party: the ſtronger either declared themſelves for the Conſpiratours, or at leaſt were of their chamber-counſell. And now the Governeſſe wrote to the King, that ſhe had certain knowledge of the Prince of *Orange's* deſign, by thoſe tumults to invade the Government of the *Low-countreys*: and ſhare it with his fellow-rebells. Therefore, upon Aſſumption-eve, they began to rifle the *Low countrey* Churches: firſt riſing in the lower *Flanders*, which lies between the river *Lys* and the Weſt Sea. In theſe parts a few of the raskall ſort of Hereticks met and joyned themſelves with ſome companies of thieves, upon the day appointed for proclaiming warre againſt heaven, lead on by no Commander but Impietie: their Arms were ſtaves, hatchets, hammers, and ropes, fitter to pull down houſes, then to fight withall: ſome few of them had ſwords and muskets. Thus accoutered, as if they had been furies vomited from Hell, they broke into the towns and villages about S^t. *Omer*, and if they found the doors of Churches or Monaſteries ſhut, forced them open, frighting away their religious inhabitants: and overturning the Altars, they defaced the Monuments of Saints, and broke to peices their ſacred images. Whatſoever they ſaw dedicated to God, and to the Bleſſed, they pulled it down and trod it under their feet to dirt, whilſt their Ringleaders clapt them on the backs, and incouraged them with all their force to deſtroy the *Idols*.

From whence that Miſchief came into the Low-countreys.

Auguſt 28. *What forreiners incouraged them.*

Why the Low-countreymen joyned with them.

Auguſt 28.

The day appointed for the Picture-ſcuffle. *The Place.* *The quality of the Image-breakers.* *Their Inſtruments.*

Firſt the Villages are plundered.

Then the Cities.

1566. The Hereticks glad of this ſucceſſe to the firſt that ever they ſent out upon a party, left the place with ſpeed, and with unanimous conſent, ſhouted and cryed aloud, *Let us to IPRES*, that being a citie much frequented by the *Calviniſts*. And they were drawn thither, as well out of hope of protection, as out of hatred they bare to the Biſhop of that City, *Martin Rithovius*, an eminently virtuous and learned man, and therefore meriting the ſpleen of Hereticks. Whereupon they ran violently thither, gathering upon the way ſuch vagabonds and beggars, as joyned with them out of hope of plunder. And as a ſnow ball rolling from the top of a hill, grows ſtill greater, by the acceſſe of new ſnow, through which it paſſes, and wherein it is involved: ſo theſe thieviſh vagabonds multiplying by the way, the farther they go, the more they rage, and the more conſiderable their thieviſh ſtrength appears. And when they had pillaged a few ſmall villages about *Ipres*, upon the very day of the Aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgin, the citizens of *Ipres* opening their gates unto them, they entered the town, and went directly to the Cathedrall Church, where every one fell to work. Some ſet ladders to the walls, with hammers and ſtaves battering the pictures. Others broke a ſunder the iron work, ſeats, and pulpit. Others, caſting ropes about the great ſtatues of our Saviour Chriſt, and the Saints, pulled them down to the ground. Others ſtole the conſecrated plate, burnt the ſacred Books, and ſtript the Altars of their holy ornaments: and that, with ſo much ſecuritie, with ſo little regard of the Magiſtrate or Prelates, as you would think they had been ſent for by the common Councell, and were in pay with the citie. With the ſame fury they likewiſe burned the Biſhop of *Ipre's* library, and deſtroyed the reſt of the Churches and Religious houſes of the town, reacting their villanies, and becauſe the firſt proſpered, ſtill preſuming. This ſacrilegious robbery continued a whole day. Part of the people being amazed to ſee them, not taking them for men, but devils in humane ſhapes: and part rejoycing, that now thoſe things were done which they themſelves had long ago deſigned. Nor had the Magiſtrate and Senatours any greater care of Religion. Perhaps this ſudden inundation took away their ſenſe and judgement; perhaps, being privy to the plot, they, idle and careleſſe, kept their houſes. Indeed the whole Citie frighted, like paſſengers in a Shipwrack, beheld the deſtruction, never putting to their helping hands. The next day, another party of Church-robbers, either kept for a reſerve, or taking example by what was done about S[t]. *Omer*, had orders to plunder *Menin*, *Commines*, *Vervich*, and other Towns upon the *Lys*, which they did with the like violence. All things holy that were portable they carried away: the reſt they cut in pieces and burned. Thence paſſing the River, they came within the Liberties of *Liſle*, many of the Townſmen joyning with them; and having robbed a rich Monaſtery, which they call *Marquet*, mad and drunk, ſome went to *Doway*, ſome to *Seclin*: But the *Secliners* and other neighbour Towns, catching up any weapon that came to hand, faced them upon their march, and ſhewed themſelves ready to puniſh the injury offered to Religion, unleſs thoſe thieves would take another way. But they with the ſame impudence, ſtriving to go forward, and to break through them, the Countrey came in, and falling upon them, ſlew a great ſort, and routed the reſt, making them flie in great diſtraction, forcing many into the boggs, drowing ſome in the river, and carrying others into the Town in triumph. But this was a ſlight revenge: when at the ſame time, almoſt all *Flanders* did as furiouſly aſſault God himſelf, and all his Saints, no man reſiſting. The news whereof much afflicted the

They are received at Ipres.

Deface and pillage the great Church.

Burn the Library.

Violate all things ſacred.

The People, and the Magiſtrate, diverſly affected.

A new Party of Image-breakers in other Towns. S. Omer, Menin, Commines, Vervich.

Encountred by the Secliners.

And defeated.

the Governeſs, who, in great grief of heart, turning to Count *Egmont*, that waited on her from the Sermon to her Privie-chamber, ſaid, *Do you hear,* Egmont, *what good news comes from your Province of* Flanders? *Unhappy Woman that I am, to ſee in the time of my Government, ſuch indignities offered to God, and to the King. And will you, in whoſe worth and fidelity his Majeſtie hath alwayes put ſuch confidence, ſuffer theſe foul villanyes to paſſe unpuniſhed, in the Province committed to your charge?* and when he anſwered, *That in the firſt place the Kings Authority muſt be carefully maintained, and then Religion would eaſily be reſtored*; the Governeſs not without indignation replied, that *his counſel was not juſt; but rather before all humane things, the honour and worſhip of God ought to be preferred, the neglect whereof would be a farre greater miſery, then the loſſe of any power or fortune whatſoever. This was her opinion, and likewiſe the Kings, who reſolved to put nothing in ballance with Religion.* And when *Egmont* added, *That men were of another mind, who had eſtates in theſe Provinces, which they feared to looſe*: ſhe concluded with the ſame conſtancie, that *it was indeed to be wiſhed, and would be a more prudent courſe, to preſerve both Religion and temporall Power: but if one of them muſt go to wrack, the ſafetie of Religion ought principally to be reſpected; which, once loſt, would never be repaired with the addition either of Wealth or Empire.* To this purpoſe her Excellence ſpake in Senate alſo, which ſhe ſpeedily ſummoned. Wherein it was decreed, that *Maximil. Raſsinghem*, who ſucceeded *John Currier* deceaſed, in the Government of *French Flanders*, ſhould immediately enter *Liſle* with the horſe commanded by the Lord *Montiny*, who was then in *Spain*; and not ſuffer the people, that had been plundering conſecrated Goods, to return into the town, before they had yeilded up their Arms, and that he had carried them to the Magazine. And notwithſtanding *Egmont* did not well approve of this kind of proceeding, but affirmed, that if the Governeſs went by the way of Arms, this Inſurrection would not be quieted, till 200000 men haſt loſt their lives, yet ſhe gave not off her reſolution, but anſwered, *It were better that Rout, the dregs of mankind (if they would not renounce their hereſie) ſhould be baniſhed or deſtroyed, then they ſhould be ſuffered to commit ſuch execrable wickedneſs; leſt the good men of the* Low-countreys *ſhould, at length, either be infected with their contagion, or forced by them to flie their Countrey, in caſe the multitude prevailed.*

1566. *The Governeſs's words to Count* Egmont. *His Anſwer. Her reply. His Rejoynder. Her Concluſion. The Senates reſolution upon the Exigent.*

Whilſt theſe preparations were made at Court, the rage of the *Low-countrey* Hereticks was not laid, but like a ſtorm, now violently carried into this, now into that quarter, terrified every Province, eſpecially *Antwerp*. Where upon the day of the Aſſumption of our Lady (for the *Antwerpers* have the Bleſſed Virgin for their Patroneſs) whilſt her Image in ſolemn Proceſſion, was carried upon mens ſhoulders, from the great Church, through the ſtreets, the ſymptomes of that diſeaſe appeared, which brake forth ſoon after. Some jeering raſcals of the meaner ſort of Artificers, firſt laughed and hiſſed at the holy Solemnitie: then impiouſly and impudently, with mimick ſalutations and reprochfull words, mockt the Effigies of the mother of God, and had preſumed to lay ſacrilegious hands upon it, but that by the care of thoſe that ordered the Proceſſion, it was ſet down, not (as was uſuall) in the middle-Iſle of the Church, but ſpeedily conveyed into the Quire. And next day (for baſe people grow bolder if they find themſelves feared) many came into the Church, and ſome playing their gambols before our Ladies Chappel, asked her in ſcorn, why ſhe had ſo early flown up to the rouſt. Others ran about the great Church, threatning the Altars and Images; among whom an impudent Rogue, a Sadler, got up into the Pulpit, and when this

A new Iconomachy at Antwerp. *Begun with ſcorn put upon the holy Proceſſion. Mockerie.*

1566.

And quarrelling in the Cathedrall Church.

impious Mimick had counterfeited the tone and geſture of a Preacher, deſiring them to reach him a Bible, he challenged any of the Catholick Prieſts to come and diſpute with him: and whilſt they received him on the one ſide with applauſes, and on the other with caſting faggot-ſticks and rubbiſh at him (which he threw at his audience again) at length the ſcuffle increaſing, as if they had been in the ſtreets, a Catholick Skipper, not able to endure the inſolence of the fellow, ran up the ſide of the Pulpit, and catching the Buffon about the waſte, luſtily toſſed him over to the ground; and he himſelf, in the heat of the brawl, avoiding many blows made at him, was ſhot in the arm with a piſtol-bullet; the reſt, when ſome cryed, that the Officers were coming, for fear of being taken, ſlipped out of the Church. Notwithſtanding the quarrell continued, and they met every day, like Gladiators upon the ſtage, to cut and hack one another. Untill upon the 21th of *Auguſt*, the Hereticks increaſing in their number, came into the great Church with concealed weapons; as if they reſolved, after ſome light skirmiſhes for a few dayes paſt, to come now to a battel. And exſpecting till Even-ſong was done, they ſhouted with a hideous cry, *Long live the Gheuſes*; Nay, they commanded the Image of the Bleſſed Virgin to repeat their Acclamation, which if ſhe refuſed to do, they madly ſwore they would beat and kill her. And though *John Immercellius* Pretour of the Town, with ſome Apparatours, came and commanded them to keep the Peace, yet he could not help it; but the people running away to get out of the tumult, the Hereticks ſhut the doors after them, and as Conquerours poſſeſſed themſelves of the Church: Now when they ſaw all was theirs; hearing the clock ſtrike the laſt houre of the day, and darkneſs adding confidence, one of them (leſt their wickedneſs ſhould want formality) began to ſing a *Geneva* Pſalme, and then, as if the Trumpet had ſounded a charge, the Spirit moving them altogether, they fell upon the effigies of the Mother of God, and upon the pictures of Chriſt and his Saints, ſome tumbled them down, and trod upon them; others thruſt ſwords into their ſides; others chopped off their heads with axes; with ſo much concord and forecaſt in their Sacriledge, that you would think every one had his ſeverall work aſſigned him. For the very harlots, thoſe common appurtenances to thieves and drunkards, catching up the wax-candles from the Altars, and from the Veſtry, held them to light the men that were at work. Part whereof, getting upon the Altars, caſt down the ſacred plate, broke a ſunder the picture-frames, defaced the painted walls: Part, ſetting up ladders, ſhattered the goodly Organes, broke the windows flouriſhed with a new kind of paint. Huge ſtatues of Saints, that ſtood in the walls upon Pediſtalls, they unfaſtened and hurled down among which, an ancient and great Crucifix, with the two thieves hanging on each hand of our Saviour, that ſtood right againſt the high Altar, they pulled down with ropes, and hewed it in pieces; but touched not the two theives, as if they onely worſhipped them, and deſired them to be their good Lords. Nay, they preſumed to break open the Conſervatory of the celeſtial bread; and putting in their polluted hands, to pull out the bleſſed Body of our Lord, thoſe baſe off-ſcourings of men, trod upon the Deity adored and dreaded by the Angels. The Pixes and Chalices which they found in the Veſtry, they filled with wine prepared for the Altar, and drank them off in deriſion. They greaſed their ſhooes with the Chriſme or holy oyl; and after the ſpoyl of all theſe things, laughed and were very merry at the matter. My meaning is not, leſt I ſhould ſcandalize mankind, nor ſuits it with Hiſtory, to repeat all the foul actions wherewith in this deſtruction of holy things, theſe

Whereof the ſacrilegious people, ſhutting out the reſt, poſſeſs themſelves.

And ſinging Pſalmes fall to work.

Breaking all things conſecrated.

And defacing the whole Cathedrall;

O Profane!

theſe traitours to God and his Saints glutted their cruelty. But the greateſt wonder was, to ſee them make ſo quick diſpatch: that one of the faireſt and greateſt Churches of *Europe*, full of Pictures and Statues, richly adorned with about ſeventy Altars; by a few men (for they were not above one hundred, as the Governeſs wrote to the King, that ſhe was certainly informed) ſhould before midnight, when they began but in the evening, have nothing at all left entire or unprofaned. Truly, if the hundred men had not an hundred hands apiece, that in ſo ſhort a ſpace demoliſhed ſuch a multitude of things, it is not unreaſonable to believe (which I know ſome at that time ſuſpected) that devils mixing with them, joyned in diſpatching their own work; or at leaſt that the furious violence, which (in ſcorn of Religion) ſtript the Altars, mangled the Statues and Pictures, defaced the tombes, and in foure houres time robbed and layed waſte ſo rich and goodly a Church; could not have any other cauſe, but the immediate impulſion of thoſe rebellious and infernall ſpirits, that add both rage and ſtrength to ſacrilegious villains, offering an acceptable ſacrifice to hell. Eſpecially becauſe in ſuch a hurry and crowd of haſty labourers, whilſt they run about the Church like *Bacchanals* and Bedlams; whilſt they mount the rounds of their ladders; whilſt they with great pains looſen the braſſe and marble; whilſt they endeavour to ſpoil and ſteal the richeſt things; none of all their number had ſo much as a fall, or a knock, though ſuch loads of ſtone and wood came tumbling down, and ſo many fragments and ſplinters flew about; nor received the leaſt hurt by the workmens tools, whiich they ran with in their hands: it is no ſlight argument (as I ſaid before) to prove that by Gods permiſſion, the Devil was the Surveyour of their works, and by the aſſiſtance of his evil Angels, that enterpriſe, no leſs difficult then impious, was inſtantly, without harm to any of them, and therefore prodigiouſly effected.

1566.
What a great ſtately Church was this.
How ſmall a number defaced it.
In a few houres.
Some thought the Devil helpt his Children.
Becauſe none of the ſacrilegious were ſo much as hurt in the doing it.

But theſe ſacrilegious thieves committed yet more villanie in the Town, preſuming upon their fortune: For running out of the Church with hallowed candles, triumphantly ſinging and crying, *Vive le Gueux*; they were received by others that had lien concealed near the Church, exſpecting encouragement from the ſucceſs. Their Companies therefore joyning (for Bootie invited them) ſtill as they came to any Church-doors, they broke them open, ſpoyling and carrying away all their conſecrated furniture. They climbed into *Monaſteries*, ſearched them, entred their ſtore-houſes, ſeized upon their meat, drank off their wine, and took from them all their money, plate, and wardrobes, both ſacred and profane. And this impiety was acted with ſuch impudence and impunitie, that truly I knovv not vvel, vvhether the Reader vvill conceive more indignation againſt thoſe impious Ruffians, that vvithout any reverence to God or man, plundred conſecrated places, and other mens houſes at their pleaſure, deſtroying and ſtealing Church-ornaments, and Religious mens goods; or againſt ſuch as ought to have protected thoſe ſacred things, and againſt the Religious Houſes themſelves, that looked on, whilſt theſe Rogues with polluted hands abuſed and profaned all. But fear had poſſeſſed the generalitie, this hapning about midnight, when the Citie was in their dead ſleep, and ſo the more affrighted, being awaked with ſudden and ſeverall kinds of Out-cryes. And therefore, as unexſpected and doubtfull accidents ever ſtrike the greateſt terrour, many of the Merchants, fearing an univerſall plunder, ſhut their doors, and barricadoed them. The Clergie, knowing themſelves unable to reſiſt a multitude of thieves (not diſcerning how few they

From the Church they fall upon the City.
And their number encreaſing,
Plunder all the Churches,
And Religious Houſes in the Town,
With incredible ſecurity.
Terrifying the Inhabitants.
The Merchants keep their own houſes, and there ſtand upon their guard.
Thoſe that had the cuſtodie of things ſacred, run away from their charge.

1566.

Religious men dare not appear. All the Town in a fright. The Nuns flie to their fathers Houſes.

they were) forſook the Churches, and provided for their own ſafetie. Nor had the religious Orders time to collect their ſpirits in this common trepidation, when ſo many fled. In a word men had no more conſideration to defend themſelves againſt this misfortune, then againſt a thunderbolt, which every one wiſhes to avoid, but none labours to oppoſe, But the poor *Nuns* were in the greateſt fright and amazement, whoſe Cloyſters were broke by theſe Hobgoblins, which making havock of all things in their way, and prying into every ſecret corner; whilſt their furie or theivery kept them imployed, it was the onely preſervation of the holy Virgins, that getting on their clothes of any faſhion, eſcaped theſe ſacrilegious dogs, and fled moſt of them into their Parents houſes. By which means, leſſe miſchief was done, then uſes to be committed in night-robberies. Their principall aim being to make haſte, and ruine all things in an inſtant. And truly their haſt was ſo great, that the nobleſt Churches and Religious houſes of *Antwerp* were profaned and pillaged by the ſeverall parties of theſe infamous Raſcalls. Nay, when it was day-light, and that they ſaw the citie, amazed with ſudden fear, had made no preparation to ſuppreſſe them: for both Catholicks and Hereticks kept within doors; thoſe fearing the Hereticks, which they believed to be maſters of the Town: and theſe, in regard they knew the odium of the fact would reflect upon themſelves, and therefore feared the Juſtice of the Magiſtrate, and to be aſſailed by the Catholicks: but all were of opinion, the libertie taken by theſe baſe Artificers, depended upon ſome ſuperiour cauſes; the Church-robbers ſecured by other mens terrour, fell to plunder in the day time, returning to the Churches and Monaſteries, unworthily and baſely fouling the pure ornaments with their filthy ſouls and bodies; and buttering the Books in the library, ſet them on fire. Then in mockerie, arming the Saints ſtatues, they ran a tilt, and overturning them, inſulted over them. And every where like Conquerours, having as well ſurpriſed, Religion as the Town, they bore the ſpoils in triumph. Three dayes together in *Antwerp* laſted that ſpoil and deſtruction of things ſacred: with ſo great a loſſe of rare peices, drawn by the hands of Maſters, that ſome writers ſtick not to ſay, the great Church alone was damnified to the value of four hundred thouſand Ducats. But it being ſtrongly ſuſpected, that after the ſpoil of Churches, hope of prey having multiplyed this wicked rabble, they would at laſt plunder the rich Merchants (as many times men fight more eagerly for their houſes, then for their Altars) the Townſmen thinking it their beſt, no longer to ſtand neuters, eſpecially perceiving the ſmall number of theſe Rogues, appeared at their doors in arms, and (as if they meant to revenge the Commonwealth) ſhut up all the Ports but one, out of which that damned pack of villains ran, and poured out their furie upon the adjoyning towns and villages, where they excercifed the ſame kind of ſacrilegious freeboot.

The Sacrilegious make but one nights work of it.

Both Catholicks and Hereticks conceal themſelves out of mutuall diſtruſt.

The Church-robbers plunder with more licentiouſneſſe then before.

The Pillage continues for three whole dayes together. At laſt the drowſie Citizens awake.

And taking Arms, Fright away the Sacrilegious.

While this was done at and about *Antwerp*, the rage of theſe Traitours was no leſſe, upon the very ſame dayes, at *Gant*, *Oudenaerd*, and other towns in *Flanders*, from the river of *Lys* as farre as *Schelt* and *Dender*, all the Churches and holy Ornaments going to wrack. For this deſtruction was more like an Earthquake, that devours all at once, then like the plague that ſteals upon a Countrey by degrees. Inſomuch, as the ſame tainture and whirlwind of Religion, in an inſtant, miſerably involved and laid waſte *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Gelderland*, *Frieſland*, *Over-Iſell*, and almoſt all the Low-countreys except three or four Provinces, *viz.* *Namure*, *Lucemburgh*, *Artois*, and part of *Haynolt*. And as of old, in the reign of *Tiberius*

The like miſchief at the ſame time, Shaked all the ſeventeen Provinces, like an Earthquake.

Onely four excepted.

Tac. l. 2. Annals.

berius Ceſar, they tell us that twelve cities were ſwallowed by an earthquake in one night; ſo in the *Low-countreys*, not the like number of Cities, but Provinces, by the Spirit, ſtruggling and burſting out from hell, were devoured; with ſo ſudden, with ſo great a ruine, that the *Netherlands* which had as many populous Cities, Towns, and Villages, as any part of *Europe*, within ten dayes, was overwhelmed in this calamitie: the particular Province of *Flanders* having four hundred conſecrated houſes, either profaned, or burnt to the ground. So as indeed the Governeſſe could not but believe Count *Mansfeld*, who called that conſpiracie, a plot laid to betray all the *Low-countreys*, by the Heads of the hereticall party in *France*: from whence came almoſt all theſe cryers of the new Goſpel. For by their practice the ſtate of the *Low-countreys* being troubled, they might the more eaſily, as when an Army is confuſed at the firſt volly of ſhot, ſend freſh men, that aſſailing the Provinces, already weakened, might totally ſubdue them. With this opinion theirs agreed, who thought this impious plunder, acted with ſuch conſent and ſuch impunity, not to be accidentall, nor the villanie of a few, but to be contrived by the Hereticks, and Orders given at *Centron*, that by one Maſſacre they might prevent another, which they feared hung over their heads, ever ſince the conference of the *French* and *Spaniſh* at *Baion*: the chief of the *Gheuſes* giving way to it, that they might the ſooner, by the fright of theſe tumults, extort from the Governeſſe all which they had petitioned for. Indeed when the Churches and Monaſteries of *Gant* were rifled, the ſpoil having continued for three dayes together, the like whereof happened at the ſame time in *Antwerp*; a letter from *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, and ſix others, were delivered to the Miniſters, Conſiſtories, and Merchants of the *Low-countreys* (for ſo ran the ſuperſcription) wherein he adviſed them, that, in regard the cauſe of the reformed Religion ſeemed now to be in ſufficient ſecuritie, they ſhould oppoſe themſelves againſt the ſaucineſſe and inſurrection of the people, confident that, hereafter, no body would trouble them for the free Exerciſe of their Religion: and they were to give credence to the Bearer, who was one *Giles Clerk* a Lawyer of *Tournay*, his name being writ in cypher in the ſame letter. Upon receit whereof, they ceaſed from profaning the Churches of *Gant*. Add to this, the words of Count *Mansfeld* to the Governeſſe, which ſhe ſent in Character to the King, that ſhe was adviſed by Count *Mansfeld*, to beware of *Lewis* of *Naſſau* before all men living for he was the wickedeſt Traitour in the world; to whom the Miniſters and Elders of the Hereticks communicated all their Counſels, and that he carried in his hand the ſpoil of Churches and religious Houſes; and by this means, that turbulent ſpirited deſperate man hoped, to levie warre againſt the King. And it is evident, that *Lewis* was one of the firſt movers in all the Sacriledge committed: it was by his incouragement, that the common ſort of hereticks would not obey the Magiſtrate, but contrary to his command, furiouſly ran out of the Citie to *Vilvord*, to hear ſermons.

1566.

To an infinite loſſe.

Eſpecially in Flanders.

Some thought this Pillage, a deſign to betray the Low-countreys.

Martin Delrio in Alter. Belg. l. 1. San. Truden. l. 4.

Plotted between the French *and Low-countrey Hereticks.*

With conſent of the Gheuſes.

An inſtance whereof, is Lewis *of* Naſſau's *letter.*

And his Patronage of the Iconomachy.

Septemb. 8.

The Governeſs having notice from all parts, of theſe ſacrilegious actions, no leſſe doubting the future, then grieving and amazed at the preſent, ſpeedily called the Senate, that being indeed the ordinary, but many times a poſthumous and ineffectuall remedy. The Prefects of the Provinces and almoſt all the Lords were there, but onely *Philip Croi* Duke of *Areſchot*, and *Charles Brime* Count of *Megen*, he excuſing himſelf that he was not well, and this that he feared his enemies had a plot upon him. Her Excellence ſpake to them, in theſe very words (which ſhe inſerted in her Letters to the King) Grief and her inbred Nobleneſs giving them vigour and authoritie.

The Governeſſe calls a Senate or Great Councell.

Aug. 27.

To

1566. *Her Speech.* *To what condition the* Low-countreys *are brought, by the wickedneſs of a few men, we ſee, the abſent will hear, and poſterity admire, to my great diſparagement and yours. For I know many things will be imputed to me, Princes names being alwayes regiſtred in the Kalender of publick calamities: and you are famed for ſo many noble actions at home and abroad, that your names cannot poſsibly be concealed. Nor were the* Netherlands *ſo intruſted to me, but that you had your parts in the Adminiſtration of the Government. The particular Provinces committed to your truſt; the Order of the* Golden-Fleece, *wherein your Oaths and Names are upon Record, the Allegiance due to their Prince from his ſubjects, amongſt whom you are the chief, multiplyes your Obligations to the maintaining and enlarging of his Royall Power. And yet in theſe your Provinces, while you ſtand Spectatours, the Churches of God and his Saints, founded by the ancient piety of your Princes, which your Anceſtours and your ſelves have adorned with victorious trophies, by ſacrilegious and impious traytours are burned down, and profaned, your Anceſtours tombes violated, the Statues of your Order, and your Coats of Arms, in many places impudently thrown to the ground, trod upon, and broken. To omit their barbarity to Virgins conſecrated to God, robbing of their Nunneries; and for addition to their contumelies, cruelly turning out of their cities and holy manſions, all the Prieſts and Religious. But what kind of men are they that have raiſed this ſtorm in the* Low-countreys? *What dregs of the people, what vile and abject fugitives, and Apoſtates from Religion? cruell, but to thoſe that fear them: cowardly ſlaves if they themſelves be terrified. A few* Seclimers *and Countreymen, accidentally taking Arms, deſtroyed a multitude of theſe Church robbers. Did not one man yeſterday, catching up a ſpear, when a great ſort of theſe Traytours were gathered together, fright them not onely from a Chapel which they threatned, but from the Citie it ſelf? Will you ſuffer this peſtilence to rage without oppoſition, and to ruine the State and Peace of your Countrey, and your Religion, before your eyes, and theſe troubles to open the way unto a forrein Conqueſt? Nay, it is commonly reported, theſe villanies are committed, ſome of you not onely not reſiſting, but being alſo privie and aſsiſtant to the plot. I am not ignorant, that ſuch Calumnies uſe to be ſpread abroad by wicked men, to make good Subjects leſs active in doing Juſtice upon the enemies to Religion. And perhaps they hope to fright me with great names, and ſo inforce my conſent to their unjuſt Demands. What is fit to be done by men of honour, look you to that; for what concerns my ſelf, I religiouſly profeſs, that no mans menaces ſhall compell me, to mix the new figments of theſe people, with the ancient and Orthodox Religion eſtabliſhed in theſe Provinces. Nay, if the King himſelf, upon whoſe Grace and Pleaſure I depend, ſhould diſpenſe with the* Low-countrey men, *to be of what Religion they liſt, (which how farre it is from his Maieſties intention, none can be ignorant) I would inſtantly depart the* Low-countreys, *becauſe I would not be an Agent in, or Interpreter of ſuch Indulgence. But if I were ſtayed by force of Arms (which I hear they threaten) I call God to witneſs, I would offer my ſelf to the ſlaughter, and be torn in pieces, rather then ſuffer a Profeſsion of Faith, contrary to the Catholick Religion. To prevent all this, be it your care, my Lords, I do coniure you by your duty to God, your Allegiance to the King, and your Love unto your Countrey. And becauſe gentle remedies will not prevail with deſperate people, and that they truſt to the protection of the confederate Gentlemen, let us at laſt receive the Arms and Aſsiſtance which you have often promiſed, and ought long ſince to have performed. That when the King ſhall come, who will be here very ſhortly, he may find theſe Provinces quieted by your means, and no leſs remunerate your fidelity with his royall Bounty, then he will requite the perfidiouſneſs of others with ſevere puniſhment.* This ſpeech, made by the Governeſs, took according to every ones ſeverall intereſt and inclination; quickning the deſires

The divers ſenſes of the Senatours upon this Speech: ſome for, others againſt a Warre.

ſires if found in their minds, but not introducing any new Reſolve. Therefore the Counts of *Mansfeld*, *Aremberg*, and *Barlamont*, all true to the Kings cauſe, chearfully offered their ſervices: *Egmont*, *Orange*, *Horn*, and divers others, ſpake againſt levying war; whoſe opinion carried a greater appearance of Reaſon, becauſe of the multitudes of Hereticks, whereof there was above fifteen thouſand in *Bruxels*, it being unſafe for the preſent to provoke them by a warre. But the Governeſs cut off that diſpute, and leaving the mention of Armes out of her Speech, not out of her mind (for ſhe reſolved the Warre ſhould be her Great Councel) ſhe asked their opinions, how thoſe troubles might be otherwiſe compoſed. The reſult of their two dayes conſultation was, That the Governeſs ſhould offer them an Act of oblivion for the time paſt, and ſecurity for the future provided, that the Confederates ſhould firſt burn the inſtrument of their Aſſociation (they called it the Covenant) and afterwards take an oath to be true to the Catholick Religion, and faithfull Subjects to the King for ever. 1566. *Their heat ended.* *The Senate made this Decree*, nemine contradicente.

But the Governeſs delaying to ſet her hand to the Act, as if ſhe were yet doubtfull whether it ſhould paſs or no, more of theſe turbulent people hourly gathering together, and being themſelves toſſed upon the waves of ſedition, thruſt others on, that elſe would have ſate ſtill. And they were heard to ſay, prompted by *Lewis*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, that unleſs the Governeſs would ſecure the Gentlemen Covenanters, unleſs every one might have liberty to go to Sermons, and no man be puniſhed for Religion; the Governeſs ſhould with her own eyes ſee all the Churches in *Bruxels* fired, the Prieſts murthered, her ſelf impriſoned. And becauſe this was ſaid to be as well privately intended, as publickly reported; the Governeſs reſolved to ſteal out of *Bruxels* and retire to *Mons*, a city of *Haynolt*, partly that ſhe might not be an eye-witneſs of the deſtruction of holy Images in *Bruxels*, partly that being in a ſafe place, ſhe might not be forced to accept of unjuſt conditions. But whilſt *Orange* and *Egmont*, to whom ſhe would needs bid Farwel, diſſwaded her from the journey, the news was all over the Town; and ſome of the Citizens ſhutting up the Gates, others went to the Governeſs, humbly beſeeching her, that ſhe would not by her flight, adde to the impudence of wicked men, and make the King condemn that faithfull Citie, under the notion of Conſpiratours againſt his Majeſtie. Nor did ſhe alter her reſolution for all this, though a great man informed her Excellence, that the Prince of *Orange* ſpeaking of her going away to ſome at Court, told them, among other diſcourſe, That if the Governeſs would leave the Town, and conſequently deſert the State, he himſelf was reſolved, his Towns and Fortunes ſhould not become a prey to any: That their *French* neighbours might eaſily poſſeſſe themſelves of *Flanders*: and that long ſince, they pretended a title to *Artois*, and *Haynolt*: nor could the reſt of the Provinces want new Lords. But that which moſt of all troubled the Governeſs, was a rumour diſperſed in *Bruxels*, that ſhe was the onely cauſe why the *Gheuſes* had not their Petition granted, which ſhe might do of her ſelf, having received plenipotentiary Authority from the King, to ſigne any conditions for quieting the *Low-countrey*-tumults. And that if ſtill ſhe pretended to expect anſwer from *Spain*, putting them off with ſuch flammes, there were ſome in readineſs, that ſeizing upon her, together with *Viglius*, Keeper of the Seal, and *Egmont* himſelf, would extort by force, what they could not obtain with modeſtie. Such reports as theſe, though at firſt the Governeſs accounted them vain threatnings of the Hereticks, which had cunningly named *Egmont*, to make her think the Conſpiratours *The Gheuſes threaten* Bruxels *and the Governeſs.* *Who frighted, reſolves to leave* Bruxels. *But is ſtayed by prayers & force.* *The Prince of* Orange *expreſſes very much trouble.* *The Governeſs more and more threatned.* Ulricus Viglius *Yet not ſuffered to depart the Town.*

 tours

1566. *And very much terrified. Makes ſome Conceſſions to the covenanting* Gheuſes. *Giving the King this account by letter.*

tours hated him: Yet when ſhe ſaw the ſame affirmed by many, that ſeemed utterly to deſpair of any good; once more attempting to get out of Town, and being ſtaid again: Fear overcoming her, ſhe at laſt was induced to grant ſome of the Covenanters demands. Which, after other buſineſſe, ſhe wrote to his Majeſtie, in theſe words. *Now when I come to add what finally I granted to the Covenanters, unworthy my Reſolution, unworthy your Majeſties Religion; truly, the grief of it peirces my very ſoul, and ſhame comes upon my face in bluſhes. I call God to witneſſe, who knows the ſecrets of my heart, that often and with my utmoſt power I reſiſted them; many nights together I have not ſhut mine eyes, being at that very time afflicted with ſorrow, and a fever. At laſt, beſides the ſpoil of Churches, which I heard of, from other quarters; when the ſtorm hung over this Citie, and that ſo many openly rung in mine ears, that the deſtructive ſpight to holy things would never ceaſe till I ſhould grant two demands made by the Covenanters. When my houſe was beſieged, my mind languiſhing, and my body ſick, ſending for* Orange, Egmont, *and* Horn, *and proteſting before them, that my conſent was extorted thereunto, I made a conceſſion of pardon and indemnity to the Covenanters, and to the reſt I gave libertie to hear their Miniſters preach, onely in places where they had been accuſtomed ſo to do; provided they came unarmed, and moleſted not the Catholicks. With a ſpeciall clauſe limiting theſe two Grants to ſuch time, as the King with conſent of the Eſtates of the* Low-countreys *would be pleaſed to allow. Yet to both theſe I conſented not in your Majeſties name, but in mine own, ſo as when you pleaſe you may avoid them, without the leaſt blemiſh to your Honour, which you have not your ſelf ingaged; and being ill-ingaged by me, you ſhould not, and (I hope) will not make it good. Nay, I beſeech and conjure you, Mighty Sir, by that which is dearer to you then your life, your care to defend the Catholick faith; that immediately, not exſpecting the convenience of the Spring, you will pleaſe to come in perſon, and revenge the wrongs done to afflicted Religion, which now ſadly and ſolely addreſsing her ſelf to your Majeſtie, exſpects relief (which otherwiſe, ſhe diſpairs of) from that right hand of yours, renowned for faith, and power. Indeed, unleſſe this one hope remained, my life, which lingers in a miſerable manner, would ſoon part from me, though perhaps this hope it ſelf will be hardly able to keep off death.* Thus her Excellence (fainting under the burden of her grief) wrote privately to the King, but publickly ſhewed no womaniſh paſſion, and ſtill intent to affairs of State, gave Count *Mansfeld* Commiſſion to govern *Bruxels* as her Lieutenant, put into the town a new Garriſon of horſe and foot, fortified the Count; left nothing undone, that either concerned her own or the Cities preſervation. Indeed having made that agreement with the Covenanters, they gave her jealouſies a ſhort breathing-ſpace; for, upon the foreſaid terms, taking a new oath of obedience to the Governeſſe, they ſo ordered the matter, that upon the day appointed the *Gheuſes* attempted nothing againſt the Church. Nay, the Prince of *Orange* returning to *Antwerp* hanged three of the ſacrilegious villains, and baniſhed three more, ſetting open the great Church, commanding the Prieſts to exerciſe their function, and boldly to inſtruct the people. Which had not a little rejoyced the Governeſſe, but that, in the ſame letter which he about it, he incloſed two petitions, delivered him by the *Germans*, that deſired ſome Church in *Antwerp*, where they might freely exerciſe the confeſſion of *Auſpurg*. This took off much of the Governeſſes contentment, eſpecially becauſe, the day after, ſhe underſtood, by other letters from the Prince of *Orange*, that he, and the Senate of *Antwerp*, had permitted Hereticks to preach in the citie, and to uſe all the other rites of *Luther* and *Calvin*, aſſigning

Of the Cauſes moving her to do it.

And of the particulars granted.

Blaming her own indulgent Act and beſeeching his Majeſtie not to confirm it. But rather to vindicate Religion.

She in the interim ſecures her ſelf and the Town of Bruxels.

And gets time to breath, upon the preſent alteration of affairs by the endeavours of the Gheuſes *at* Bruxels. *And of the Prince of* Orange *at* Antwerp. *Who afterwards offended the Governeſſe, by his grant of Churches to the Hereticks.*

Septemb. 3.

ſigning them three places for that purpoſe. The reaſon whereof the Prince of *Orange* explaining, affirmed to the Governeſſe (who very hainouſly reſented it) in three letters, ſent immediately one after another, that he was extreamly unwilling to make conditions with the Hereticks, but ſome conſiderations inforced him: Firſt, that he might by this means reſtore the Churches and Churchmen to ſecuritie. Then, whereas no leſſe then twenty thouſand men uſed to go out of Town to ſermons, he greatly feared leſt, at their return, ſome pragmaticall knaves, gaping after pillage, might joyn with them,and (the multitude prevailing) plunder the rich Merchants houſes. Laſtly, becauſe the Hereticks already had ſermons in *Antwerp*, therefore in purſuance of that agreement, he had aſſigned them places in the citie. Notwithſtanding, the Governeſſe liked not the proceedings of the Prince of *Orange*; perhaps becauſe ſhe her ſelf was guilty of too much indulgence, and likewiſe in fear to be reproved for anothers fault: perhaps, becauſe the Prince of *Orange* had indeed given further allowance to the Hereticks then they could challenge by their articles, which licenſed their Sermons within the walls, but not their Baptiſme, Marriage, or other Hereticall ceremonies. But whilſt the Governeſſe chides the *Prince*, and wills him to revoke his Act, news is brought to her, that the Counts of *Hotchſtrat*, and *Horn* had followed the example of *Antwerp*, he at *Machlin*, this at *Tournay*, and both, rebuked by the Governeſſe, gave her an account of their actions. *Hotchstrat* ſaid, he could not do withall, for the law was given to him by the inraged people, whom he found, at his entrance into the citie, barbarouſly ſpoiling the Churches. But *Horn* (of whom her Excellence complained to the King, as of a greater Delinquent then the reſt, becauſe when he had made ſuit for the Government of *Tournay*, it was granted him upon certain conditions, which he ingaged to obſerve, yet had broke every particular) laid the fault upon the citie, ſo full of Hereticks, that of five parts ſcarce one continued Catholick. The Governeſſe heard yet worſe news from *Utrecht*, and worſt of all from the *Bus*: thoſe having chaſed away the Catholicks from the Churches, and theſe the Biſhop from the citie. A while after, the Prince of *Orange* certified the Governeſſe,that three hundred of the common people at *Antwerp*, in hope of ſpoil taking arms, were ready to break into a Monaſterie of *Franciſcans*, but that he came in with his horſe, and ſcattered them. But the ſame wickedneſſe proſpered better at *Amſterdam*. Where a few men of the pooreſt roguey ſort of Hereticks, but countenanced by many and potent Citizens, ruſhing into a Church and Monaſterie of *Franciſcans*, and defacing all the conſecrated things, beat and ſtoned out the Religious, hurting the Conſull of the town, and one of the greateſt Senatours, that oppoſed them; and ſo made themſelves maſters of the Convent. At which time, the women of *Amſterdam* did a memorable exploit. For while theſe impious madmen running to all the Churches in the town, cloſely followed their victorious beginning, and broke into a Chappell famous in thoſe parts for miracles wrought by the holy Euchariſt: where they laid hands upon that heavenly bread; the women, that were about the Altar, took to themſelves mens courages; riſing up in defence of the bleſſed Sacrament, and reſolving rather to die then ſuffer that execrable rudeneſſe. And what with threats, and authoritie (for ſome of them were women of qualitie) what with force and clamour,thoſe barking hell-hounds ran away, without ſo much as touching the Altar, or tearing the Church-ornaments. Theſe women are indeed worthy the knowledge and commendations of poſteritie. Unleſſe perhaps their praiſe

1566.
For which he gives her reaſons.
Septemb. 4.
Septemb. 4.
5. 7.

But not ſatisfactory.

The like done at Mechlen *and* Tournay *by the Counts of* Hochſtrat *and* Horn *who excuſe themſelves.*
Septemb. 8.

The very ſame at Utrecht.
And at Bolduc.

The Franciſcans, *at* Antwerp, *endangered by the Hereticks.*
Septem. 17.
And turned out of doors at Amſterdam.

The pious Act of the Amſterdam *women.*

1566. *The impious act of the women of* Delph.

may ſeem a diſparagement to the men. But the women of *Amſterdam* merited not more honour, then the ſame ſex deſerved infamie at *Delph*, a town in *Holland.* For a whole Regiment of them, undoubtedly poſſeſſed by the Devil, knowing one anothers minds, upon the ſudden, like Bedlams or Furies, got into a Church of the *Franciſcans*, broke the Saints images, towſed and ſpoiled the holy Altar-clothes. From thence, with like ſpeed and rage, they furiouſly made their way into the Monaſterie it ſelf, with ſuch violence, as if they had been the Snake-haired hags ſent from *Pluto*, running over the houſe, and rifling every corner; ſo as the *Franciſcans* frighted with the ſtrange ſight of theſe *Bacchides*, thinking this to be the prologue to a maſſacre, (for it was rumoured that within two or three dayes all the Prieſts ſhould have their throats cut) part of them to ſave themſelves, fled; and the reſt hid themſelves. I know ſome were of opinion they were not women that durſt make this attempt, but men in womens clothes. Yet, that the women of *Holland* might be ſo wicked, it is agreeable to their manniſh principles in maſtering of their husbands. And that it was their Act, the Governeſſe (who ſhrewdly ſifted things out) affirmed; and, among divers ſuch like prodigies, whereof in many ſeverall letters ſhe informed the King; her Excellence laments the deſperate condition of the *Low-countreys*, that had no hope but onely in his Majeſties preſence: therefore ſhe humbly beſeeches him, if he meant to keep thoſe Provinces, to cut off all delays; and by the example of his father *Charles* the fifth, who marched through *France* into the *Low-countreys* in the deep of winter, onely to quiet one mutinous city; now, when all the cities were indangered, he would pleaſe himſelf perſonally to come, and ſpeedily with his Armie to ſubdue that ſtubborn people, as his father had done *Gant*: and to impoſe ſuch laws upon them, as ſhould ſtand with the pleaſure of a Conquerour, and a Revenger. And now the King, as appeared by other letters to the Governeſſe, reſolved upon a war. Therefore in two packets ſent by his Majeſtie from *Segovia* dated in Auguſt, he appoints her the place, and number of men ſhe ſhall raiſe and pay. Yet in his firſt Expreſſe, before he opens his determination of levying forces, he acquaints her with the Queens happie deliverie, who having been two dayes in labour, was brought a bed of a daughter, baptized at the holy Font by *John Baptiſta Caſtaneo* the *Popes Nuncio*, afterward *Urban* the ſeventh, by the name of *Clara Iſabella Eugenia.* The firſt of theſe names was given her from the Saints day on which ſhe was born, the ſecond from her mother, the third in honour of the martyr *Eugenius*, Biſhop of *Toledo*, whoſe ſacred body, brought out of *France*, King *Philip* helped to bear, the ſame day that he perceived his Queen to be with child. This is the *Iſabella* that, as ſhe was born in the heat of the *Low-countrey* tumults, ſo afterwards being married to the Archduke *Albert*, Brother to the Emperour *Rodolph*, had the *Low-countrey*-Provinces and tumults for her Dowrie. His Majeſtie having paſſed theſe complements to his Siſter, commands her to raiſe three thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot in *Germany*, and giving them two monethes pay, to have them ready, in caſe they ſhould be ſent for into the *Low-countreys.* Of theſe horſe ſhe was to order one thouſand to be raiſed, and commanded by *Erick* Duke of *Branſwick*, five hundred under his Brother *Philip*, 250 under *John Barniſe*, the reſt under *John Valhart.* The foot ſhe was to diſtribute into 33 colours, ten whereof to Count *John* of *Naſſau*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, as many to Count *Otho Erberſtein*, eight to Colonell *Cremberberg*, the other five to Captain *Valderſong.* For all theſe ſeverall Officers, the King ſent Commiſſions to the Governeſs; together

Septem. 27. *Octob.* 10. *and* 16. *The Governeſſe beſeeches the King to come with an Army.*

Gant 1539.

14. *and* 24.

And the King, after he had communicated the joy of his Daughters birth.

Auguſt 12. Clara Iſabella Eugenia.

Approves of her advice. *Directs her what numbers to raiſe.*

And what Commanders to imploy.

Sends Commiſſions,

gether with 300000 Ducats, part whereof ſhe was to diſtribute among the ſaid Commanders: and part to others, if more ſhould be entertained; or any elſe thought fit to be nominated, in their places that were already choſen. For which purpoſe, his Majeſtie ſent her divers blanks, ſigned with his ſigne manuall. Finally, leſt any of the *Germane* Princes ſhould make an ill conſtruction of his levying thoſe men, he encloſed in her packet letters to them, acquainting them all with the ground of his deſigne, particularly the Emperour *Maximilian*, to whom he explained himſelf both by Expreſs, and by the mouth of his Embaſſadour at *Vienna*, intreating his Imperiall Majeſtie, for the nearneſs of their love and bloud, to aſſiſt with his authority thoſe levies. But the Emperour, becauſe he had heard, that the Governeſs and the confederate Gentlemen were now agreed, commending the wiſdome of that policy, diſſwaded the King from thoſe Arms and Levies. Perhaps, becauſe the Turk then threatning him, he could not ſpare ſo many men: perhaps, becauſe he thought it an honour to be the Arbiter and Compoſer of other Princes quarrels. Therefore in his Letters to the Governeſs, the Emperour promiſed her his endeavours, if any thing was yet uncompoſed. And wrote likewiſe to the Covenanters to this effect, *That he was much troubled to hear of their difference with the Governeſs, and of the ſtirres that daily followed thereupon: which becauſe they were in the confines of the Empire, in the Dominion of the King his Uncle, in Provinces ſo much by him eſteemed, it concerned the Maieſty of the Empire, that he ſhould by his aſſiſtance and authority aſſert the obedience of the Subiects to their Prince. That he hoped theſe his endeavours would be acceptable to the Catholick King, and he was ſure, they would be ſafe for the Confederates. Therefore he adviſed them in the interim, to attempt no Innovation, but as Allegiance bound them, to compell the tumultuous people to be quiet.* This Letter, and divers more of the ſame ſubject written to the Lords, the Emperour ſent the Governeſs to read, and as it ſhould be needfull, to deliver. But the Governeſs ſending copies of them to the King, a good while exſpected his Anſwer, till the ſtirres daily encreaſing, her Excellence receiving new commands from his Majeſtie to levy forrein forces, gave thanks to the Emperour *Maximilian*, letting him know, that the preſent condition of affairs was ſuch, as no capitulation could be made with an armed Faction without arms. Wherefore diſpatching the Kings letters to the Electours of the Empire, and others, eſpecially to thoſe that were to raiſe the men, ſhe beſeeched the Emperour, that the Aſſiſtance which he had graciouſly offered in the *Low-countreys*, he would pleaſe to perform among the *Germane* Princes, and the Commanders there; which would be now more opportune, and a farre greater favour to the King. And truly the Emperour did not onely this, but likewiſe by Edict prohibited, and made it death, for any *Germane* to bear arms againſt the King of *Spain*. Which among divers others, how deeply it was reſented by the Prince of *Orange*, though otherwiſe ſubtil and cloſe, he expreſſed at table, wine laying open the ſecrets of his heart. For being invited by *Greſſer*, Agent for the Queen of *England*, after he had drunk ſoundly, the Prince began in great fury to inveigh againſt the Emperours Edict, *That the Emperour, and the King, and whoſoever was of their opinion, deceived themſelves; that not onely the* Germans *would take arms, but a great ſort of other Nations bordering upon the Empire. That the* Danes, *the* Swedes, *and many others would not be wanting, which both would and could help the confederate* Low-countreymen. Thus threatning in his rage, after ſupper he was mollified with a ſong. But the Letters which I have mentioned, ſent from the King and the Governeſs to the Princes of *Germany*, were by them diverſly anſwer-

Margin: 1566.

And money to the Governeſs.

Giving reaſons to the Princes of Germany *for his levies. Particularly to the Emperour.*

Who diſſwades him.

And offers himſelf to the Governeſs to arbitrate the differences between her and the Covenanters. Octob. 13.

But her Excellence prayes his aſſiſtance in the levies.

And obtains more then ſhe requeſted. Whereat the Pr. of Orange *chafes.*

And threatens.

The reſt of the Germane *Princes return different anſwers.*

1566. Triers *and* Mentz *approve of the Kings deſigne, and offer paſſage to his men.*

anſwered. The Electours of *Trier* and *Mentz* did much approve of the Kings deſigne againſt the Rebels and diſturbers of the Catholick Religion; promiſing their aſſiſtance, as befitted good friends and neighbours, both Princes of the Empire, and allies unto his Majeſty; they would therefore give free paſſage through all their Towns, and Juriſdictions, to ſuch forces as upon this occaſion ſhould, with the Emperours conſent be raiſed. The like promiſes were made by the reſt of the Catholick Biſhops in *Germanie.* The Duke of *Bavaria* added, that all men were bound by force of Arms to oppoſe ſuch tumults, that as plagues laid cities deſolate: and he deſired his Majeſtie would be very vigilant in it. Farre different expreſſions were returned from the hereticall Princes; for the *Landtgrave* of *Heſſen*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, excuſing themſelves in point of Religion, which would not ſuffer them to prejudice thoſe of their own Profeſſion, adviſed the Governeſs to ſeek redreſs without arms, onely by allowing the Confeſſion of *Auſpurg*, and Liberty of conſcience. But the Count *Palatine, Frederick* the third, who declared himſelf Defendour of the new Faith in *Germany*, wrote the moſt confident and longeſt letter of them all. For he not onely pleaded to the Governeſs the cauſe of the *Low-countrey men*, and maintained their innocence; but defying the Biſhop of *Rome*, the veneration of holy Images, and the tyrannie of the Inquiſitours, concluded, that Religion bound him, not to oppoſe his brethren, profeſſing the Faith of *Ausburg*, and the pure word of God. The *Landtgrave* of *Heſſen*, and the *Palſgrave* not thus contented, perſwaded the Duke of *Brunſwick*, not to engage in a warre undertaken merely for Religion, and not to accept the Command of horſe offered to him. Notwithſtanding he took it, nor did any other Commander invited by the King, refuſe his Commiſſion, but onely *John* of *Naſſau*, brother to the Prince of *Orange.* Nor did *Charles* the ninth of *France*, requeſted by the Governeſs, fail to declare himſelf enemy to theſe inſurrections, commanding by Proclamation, that none of his ſubjects ſhould preſume to aſſiſt the Rebels of the *Low-countreys*, with relation (as I conceive) to the mutuall promiſe of Aſſiſtance made at *Baion*: and particularly fearing, if the Hereticks ſhould be maſters of the *Netherlands*, *France* would be overflowed with the ſame filthy ſink. I am certain King *Philip* ſent him letters full of thanks, and likewiſe ſignified to the Governeſs his Intention preſently to begin his voyage, for which all things being now in readineſs, he onely wanted health; for his quartane Ague had not yet left him; though he meant not to exſpect a perfect Recovery, but to go forthwith to *Madrid*, that having ſetled his affairs, he might from thence, contemning any danger to his life, paſs over into the *Low-countreys*. This, which was likewiſe by *Bergen* and *Montiny*, writ from *Spain* in cypher, began to be believed.

The reſt of the Catholick Princes do the like.

The Landtgrave of Heſſen, *and others do the contrary.*

Novem. 11.

Eſpecally the Palſgrave.

Charles *the* ix *of* France *declares for the K. of* Spain.

1565.

Who writes thanks to the French *King, and his intent of coming to the Governeſs.*

Octob. 2.

The minds of many were exceedingly troubled at the news, inſomuch as the Prince of *Orange*, his brother *Lewis*, the Counts *Egmont*, *Hochſtrat*, and *Horn*, met at *Dendermund*, betwixt *Antwerp* and *Gant*; to communicate the intelligence which every one of them had received, concerning the Kings coming; and thereupon to adviſe what generall courſe was to be held. Though this meeting was appointed, and came together with all ſecreſie, yet the induſtrious Governeſs knew all their proceedings. And as multitudes of ſpies alwayes attend a Jealous Prince, there wanted not that kind of men, Evesdroppers, and Hocus-Pocuſes, the ſumme of whoſe life is to know and not to be known, which pryed into all their ſecret conſultations and reſolutions. And as farre as ſhe could underſtand, the Governeſs wrote to the King, that by many Letters ſent from *Spain*, and there produced, it was confirmed, that

A private meeting of the Lords at Dendermund *where they produce* Of all which the vigilant Governeſs had exact intelligence,

Novem. 12.

Letters, ſignifying the Kings diſpleaſure and reſolution to be revenged on three Lowcountrey *Lords.*

that the King incenſed at the plunder and ſpoil of Churches, was reſolved to bring an army into the *Low-countreys*, to puniſh ſuch as had either been principalls or acceſſaries to the fact. In other Letters it was added, that the Prince of *Orange*, *Egmont*, and *Horn*, were believed at Court to be the Adviſers and Protectours of all theſe commotions, and therefore the King aimed chiefly at their Heads. To this effect were read the Letters of *Franciſco Alava* the King of *Spains* Embaſſadour to *Charles* the ninth, written from *Paris* to the Governeſs, and pretended to be intercepted, which certified the Governeſs of the Kings coming with a potent army of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, and of the new League concluded between the Kings, *Philip* and *Charles*, that his Majeſtie might be the better able to puniſh the Rebells, and four Lords, that is, beſides the fore-mentioned triumvirate, *Peter Erneſt*, Count *Mansfeld*, as he himſelf told the Governeſs, he heard it from divers reported. Whether all this was cunningly given out, to move the people to deſpair of pardon, or really writ from *Spain*, and by *Alava*, I leave to indifferent Judges. Sure I am, that the Governeſs writing to the King, profeſſed ſhe had as yet no certain knowledge of the Letters ſent her by *Alava*, and ſaid to be intercepted; and aſſured Count *Mansfeld*, that he was in very great eſteem with his Majeſtie, and that lie was onely invented to draw him from the Kings party. The Kings coming being therefore aſcertained by many mens Letters read in that private Convention of the Lords, the queſtion was put how the King might be prevented from bringing his Army into the *Low-countreys*. And when on the one part ſeverall wayes of reſiſtance were propoſed; on the other part a warre was feared, which they could encounter with no proportionable ſtrength; and that a third ſort held it the beſt courſe to truſt to the Kings mercy, from which the major part diſſented: herein their different opinions concurred, that to oppoſe his Majeſties paſſage into the *Low-countreys*, the treaſon would be certain, the victory doubtfull; and to admit him, were yet more dangerous. For now the Breach was ſo farre made, as it would be a madneſs to hope for mercy, when they had received an angry and an armed Prince. They muſt therefore either flie the place, and leave their countrey unpeopled to the Conquerour; or they muſt ſet up a new Prince, under whoſe protection they may live in ſafetie. This laſt Propoſall ſeemed the beſt, and they might take a ſingular good occaſion, if (now that the Emperour *Maximilian* ſhewed himſelf deſirous to compoſe thoſe differences) under colour of making him the Umpire, they ſecretly treated to put the *Low-countreys* into his hands; which would be leſs ſubject to cenſure, becauſe in ſo doing they ſhould not ſtrike at Monarchy, but onely change their Monarch; Eſpecially, ſince they ſtill adhered to one of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. And this advantage would enſue, that the new elected Prince would have ſo great an obligation laid upon him, as if their Deſignes ſhould haply want ſucceſs, howſoever the Emperour would be engaged never to deſert them, without making their peace with King *Philip* Having in this manner conſulted, they left *Dendermond*, full of cares and doubts, particularly Count *Egmont*, who either to draw more of the Nobility to the cauſe, or that being yet unreſolved himſelf, he had a mind to try how his friends ſtood affected, wrote a letter to Count *Mansfeld*, wherein putting him in remembrance of what they had ioyntly acted in the beginning of theſe troubles, he complained of *Mansfelds* abandoning their friendſhip without any iuſt pretence. Then he accuſed the inconſtancie of the Governeſs, who would not ſee that performed which ſhe had promiſed to the Covenanters: but that ſhe her ſelf had ſolicited the King to annull her Act, as

1566.

A fourth Lord is added, falſely,

but ſubtily.

Novem. 12.

A Quere made whether they ſhould oppoſe the King with an army, or admit him.

Both wayes ſeem dangerous.

They reſolve to change their Prince.

Novem. 9. *The ſumme of* C. Egmonts *letter to Count* Mansfeld.

1566. as forced, and therefore preſſed him to come with an Army, and make his ſeditious and rebellious ſubjects a formidable example to poſterity. Finally, *Egmont* aſſured him, it was evident by many mens letters, which he had compared at *Dendermond*, that the King reſolved to cut off the heads of four Lords (in which number *Mansfeld* himſelf was liſted) to keep the reſt in obedience. In the laſt place, he ſaid, he ſhould be very glad by his anſwer to know what he would adviſe him to do. This Letter Count *Mansfeld* privately gave the Governeſs, and with the ſame fidelity ſhewed her what he anſwered. *That no man could juſtly complain of him, when, from the beginning he went a long with* Egmont *and the reſt, upon no other ground, but becauſe it ſeemed advantageous to Religion, and their Countrey, that Cardinall* Granvel *ſhould be removed, the Inquiſition taken away, the rigour of the Emperours Edicts mitigated, and laſtly a generall Pardon granted to ſuch as the Governeſs would move for to the King. To all which particulars his Majeſtie having graciouſly condeſcended, he ſaw no colour of a grievance now remaining. He would therefore freely ſpeak his thoughts, (eſpecially at his Requeſt) that things were gone too farre, to the great contempt of the Divine Majeſty, and ſcandall of the Chriſtian world. That there was time yet left to make ſome kind of Satisfaction for offences paſt, that is, by ſo behaving themſelves among the preſent troubles, that when the King comes, they may meet him, not with a cloudie look, nor ſuch a mind as can be taxed by any. Touching the report of the Kings anger and intended revenge, for his own part he feared it not. He had ever been, and ever would be ſo faithfull to his Sovereigne, that if he pleaſed to command his attendance in* Spain, *he would inſtantly go thither, and having rendred an accompt of his actions, hoped to receive from his Royall Maſter no little Grace and Benefit. Nor ſpake he this, as if Count* Egmont *could not ſecurely ſay as much; but that he might daily adde to this ſecurity, by cutting off all occaſions of ſuſpicion. And having ſo often affronted the King, with pretending publick Neceſſity, they would now at length forbear to preſs their Prince, to govern his Provinces by other mens directions. Laſtly,* (for thus *Mansfeld* concluded) *if* Egmont *would hear his friends advice, he ſhould remain his friend for ever; if not, he was reſolved to value nothing in this world equall with his Honour.* Having read theſe Papers, and highly commended the conſtancy of Count *Mansfeld*, the Governeſs ſent the heads of both letters to his Maieſtie, beſeeching him, that ſince he found ſo much faith in *Mansfeld*, eſpecially at ſuch a time, he would be pleaſed abundantly to recompence him with the grant of his juſt deſires, a particular whereof ſhe had annexed to the Letter. This, moved by the Governeſs, might perhaps make one ſuſpect theſe Letters to be forged by *Mansfeld*, to ingratiate himſelf with her Excellence, and to obtain with more facility thoſe things, for which he had been a long and earneſt ſuiter to the King; or at leaſt, that he had counterfeited, if not *Egmonts* Letter, yet his own Anſwer to it. But many things offer themſelves, which abſolutely clear this doubt; as, Count *Egmonts* hand, well known to the Governeſs; and her intelligence of the truth of *Egmonts* actions, which may fright the greateſt confidence in the world into a bluſh, that ſhall preſume to charge him with ſuch a forgery. Add to this, the reputation and manners of Count *Mansfeld* (which manners either abſolve or condemne every one) far from the leaſt imputation of any ſuch deceit; and laſtly, his conſtant adherence to the Kings cauſe. So as the Governeſs juſtly confident in his integrity, commended him as much as ſhe could poſſibly to his Maieſty; one thing ſhe ſeemed to admire, that ſhe found in *Egmonts* Letter, the very words ſhe had writ in cypher to the King. She therefore complained to the King, that ſecrets were brought out of his Court

C. Mansfelds *Anſwer.*

1565.

The Governeſs ſends abſtracts of both Letters to the King, and writes in Count Mansfelds *behalf.*

Aſſured of the truth of his intelligence.

The Governeſs grievouſly complains to the King, that her letters were betrayed in his Court.

Court into the *Low-countreys. Was any of his Miniſters of State ſo dull-brained, or open breaſted, to ſuffer theſe myſterious parts of Government to be ſcrued out of his mouth or hands? or ſo ill-natured and perfidious, as to reveal the Counſells of his Prince to the enemy? That ſhe certainly knew many copies of Letters ſhe had ſent his Majeſtie for two yeares now paſt, and divers of the Originalls themſelves, were come to the hands of the* Low-countrey *Lords. How deſtructive was this to his affairs? how derogatory to the Royall Dignity? She therefore beſeeched the King, that hereafter, he would either ſee her Letters burnt, or give them in cuſtody to faithfull Servants, that would keep them from the knowledge of ſuch as were otherwiſe.* And yet I find, after this time, the Prince of *Orange* bragged to *Chriſtopher Aſſonvil*, that every word the King ſpake, as well private, as publick, was faithfully conveyed to his ear in the *Low-countreys.* Indeed theſe diſcoveries coſt much money; but money cannot be more fruitfully laid out. For it is the Philoſophy of Princes to dive into the ſecrets of men, leaving the ſecrets of Nature to ſuch as have ſpare time. Which being granted, what Councel-chamber can be impervious or inacceſſible to royal bountie, ſince the Court of ſo prudent and circumſpect a Monarch was bought by private Perſons?

1566.

But no courſe was taken to help it, ſo great an influence the Prince of Orange *had upon the Kings Councell. For which he paid well.*

But the Covenanters not content with the ambiguous deliberations of the Lords at *Dendermond*; the leading men, and ſuch as could be ſuddenly got together, met at *Amſterdam*, unknown to the Prince of *Orange*, (as he wrote to the Governeſſe) yet he was near the town, but peradventure he connived. It is believed they agreed, at this meeting, to uſe their utmoſt indeavours to keep the King from coming in with an armie, and that, either by the mediation of the Emperour *Maximilian*; or by a publick Revolt from their obedience, to petition with ſwords in their hands. And it fell out very commodiouſly, that the Diet of the Empire was then to be held at *Auſburg*, where they reſolved to petition the Emperour in the name of the *Low-countreymen:* but in caſe he denied their requeſt, then to addreſſe themſelves to the Electours, who might ſignifie to the Emperour, that unleſſe herein he would over-rule the King, they (the Electours) could not be able to give him aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk.* Nor was it handſome, whilſt the King viſited the *Low-countreys* with an armie, that they, deſtitute of men and money, ſhould leave themſelves expoſed to the injuries of bordering forces. If this ſucceeded not, they would venture upon any thing, make a league with the hereticall Cantons of the *Swiſſe*, and by their aſſiſtance (which ſome ſay was promiſed) ſtop King *Philips* paſſage into *Savoy.* Nay more, to find the King work at home, they would ſend to *Sivill* three thouſand of thoſe *Calviniſticall* books, of which they had long ſince conſulted with ſome *Calviniſt*-miniſters (of theſe twelve were nominated) that ſhould diſperſe thoſe Volumes throughout *Spain*, and turn the Kings mind from going into a forrein Countrey. This Expedient was committed to the managerie of a *Spaniſh* Merchant, lying then in *Antwerp*, a hot-headed fellow, and malitious to Catholicks. So the Governeſſe wrote to the King, and added, that ſhe would lay all the Ports to prevent that plague-ſore from ſailing into *Spain.* But theſe deliberations, becauſe ſudden and full of fear, did more terrifie, then hurt. Yet in that Aſſembly this was reſolved. The Gentlemen-Covenanters (for men that are in like danger eaſily aſſociate) conſpired with the Merchants, and the reſt of the hereticall people, and took the Sacrament on both ſides to this purpoſe, *That the Covenanters ſhould protect them, againſt all men, that ſought to reſtrain the libertie of Conſcience: and the Merchants ingaged to furniſh them with money, and their utmoſt*

A new convention at Amſterdam.

Where they reſolve to beſeech the Emperour to be their Advocate to the King.

And the Electours to mediate for them to the Emperour.

And if he deny them, then to deny to ſerve him againſt the common enemy.

If no good could be done ſo, to make a league with the Swiſſe.

And to puzzle the Spaniards *in their faith by ſending thither* Calviniſticall *Books and Miniſters.*

Whereof her Excellence premoniſhes the King.

Decem. 18.

And is her ſelf vigilant in the Low-countreys.

The Gentlemen and the Merchants promiſe to one another mutuall Aſſiſtance.

1566. *The Confeſſion of* Auſpurg *onely to be held forth.* Novemb. 7.

moſt indeavours, for the common ſecuritie. But leſt the Hereticks ſhould be diſtracted with multiplicitie of Sects, *Lewis* of *Naſſau* wrote to the *Antwerpers*, perſwading them, for a while till things ſhould be ſettled to lay aſide private opinions in Religion, all to give way to the confeſſion of *Auſpurg*; for ſo, not onely the Electours, who profeſſed that Religion, would be their earneſt Advocates with the Emperour: but likewiſe the *Germane* ſouldiers would be hardly drawn to fight againſt the *Low-countreymen*, their brethren in Religion; and it was done accordingly. For though the *Calviniſts* hate the confeſſion of *Auſpurg*, yet (as Religion among Hereticks is not their own, but accidentall and tranſlatitious) asking advice as far as *Geneva* of *Theodore Beza*, and he approving this truce of opinions, they ſubſcribed a new form of diſcipline like that of *Auſpurg*, which was to be preſented to the Emperour at the next Seſſion: together with a Petition, wherein they prayed, that his Imperiall Majeſtie would pleaſe to patronize, and reconcile them to the King. Moreover they inſtituted Conſiſtories (which are a kind of Parliament or generall convention) in many cities, according to the pattern of that now begun at *Antwerp*, creating Magiſtrates and Senatours, by whoſe advice (it being firſt communicated to the Court of *Antwerp* to which they gave the preheminence) the whole Republick of the Hereticks was to be governed. They likewiſe made a confederation with the *Prince Electour Palatine*, and the reſt of the Hereticall Princes of *Germanie*, enemies to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and therefore ready to enter into any league, whereby they might hope, by ſuch troubles as theſe, to diſpoſſeſſe the King of *Spain* (as the Governeſſe informed him) of the Low-countreys. The Governeſſe was likewiſe privately informed by the Count of *Megen*, that *Veſterholt* was raiſing one thouſand two hundred horſe in *Saxonie* for the Prince of *Orange*. At the ſame time the *Hugonots* in *France* ſet on by *Gaſpar Coligni*, conſulted about ſending aid to the *Low-countreymen*, which was reported to be ten Cornets of horſe, and thirty foot colours; and theſe levies were to be made in *Germanie*, by reaſon of King *Charles* his Edict commanding that none ſhould be raiſed in *France*. All this the Governeſſe knew by private letters out of *France*. Laſtly, at the very ſame time, in the Conſiſtorie of *Antwerp*, letters were read dated at *Conſtantinople* (from ſo many and ſo remote places were the *Low-countreymen* incouraged to rebell, either out of malice to the Catholick faith, or to the houſe of *Auſtria*) ſent from *John Micheſe* a powerfull man, and highly favoured by the *Turkiſh Emperour*. Wherein he adviſed the Calviniſts of *Antwerp*, and inflamed their zeal, *To proceed as they had valiantly begun, in rooting out the Catholicks; that the Turk had great Deſignes a foot againſt the Chriſtians, and ſhortly Philip King of* Spain *would be ſo ingaged in a* Turkiſh warre, *that he would not have leaſure to think of the* Low-countreymen. And indeed *Micheſe* ſpake not this at randome. He was born a *Jew*, (for it will not be amiſſe to ſpeak ſomewhat of the man, illuſtrious for miſchief, and often mentioned in the hiſtory of *Cyprus*, and other deſtructive warres) and when he was a youth, fled out of *Spain*, for fear his ill-diſſembled ſuperſtition might be diſcovered; and living long in *Antwerp*, he was much eſteemed by many perſons of honour, particularly by *Mary Queen* of *Hungary*, then Governeſſe of the *Low-countreys*; from thence impudently ſtealing away a maid of noble parentage, he went to *Venice*; and there had the confidence to treat with the Senate, about aſſigning a place for the Jews, in ſome of the Iſlands belonging to that Signiorie: his Suit being with ſcorn rejected, firſt he made a voyage to *Conſtantinople*, and there married a rich Jew; then he paſſed into *Cilicia*, to *Selimus*,

Conſiſtories and the Hereticks Republick ſet up.

They enter into league with the Hereticall Princes of Germany.

Novem. 21.

Novemb. 4.

Arms promiſed them from France.

Nay even from Conſtantinople.

From whence, Micheſe *the* Jew *incourages the* Low-countrey *Hereticks.*

Who this Micheſe *was.*

A Jew *that fled from* Spain *to* Antwerp.

From thence to Venice.

And from Venice *ſailed to* Conſtantinople.

1566.

Where he ingratiated himſelf with Selimus.

limus, the ſonne of *Soliman*, and finding the Prince in a vacancie of affairs, or not diſpoſed to ſerious buſineſſe, being altogether inſlaved to his pleaſures; *Micheſe*, as he knew all the points in the compaſſe of *Luxury*, feeding him every day according to the variation of humour, to the height of appetite with exquiſite and new delights, became one of his Minions, or Privadoes: & by how much he excelled in the art of flatterie, or the artifice of pleaſures, by ſo much he preceded all others in the Princes favour. Therefore *Sultan Soliman* was eaſily intreated by his ſonne, to grant (what the *Venetians* had denied) a Citie and Territorie for the *Jews*. Nay *Selimus* after he came to the Crown, made him of his Councell of Warre: much about the time, when the *Moors* in *Spain* reſolving to take up arms, implored the aſſiſtance of the *Turkiſh Emperour*, to a people of the ſame Religion, that in hope of aid from the *Turk*, intended a warre againſt King *Philip*.

And moved him to aſſiſt the Moors *in* Spain *ready to begin a Warre.*

Of which he advertiſes the Low-countreymen.

And promoves a warre with Cyprus.

In hatred to the Venetians.

And in hope to be King of Cyprus.

Deſigneth the firing of Venice Ant. Mar. Gratian. de bel. Cypr.

Nor was the Emperour *Selimus* averſe from ſending an armie into *Spain*; and whilſt *Micheſe* adviſed him to it, becauſe he ſaw it pleaſed *Selimus* his ſonne in law, *Achmet* (who had infinitely indeared himſelf to *Selimus*, by his rare policie uſed in concealing his father *Soliman's* death at *Zighet*) he doubted not but the deſign would ſhortly take; and therefore, by that which I have mentioned, animated his friends at *Antwerp*, putting them in hope of a rebellion of the *Moors*. But *Muſtapha* and others voting for a warre with *Cyprus*, *Micheſe* came over to their opinion, and when the Emperour was doubtfull which way to incline, *Micheſe* alone turned the ſcales, and carried it for *Cyprus*; ſo great was his envie to the *Venetians*, whoſe incivilities and ſcorn he often with much paſſion mentioned. Beſides he had a fooliſh hope to be created King of *Cyprus*, vainly grounding upon ſome words ſpoken by *Selimus* at his table. And that his endeavours might be anſwerable to his Counſell, they that wrote the hiſtorie of that warre affirm, it was he that laid the plot for blowing up of the Arcenall at *Venice*, which not onely ſhook the foundation of the citie, and beat down the buildings round about it, with a huge deſtruction of men; but even the neighbouring towns and cities were affraid they ſhould be ſhattered with that Earthquake. Thoſe that gave fire to the powder, being ſent from the *Turk*, by advice of *Micheſe*, to the end that ſo great a loſſe might weaken the *Venetians*, and render them in no capacitie for the warre. And if, a few dayes before, the better part of their powder had not been ſhipped away for *Corcyra* that Citie, the faireſt in the world, had been utterly ruined: and one man had, in a moment, ended the warre of *Cyprus*. So great a fire can ſpleen kindle in any mans boſome, raiſed even in the midſt of the water.

The Lowcountreymen by his letters animated.

Begin to collect mony.

Which they ſubtilly offer to the King.

Among the Low-countreymen *Micheſe* his letters and incouragement did no little miſchief. For this news putting them in heart, it was decreed by the Conſiſtorie of *Antwerp*, that whereas an opportunity was now offered to ſtrengthen their partie, they ſhould make up among themſelves as great a ſumme as poſſibly they could, to be ready upon all Emergencies; which was with great zeal immediately put in execution. At which time Count *Hochſtrat* (Lieutenant Governour of *Antwerp* for the Prince of *Orange*) ſent a Petition to the Governeſſe, delivered him by the Hereticks of that citie, wherein they deſired libertie of Conſcience for themſelves, and their brethren, for which they offered the King three hundred thouſand Florens, which was ſuppoſed to be the Artifice of ſome, that they might with leſſe ſuſpicion go to and fro to gather money; and in the mean time, both deceive the *Spaniard*, that would be eaſily tempted with ſo much gold, and likewiſe their own partie, that would more willingly open their purſe for obtaining the free exerciſe of Religion,

 then

then for the maintaining of a warre. Unleſſe perhaps that vaſt ſumme was offered to ſet forth the greatneſſe of their faction. And therefore many copies of the Petition were ſent about the Provinces, ſubſcribed by the Gentlemen and Merchants that ingaged for payment of the money: thereby to advance their reputation and to fright the Governeſſe with ſo great a power. But her Excellence, nothing moved with the vain noiſe of their wealth, did not ſo much as vouchſafe an anſwer to *Hochſtrat*. The Petition it ſelf ſhe ſent to the King, to quicken him upon ſo many provocations.

The Governeſſe contemns their offer.

Novem. 18. *The fame of the Kings coming ſtaggers the Conſpiratours. Whom the Governeſſe endeavours to work upon with letters and promiſes.*

In the interim ſhe her ſelf, knowing all that paſſed in their Conſiſtories and Aſſemblies, when ſhe ſaw that divers of the Conſpiratours, believing the news of the Kings coming, grew very fearfull, thought it beſt to make her advantage of that fear; and therefore writing letters to them, full of affection and confidence, inſtructed the meſſengers to make them large promiſes: to ſome, which ſhe knew were no enemies to Religion, ſhe wrote letters upon thoſe blanks the King had ſent her ſigned with his ſign Manual; wherein ſuiting her words to the times, ſhe exhorted them to defend the Cauſe of Religion to keep the people in their antient Duty and Obedience: and theſe were to be ſo delivered, that they ſhould not be altogether concealed from ſuch as were not invited, whereby jealouſies and differences might ariſe among them. And it happened very conveniently, that at the ſame time, the Governeſſe received ſome letters from the King writ with his own hand to the Prince of *Orange*, and ſome other of the Low-countrey Lords, expreſſing much affection to them, which ſhe preſently ſent to the preſſe, and had them publiſhed; the reſult of all this was, That partly out of fear the Lords would deſert them, whoſe reſolutions the Confederates perceived to waver: partly out of hope, which they were full of, becauſe they ſaw themſelves courted and honoured by the King: partly out of malice to others, which as they thought ſuſpected and hated them; divers of the Covenanters, leaving the publick meetings of the Conſpiratours, returned to their own houſes, to follow their private buſineſſe: or came over and ſubmitted to the Governeſſe, ſtriving rather to merit the Kings favour, then his indignation. Which great defection elevating her ſpirits, the Governeſſe reſolved to uſe her utmoſt force and policy to ſcatter their ſeditious Congregations. And to begin the right way by craving a bleſſing from God, ſhe wrote letters in the Kings name to all the Biſhops and chiefeſt Prelates, to appoint in all their Cities Faſt-dayes, and publick Prayers, and to uſe all other means for appeaſing the Divine wrath. She likewiſe ſent an Agent into *France* to *Francis Alava*, the King of *Spains* Embaſſadour, to inform him of the preparations made by the *French Hugonots*: and another into *Germany*, to the Emperour, to pre-acquaint him with the Petition, that was to be preſented at the *Diet*, and to give him intelligence how he was threatened by the Electours, *Auguſtus Duke* of *Saxony*, and *Frederick Count Palatine*. And truly *Count Mansfeld* would have offered the Emperour, that he, himſelf would either convert the Duke of *Saxonie* to his Allegeance; or take away the power of his diſloyaltie, by imploying the ſonnes of *John Frederick*, that bore an inveterate malice to Duke *Auguſtus*, for depriving their Father of the Electorate: and if they ſhould be incouraged to take arms, no doubt but they would involve all *Saxony* in a War, and *Auguſtus* would have enough to do, to extinguiſh the fire in his own Dukedome, without ſcattering it in anothers Dominions. But the Governeſſe could not at that time ſpare Count *Mansfeld*, ſhe therefore held it ſufficient to commend his deſign, and to inform the King of it, and his readineſſe to ſerve his Maje-ſty,

Not without Artifice,

And ſucceſſe.

Whereupon, the Governeſſe having recovered her ſpirits, Begins her great buſineſſe with Prayer and Faſting.

To the French *King ſhe notifies the Hugonots preparations for a warre.*

To the Emperour the Low-countreymens *intentions to petition him at the Diet: and how the Electours threaten him.*

Count Mansfelds *advice upon this point. Which the Governeſſe commends but makes no uſe of.*

ſtie; pretermitting no occaſion to name him for the advance of the Counts former Suit; and perhaps he himſelf had an eye upon it, when he made this offer, which undoubtedly would more advance his favour with the King, then his trouble in *Saxony*. Thus many proffer huge ſervice to ſuch as they know will not accept it; eſpecially if they think themſelves able to do their buſineſſe without the profferer's help. Moreover it was *Mansfelds* plot (the Counts of *Aremberg*, and *Megen*, being of the ſame opinion) that the number of ſouldiers ſhould be increaſed in the *Low-countreys*, and the Governours attended with greater Guards: and preſently the Governeſſe directing her Letters to them, adviſed them ſeverally, *Not to ſuffer the Hereticks to have any more meetings. That ſhe knew beſides their Sermons, that were with limitation permitted, they held I know not what Conſiſtories; and ſetting up Schools for Children, bred them to impious Opinions. That they married, buryed, and baptized in a new manner, publiſhed filthy Books, and poſted up Pictures in mockery of God and the King: and at their* Calviniſticall *Suppers, the multitude then meeting, ſolemnly profeſſed, that they had broke the League with Catholick Religion, and were reſolved never to make a Peace, but conſtantly to endeavour the extirpation of it, Root and Branch. And yet, was it poſsible, men ſhould ſo far forget all Modeſty and Shame, as to affirm that theſe abominations were licenſed by the Governeſs, when ſhe permitted them Sermons? That ſhe was not ſo fooliſhly wicked, as not to diſtinguiſh things ſo diſtant, or to ſuffer ſo execrable impiety. Therefore in the Kings name, ſhe commanded the Governours of the Provinces, that as many as they ſhould apprehend at any Hereticall meetings, Sermons onely excepted, they ſhould proceed againſt them as Traytours to the King, and diſturbers of the publick Peace.* To theſe Letters ſhe joyned an Edict, which clearly explained every particular thereof, and impoſed penalties upon the contumacious, ſomewhat more ſharp and ſevere, then well conſiſted with her nature. I ſuppoſe, Grief made a deep impreſsion in her mind, as if all that miſchief came of Sermons, which her too much fear and lenity had toleratrd. Wherefore her Excellence, ſending the King a Tranſcript of the Edict, ſaid, She was forced to uſe that rigour, becauſe the deteſtable carriage of the Hereticks, contrary to agreement, ſo required. And ſhe hoped, if their other exerciſes were once ſuppreſſed; that Sermons, whenſoever the King would declare the grant to be void, and diſallow them, would be likewiſe baniſhed the *Low-countreys*. She added, that when the Edict was penned, all the Privie Councel conſented, but onely *Egmont*, who ſaid that Edict would be an Alarum to the *Low-countreys:* and indeed either upon that occaſion, or becauſe the Church-robbers, and ſuch as met at Sermons in prohibited places were puniſhed; they haſtened the warre which they meant not ſhould begin, till a long while after. To this end, they met more frequently in their Conſiſtories and Committees, many Letters paſsing by the hands of *Gyles Cleark* to the confederate Gentlemen, and from them to the Merchants and Conſiſtorians. By all which it was finally reſolved, that whenſoever the Governeſs ſhould uſe force, they would be ready to take the field, making their levies partly in *Saxonie*, partly in the *Palatinate:* but the *Palſgraves* offer ſhould be firſt embraced. Commiſsion for Generall was given to *Henry Brederod*, with a liſt of the names of *Antwerp* Merchants that engaged for money to raiſe men. *Brederod* immediately named Collectours, and made *Philip Marnixius* of S. *Aldegund*, Treaſurer of the Army. *Lewis* of *Naſſau* undertook to ſolicit *Auguſtus* Duke of *Saxony*. For though *Saxony* was then embroyled in a Warre between *John Frederick* (ſonne to the late Electour *John Frederick*) and his coſin-germane by the fathers ſide, *Auguſtus* Duke

1566.

She increaſes the ſouldiery.

Decemb. 15. *And writes to the Governours of Provinces, to take away the Hereticall meetings and exerciſes, in this manner.*

Which Letters ſhe seconds with an Edict ſomewhat ſeverer then her cuſtome was.

Decem. 16.

Egmont *onely diſſenting.*

Whereupon the Conſpiratours haſten their deſign for a War.

Brederod *made Generall.*

1567. *With* Lewis *of* Naſſau, *who ſolicits friends, and collects money in* Germany *and the* Low-countreys

1567. Duke of *Saxony*, *de facto*; yet *Lewis* liked the employment, becauſe he hoped by authority of the *Germane* Princes (that were active in it) the difference would be ſoon compoſed,and he ſhould from thence be furniſhed with ſtout and well armed ſouldiers for the *Low-countreys*. But becauſe the war continued, *John Frederick* deſpiſing the conditions of Peace, and that the Governeſs (knowing the Covenanters deſigne) to trouble *Lewis* his negotiation kept ſome faithfull Agents in *Auguſtus* his Army, which lay before the city of *Goth*, therefore the Covenanters not relying upon this ſlow aſsiſtance, met at the Prince of *Oranges* City *Breda*, where theſe three things were decreed, as the Governeſs ſent the King intelligence by *Alphonſo de Lapes* a *French* man; That they ſhould frame a Letter to invite Count *Egmont* to joyn with them; give an account of their proceedings to the Governeſs by a new Petition, and in the mean time levie men even in the boſome of the *Netherlands*. And a Letter was writ to *Egmont*, by the Prince of *Orange*, *Hochſtrat*, and *Brederod*,deſiring him to give in his name to their Aſſociation: for by this new conjuncture, they promiſed to ſilence the preaching Miniſters in the *Low-countreys*; whereby they would either take away any pretence of the Kings coming with an Army, or elſe, if when all things were quieted, his Majeſtie (though intreated)ſhould come armed into the Provinces; they might juſtly unite their endeavours and forces to ſtop the Kings paſſage, and preſerve their Countrey from Tyrannie, which by the rigour of puniſhments, building of Forts, *Spaniſh* Garriſons, and forcing of the *Low-countreys* was certainly intended. *Egmont* imparted this to a friend, either out of love, or for advice, or perhaps that he might acquaint the Governeſs with their letter, and his anſwer; for he likewiſe ſhewed him his abſolute deniall to joyn with them. Notwithſtanding the Governeſs confided not in *Egmont*, who, as ſhe now feared all things, ſuſpected this to be merely artifice and deceit. But *Brederod*, who was to preſent this Petition from the Covenanters, deſired a ſafe conduct from the Governeſs, for himſelf and fourty horſe; which ſhe, long ſince offended at ſuch Treaties, abſolutely denied, and commanded that if he came to the gates, they ſhould give fire upon him. Whereupon *Brederod* contented himſelf with ſending the Petition; and with it his particular complaint. The Covenanters remembred the Dutcheſs, that in *Auguſt* laſt they met by her command, to diſarm and quiet the people. They complained, that by letters directed to the Magiſtrates from her Highneſs, they were prohibited to exerciſe the Miniſtery of the Goſpel in thoſe places where they were allowed to have Sermons; when notwithſtanding that under the notion of Sermons, all other rites were comprehended. For it is the ſolemn cuſtome where Sermons are permitted, there likewiſe to tolerate all appendences to the ſame Religion;and they accordingly explained the toleration to the People, and promiſed them the free uſe of Sermons, and all their other Rites,of which freedome the People being now debarred,they claimed promiſe of the Covenanters & every day implored their faith, by new Expoſtulations and Letters, ſome of which they had annexed to this Petition. Laſtly,they were amazed and grieved to ſee the *Low-countreys* every day frighted with great forces,themſelves expelled the Cities, watched in the fields, and every where reputed for enemies to the State. All which being inconſiſtent with their own Loyalty and Honour, and the Tranquillity of the people; they humbly prayed her Highneſs, that according to her Princely word obliged under her hand and ſeal, ſhe would both ſecure the Covenanters and ſuffer the People to hear Sermons, and thoſe things which alwayes go along with Sermons. For the

But the Governeſs puts rubs in their way.

They meet at Breda.

Endeavouring to draw Egmont *into their new League.*
By Letter.

But they perſwade not.

They offer to bring a new Petition to the Governeſs.
Feb. 2.
Not admitted.
It is ſent.
Containing many complaints.

better effecting whereof, they humbly deſired, that her Excellence would pleaſe to disband the ſouldiers lately raiſed, and call in her Edict contrary to the capitulation. For which they ſhould be ſo much bound to his Maieſtie & her Highneſs, that both their Dignities ſhould by them be ever valued far above their own lives or fortunes. But otherwiſe, in ſpirit they foreſaw a great deſtruction of the people and the imminent ruine of the Nation; the foretelling whereof, and labouring to avert it as much as in them lay, would hereafter free them, if not from ſorrow, yet from any crime. This Petition the Governeſs communicated to her Privie Counſellours, and a few dayes after, by their advice, returned anſwer to *Bredcrod* (withall commanding it ſhould be printed and publiſhed) the heads whereof I ſhall briefly give you. *She underſtood not*, ſhe ſaid, *who thoſe Gentlemen were, or thoſe People of the* Low-countreys, *in whoſe name this Petition was preſented; when many of thoſe Gentlemen that petitioned in April laſt, did not onely profeſs themſelves to have received ſatisfaction; but daily came to offer their ſervices to the King. That ſhe onely tolerated Sermons, and that ſo much againſt her will, as may teſtifie how farre ſhe is from giving them power to appoint Conſiſtories, create Magiſtrates, to levy taxes, to collect above twenty hundred thouſand Florens, to confound the marriages of Catholicks and Hereticks, and conſequently their Succeſsions and Honours. Beſides the* Calviniſticall *Suppers which they had, and Congregations; in moſt part whereof, ſince they detracted from the Authority of the Prince, and his ſubordinate Officers, and ſought by degrees to introduce a new Commonwealth, they might ſee how likely it was that theſe things (which they call onely Ceremonies of Religion) ſhould be permitted by the Governeſs, to the ſo great Diſhonour of God and the King. That indeed ſhe had capitulated with them, and that the capitulation was and ſhall be obſerved; but not in things prejudiciall to Religion, and the Royall Authority. But why ſhould they, that complain of the breach of Articles, paſſe over in ſilence, That ſince their own agreement in the moneth of Auguſt, ſo many faithleſſe and ſacrilegious Villanies have been done; Churches deſtroyed, Religious Perſons turned out of their Monaſteries; Hereticall Goſpellers from forrein parts, by force of Arms brought to preach, in places where their Sermons were never heard before; Cities aud Provinces by their Letters or Emiſſaries ſolicited to mutiny and rebell; and diverſe other foul things committed, whereof the Petitioners themſelves were Authours: for under their Protection, the people have preſumed to ſeize upon his Majeſties Magazines; to expell his Officers; at the ringing of a Bell, to muſter in the fields; to deſtroy Monaſteries and Gentlemens houſes with fire and ſword; to poſſeſſe themſelves of Towns, and marking out all Catholicks for the ſlaughter, the Governeſs her ſelf not excepted: they would have made a generall Maſſacre in the* Low-countreys, *if the Traitours Letters to them of* Valenciens *had not been intercepted, and ſo their horrid Deſigne by Gods goodneſs prevented. That by the premiſſes they may perceive how unſeaſonably they petition for her Edict to be revoked, and the Souldiers disbanded, that is, in other words, for Juſtice to be diſarmed, and expoſed to the injuries of the wicked. Let them not cozen themſelves, ſhe would do neither of both; but was reſolved to guard the Commonwealth, if need ſhould be, with new Laws and Souldiers: and not to lay down, eſpecially at this time, the ſword that God puts into Princes hands. She therefore adviſed them to forbear medling with Publick Affairs, and every one to mind his private buſineſs, that they may not ſhortly force the King at his coming to forget his native Clemency. That ſhe her ſelf will uſe her utmoſt endeavours, to ſave the Low countreys from the Ruine threatned by theſe popular Tumults, which they have raiſed.*

1566.

And many demands.

Febr. 16.

But the Governeſs in her Anſwer grants them nothing.

The End of the fifth Book.

The Hiſtorie of the *LOW-COUNTREY* WARRES.

The ſixt Booke.

BUT whilſt the pen was thus imployed, *Brederod* raiſed ſome Forces at *Antwerp*, and upon receipt of theſe Letters from the Governeſſe, made haſt to increaſe his number; of which he carried with him above 1400 to *Viana*, a Towne of his own in *Holland*, fortified to that end a little while before. Part of theſe men marched by land, part was tranſported in ſeven Shipps, followed with a Veſſell laden with Armes and Ammunition. It was ſaid that *William* Count *Lumè* a *Marcha*, *Eſcanbechius*, *Villers*, and *Malberg* were to bring thither 1500 horſe from the Covenanteers; and that *Lewis* of *Naſſau* was likewiſe expected there, with the *German* Forces under his Command; that having muſtered the Army at *Viana*, they might ſend them into ſeverall parts, as occaſion ſhould require.

C. Brederod *prepares men and armes.*

So doe the reſt of the Confederates.

This rejoyced the Hereticks, who now openly bragged that at length their cauſe was well followed, and the Nobility revolting from the King, had cut off all hope of pardon; That it was not to be doubted, but that beſides the Counts *Hochſtrat*, and *Horne*, *Orange* himſelfe would declare for them; nor durſt *Brederod* preſume as he had done, but that he relyed on higher powers: though it was conceived, that amidſt thoſe troubles, he aymed at the Principality of *Holland*, whereunto he pretended a Title, and to that private end uſed the Aſſiſtance of the Lords. His Ambition was flatter'd by the Covenanteers, but in the mean time every one had their particular Deſigne.

The Hereticks rejoycing

And many flattering up Count Brederod.

Wherefore a while after, moſt of the principall Cities of the Low-countries, *Antwerp*, the *Bus*, *Vtrecht* and *Maeſtriecht*, *Amſterdam*, *Groeningen*, *Tournay* (beſides *Valenciens* and others) by the increaſe of their Souldiers ſeemed to threaten a deſertion from the King. *Anthony Bomberg* of *Antwerp* fell upon the *Bus*, a Towne of *Brabant*, and tooke it by the helpe of the Hereticks that were the ſtronger party: he was lately fled thither, out of the ſtorme of the *French* commotions, wherin he ſerved under the Prince

The firſt revolt of the Cities. Bolduc. Vtrecht. Maſtriecht.

Bomberg *one of the Conſpirators invade* Bolduc.

of *Conde*; from thence being rebandied to his Country, as he was of an Vnquiet reſtleſſe Spirit, he bounded againe into the *Belgick* Tumults, and increaſed the number of the Covenanteers. But the Governeſſe having formerly ſent *Merodius*, Lord of Peter *Semy*, and *Scheiff* Chancellour of *Brabant*, to ſettle the Motions of that Towne, when ſhe heard they Could not do it, her Excellence commanded the *Count* of *Megen*, to draw towards the Town with ſome Troopes of Horſe: directing withall Her Letters at the ſame time both to the Citizens of the *Bus*, and to her agents there, Graciouſly conferring with the Citizens about receiving a Garriſon into their City, and reſtoring it to the antient Priviledges; and giving Inſtructions to Her Agents for preſſing it to the Magiſtrats. The Letters were intercepted by *Bomberg*, in place whereof he counterfeited two others, as written from the Governeſſe proudly to the Citizens, and deceiptfully to her Agents: and when he read them to the Magiſtrate, having given out among the people, that the towne ſhould have beene betrayed by *Merodius*, and the Chancellour, the furious Multitude flocked about their Houſes, railing vpon them for Traytours, and beſieged them a day and a night, till *Bomberg* had ripened his Plot. Who taking the incenſed Rabble before their fury cooled, the rareſt time for Miſcheif, perſwaded them that *Count Megen* was the principall Traytour, and that they ſhould therefore come upon him whilſt he expected but the word for entering of the Towne. They eaſily believed that *Count Megen* would attempt it, to revenge the private Iniuryes done to his Towne of *Megen* by thoſe of the *Bus*: which being their neighbours and the ſtronger, had oppreſſed them. *Bomberg* therefore takes vpon him the Command in cheife; and inſtantly raiſing 800 men, and planting ſome great Cannon on the walls when the Count march'd up, he unexpectedly fired and beat him back, with the loſſe onely of his Plot upon the Towne, and an affront received, which he deepely reſented.

And cozening the Citizens enrages them againſt the Governeſſes Agents.

And againſt Count Megen.

Whom they beate from the Walles.

C. Megen *enters* Vtrecht,

Count Megen, not having then ſufficient forces to lay ſeige to ſo ſtrong a place, marched to *Vtrecht*; for this was in his Orders from the Governeſſe, and the charge was ſtricter, becauſe ſhe feared that Towne, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of *Viana*, which was the general Rendezvous of the Covenanteers. And they of *Vtrecht*, becauſe their lands daily ſuffered by the incurſions of *Brederods* Souldiers, willingly received a Garriſon from the *Count*, and by his directions preſently built a Fort upon the banke of the River *Leck*, right againſt *Viana*. Nor was *Brederod* leſſe active, but in the interim having ſetled *Viana*, and being called to *Amſterdam* by the *Gheuſes*, he came thither diſguiſed, and then in his owne opinion his hope ſtood faire for the Principality of *Holland*.

and C. Brederod Amſterdam

At the ſame time *James Marnixius*, Lord of *Tholouſe*, one of the Covenanteers ſhipt 600 men at *Antwerp* in three bottoms, and ſent them downe the water into *Zeland*; hoping, whilſt other parts were in combuſtion, unobſerved in the Tumult, & aſſiſted by the Pretour of *Middleburgh*, to poſſeſſe himſelf of *Vluſhing*, and the whole Iſland of *Walcheren*, which is the Head of *Zeland*. But the Governeſſe was before him, for ſhe had made *Cattey* a faithfull and valiant Gentleman, Governour of *Vluſhing*, and commanded him to carry ſome Regiments from the Marches of *Flanders*, and draw them out in order of battaile before *Walcheren*. Therefore when the *Tholouſians* came within ſight of the Iſland, they were eaſily beat back; and vainely expecting *Brederod*, who was kept in action by *Megen*, (that appeared with his horſe ſometimes before *Amſterdam*, ſometimes before *Viana*)

Tholouſe *aymes to be Lord of* Zeland *March.* 2.

But is diſappointed.

ana) they fairely paſſed the River againe into *Brabant*, but at *Oſtervell*, a village neare *Antwerp*, they made a halt; and ayming at things above their ſtrength, pitched their Tents upon the banks of *Scheldt*, and there intrenched: and daily increaſing with multitudes of Exiles and Outlawes that fled unto them for protection, they ſent them out in partyes to the adjoyning Townes and Villages; where they robbed and fired the Churches, returning to the Army loaded with ſpoyle; and frighting or incouraging *Antwerp*: according to the ſeverall factions within the City. But the Governeſſe particularly fearing *Antwerp*, leſt *Tholouſe* might bring in his Army, and ſtrengthen the *Gheuſes*, calling to her *Philip Lanoy*, Lord of *Beavor*, a noble and induſtrious commander, ſhe ſaid, "I call God to witneſſe, "I am unwilling, and with much reluctation forced to a War; the Fame of "Victory, (a glory, that hath wrought with many Women, and might with "me, out of the ſenſe of my Fathers invincible and martiall Bloud) I never "aſpired unto, in my Province of the Low-countries. But ſince with ſtub-"borne-natured and implacable wicked men, neither by indulgence nor "pardon I have beene able to effect any thing, but onely the leſſening of "my Authority and their feare; truly I ſhould not lay to heart either the "cauſe of Religion, or of the King and Country, if I ſhould not at laſt, by "making new examples, puniſh their perfidiouſneſſe, imboldened by my "too much Lenity; and by force of Armes (which through your valour I "may eaſily effect) endeavour to deſtroy theſe Enemies and Rebells, ſome-"times bringing in Hereſie to raiſe Tumults, ſometimes plotting to take "Armes and breaking into open Hoſtility. Courage therefore, *Beavor*, "for I have choſen thee, to revenge this Treaſon to Majeſty Divine, and "Humane. And ſince it is neceſſary to be ſpeedily at *Oſtervell*, take thy "Commiſſion and be gone; fight with *Tholouſe*, whoſe tumultuary Forces "without oppoſition plunder the Country, terrible only to ſuch as en-"tertaine them. Be ſure that pitty move thee not to give them quarter up-"on any termes; but thoſe wicked men that have committed unpardonable "Villanies, do thou, without pauſe or mercy, deſtroy with fire and "ſword. Having thus inſtructed the Generall, her Excellence commanded him to take out of the Garriſon of *Bruxells* 300. Muſketteres, and joyne to them the *Flanders* Horſe, lately called back from *Wallacren*, under the command of *Valentine Pardieu Lord* of *Mott*, with the Foot companies of the Counts *Aremberge*, and *Barlamont*. Beſides, ſhe gave him many of her owne Life-Guard, and enjoyned him with this Army to march againſt *Tholouſe*. The Prince of *Orange* that governed *Antwerp*, imagining what the Governeſſe would doe, had tooke order the day before *Beavor* came to *Oſtervell*, that the Bridge between that and *Antwerp* ſhould be broken: leſt the *Gheuſes* ſallying out of *Antwerp*, ſhould help the *Tholouſians* (as he ſignified to the Governeſſe by *Marius Carduin*) or more probably leſt, to ſuccour *Beavor*, the Bridge ſhould give paſſage to the Catholiques, whoſe cauſe he could not deſert, nor would defend. Alſo by his command, the next day, all the ports of *Antwerp* were ſhut, the Citizens wondring what ſhould be his reaſon; when on the ſuddaine hearing the thunder of Cannon hard by the Towne, they ran to the wals, and ſaw a Battaile fought at *Oſtervell*. They knew the Enſignes of both Armies, diſplayed alongſt the River ſide, and almoſt heard the cryes both of thoſe that charged, and fell. Nor did all the Towne behold that Martiall Scene with the ſame wiſhes, but ſhouted according to their ſeverall inclinations, with divers kinds of clamour, as if they had been upon a

He makes a ſtand neere Antwerp. *From whence he frights the neighbours.*

Beavor *is ſent againſt him with this command.*

Valentine Pardieu.

The Prince of Orange *hinders the* Antwerpers *from Sallying.*

They fight at Oſtervell. *The Citizens of* Antwerp.

See the Battell from the walls. They act their different wiſhes to both ſides.

Stage: ſometimes chearefully incouraging their Partie, ſometimes doubtfull, and crying ſhame upon them, they ſhooke their hands and moved their bodies, as if they themſelves were really in the Feild, ſtriking or avoyding Blowes. Till the routed *Tholouſians* fled. For *Beavor* had been ſo quick in his march, that comming upon them before they could well arme themſelves, and repaire to their Colours, they had ſcarce time to put their men in Order of Battaile. Yet for a while they ſtood. At firſt their number imboldened them, and at laſt their Houſes and Fortifications ſaved them. But thoſe being fired, part of them were burnt in their owne dwellings; ſome few ſlaine in the Field, but the moſt forced to leap in the River, and either drowned, or as they ſwam, ſhot in the backs. *Tholouſe* himſelfe deſpairing of Releiſe or Pardon tooke a Barne, and was there burnt. There fell at this Battaile (the firſt that was fought with the *Low-country* Rebells) 1500. of the *Gheuſes.* About 300. were taken priſoners, and all put to the Sword by *Beavors* command, becauſe it was conceived the *Antwerpers* would ſally out, and aſſiſt the Remainder of their conquered Friends. And indeed when the *Calviniſts* ſaw their Brethren routed, and put to flight (for it troubled not the *Lutherans*, who hate Calviniſts farre more then they doe Catholiques) preſently taking up Armes, they marched directly to the Bridge to ſuccour their diſtreſſed Party. But when they found the Bridge broken downe, and ſaw the Ports ſhut up, they ran through the Streets, as if they had been drunke, and cryed Arme, Arme. And in foure houres ſpace 14000. men were come together, having neither any certaine Generall, nor reſolution whether to make way through the Ports, or turne their fury upon thoſe that kept them in. They ſay *Tholouſe* his Wife, in *Antwerp*, helped forward this combuſtion. For underſtanding the Defeate and Danger of her Husband, (his Death as yet ſhe knew not) almoſt out of her wits, ſhe ranne about the Towne, howling, and crying to the Calviniſts for Aſſiſtance or Revenge. And now the Prince of Orange (with Count *Hochſtrat* (meeting theſe furious Rebells, doubted not by the Majeſty of his preſence, and their great opinion of him, eaſily ro quiet this Diſtemper, and began to give them reaſons why the Bridge was broke, for feare the conquering Army, having a Party within the Towne, ſhould make themſelves Maſters of it. But the reſt of his words were drowned with hideous cryes and Railings. They called him Traytour to the Cauſe, and then he found by experience, that Majeſty without ſtrength is not ſafe among the incenſed multitude. Nay one of thoſe Calviniſticall Rogues ſet a Piſtoll to the Prince his breſt, as if he would give fire upon him: ſo much dares the baſeſt Raſcall animated by his contagious Fellowes. The Prince of *Orange* therefore thought it well for the preſent, if he could get off; for the number & boldneſſe of the Calviniſts increaſed. And now ſeizing upon the *Merian* Bridge, and taking the Cannon out of the Magazine, they drew them upon their carriages, and planted them againſt the Court, reſolving to ſet up a new Magiſtrate; madly and barbarouſly proclaiming that all the Clergie and Religious ſhould be turned out of the Towne. Nor leſſe active on the other part, was the Prince of *Orange*, who taught by his late danger, commanded ſixe Companies of the Garriſon Souldiers to guard the *Piazza*, and the Mint, and drawing after him a huge ſort of *Lutherans*, joyned them to the Catholiques, whereof no leſſe then 8000 had armed themſelves. The Catholiques and *Lutherans* formed into a Body, with Colours flying marched to the Pallace of Juſtice, and there made a Stand, ready to

The Tholouſians defeated.

Their Generall burned.

The Calviniſts would have ſallyed out of Antwerp *to helpe their Fellowes. But finding themſelves lockt in they grew rageous.*

Tholouſe's *wife ſets them on.*

The Prince of Orange *oppoſes them with danger to himſelfe.*

The Inſurrection of the Calviniſts increaſeth.

They take up Armes.

The Catholicks and Lutherans *march againſt them led by the Prince of* Orange.

to defend it, if the Calviniſts ſhould attempt any thing; and theſe, as if they would fight, came on, and preſenting their Muſkets ſeemed to expect the word. When the Prince of *Orange*, attended by all the Senate, and a ſtrong Guard of Souldiers, came to the Calviniſts, and with a commanding countenance, adviſed them to lay down Armes, if they had any Demands to make, they might be more eaſily obtained without Tumult: if they did otherwiſe, he ſwore he would be a perpetuall Enemy to the name of *Calvin.* Whereat the Calviniſts ſeeming to be diſmayed ſubmitted, as if it were in Honour to the Prince; when indeed they found themſelves much too weak for the Catholique and Lutheran Forces, to which the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Merchants flocked in great numbers armed, fearing they ſhould finally be plundered by the Calviniſts, who had either to that end begun the Tumult, or at leaſt would ſo conclude. Therefore Hoſtages being given and received on both ſides, the Calviniſts upon certaine conditions (which both they and the Prince of *Orange* took their Oaths to ſee obſerved) for the preſent laid downe Armes: which notwithſtanding were ſhortly taken up againe, both by the Calviniſts and Lutherans, when they heard of the Siege and Danger of *Valenciens*, occaſioned in this manner.

The Calviniſts terrifyed.

and quieted upon conditions

The ſeige of Valenciens.

Among the towns that after the Church Robberyes, refuſed to ſubmit unto authority, one was *Valenciens*, animated by a ſtrong faction of Hereticks, and by their owne nature; being like the reſt of the people of *Haynolt*, impatient of Subiection; inſomuch as they have a proud Proverb, that *Haynolt* is only ſubiect to God, and the Sun. And they were the freer, becauſe of their Vicinity to *France*, which being conſidered the *Valencenians* were ever ruled with a gentler hand, but with a more attentiue eye. The Governeſſe was very fearefull, leſt the *French* if they ſtirred at that time might firſt lay hold vpon this key to the frontiers, eſpecially becauſe they knew that one *Grange* of *Narbon* a Calviniſt Miniſter by his *French* Lectures had now confounded all in *Valenciens*, and much increaſed the commerce betweene the *Valencenians*, and the *French*. The Governeſſe having many times written to the Magiſtrate about it, at laſt, when ſhe found her ſelfe ſtrong enough, ſhe ſent an expreſſe commanding him to receiue a Garriſon into the Towne, of thoſe men commanded by *Philip Norcarmius* of St *Aldegund*, Lieuetenant Governour of *Haynolt* for the Marqueſſe of *Bergen* then Ambaſſadour in *Spaine:* And that by theſe Souldiers nothing was intended but the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and Concord of the People. *Norcarmius* coming to the Towne in the Evening was met by Commiſſioners from the Magiſtrate of *Valenciens*, affirming they had ever beene and ever would be faithfull to the King, and to the Governeſſe; withall they demanded, how many men he would quarter in in the towne, deſiring him to be contented with as few as might be. But in the morning, at the time when they had promiſed to receiue his Garriſon, new commiſſioners came from the Burghers and told him, that by the induſtry of the Hereticks running all night from houſe to houſe, the People had changed their minds, & were reſolved not to admit the Garriſon, and to write their Reaſons for it to the Governeſſe. But *Norcarmius* terribly offended with that Inconſtancy and affront departed, threatning Ruine to the City. Their Meſſengers he carried away Priſoners, but becauſe that was againſt the Law of Nations, four dayes after he ſent them back, by command from the Governeſſe. And indeed the Towne preſented her Excellence their Reaſons for not admitting a Garriſon of *Norcarmius*

The Condition of the City.

The Valencenians *commanded by her Excellence to receive a Garriſon.*

December. 1567.

They ſeeme willing,

But at their appointed time fly off.

For theſe Reaſons.

mius his men, as well becauſe they feared he would Vſe them cruelly, and like Enemyes, by reaſon of his different Religion; as likewiſe they were perſwaded that Garriſon was to have come in, without the conſents of the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Egmont*, *Horne*, and *Hochſtrate*. But if thoſe foure Lords would ingage, for the Security of the Towne, it ſhould immediately ſubmit. This touched *Egmont* to the quick, who of the foure was only preſent when theſe Letters were read in Senate, he therfore profeſſed, that he and his Collegues had greivous Iniury done them by theſe men. But the Governeſſe thought her ſelfe moſt iniuried, her Power being looked upon as inferiour to the Authority of theſe Lords. Therefore implacably offended, ſhe reſolved to revenge this Scorne, and no longer expecting the kings Preſence; ſent for *Norcarmius*, and *Creſſonerius* an excellent Engineere, determining by their adviſe to lay ſpeedy Siege to *Valenciens*, appointing Commanders, and giving Order for all neceſſaryes. By *Norcarmius* ſhe ſent a Letter (writt in the Stile of Anger) briefe and decretory, to be delivered to the Magiſtrate, before he ſhould attacque the Towne; wherein ſhe commanded the *Valencenians* in the Kings name immediately to receiue foure Troopes of Horſe, and as many companies of Foote yeilding Obedience to *Norcarmius*, Governour of their province; which if they refuſed to doe, ſhe declared them Enemies to their King and Country. They obſtinately ſtood out, and therefore, by the Kings Edict, were proſcribed, and their Goods confiſcated. The Reaſons of this Proceeding the Governeſſe wrote ſeverally to the Provinces; "*That ſhe had* "*often admoniſhed the* Valencenians, *not to ſuffer the Hereticks, contrary to her agreement with the Covenanters, to poſſeſſe themſelves of* "*Catholique Churches, and to preach within the City: nor to protect* "*the Heads of the Conſpiracy, eſpecially* Grange *and his Companion, five* "*yeares before condemned at* Tournay; *if they could not doe it of them-*"*ſelves, then to receive a Garriſon from* Norcarmius *to that end; but* "*they contemning both theſe Propoſalls,* S H E *in the Kings name* "*declared them Tratours, and beſieged them, to bring downe their pride:* "*Commanding upon paine of death, that no one, either with Adviſe,* "*Armes, money, or otherwiſe ſhould preſume to aſſiſt them, or goe ar-*"*med within their Liberties, or be preſent at any of their Meetings; and* "*that whoſoever ſhould doe the contrary, did it againſt his King and Country.* This Newes troubled the whole Faction of the *Gheuſes*, and becauſe it much concerned them to incourage their Friends in ſuch an Exigent, preſently Letters were directed from the Conſiſtories of diverſe Cities to the *Valencenians* bidding them be reſolute, and feareleſſe, for ſhortly the beſieged ſhould be relieved :and the beſiegers called away to quench a fire kindled in another place.

Which offended C. Egmont. — *And much more the governeſſe.* — *Who reſolves to beſeige them* — *But firſt ſends againe to them to receive a Garriſon.* — *And vpon their refuſall declares them Rebells. Writing to the Provinces.* Decemb. 14 1566. Guy Brare of Mons. 1567. — *The* Gheuſes *every where perplexed.*

Nor were theſe vaine Brags. for a few dayes after, not farre from *Tournay*, 4000 of the *Gheuſes* tooke the Field, Vnder the command of *Sorean*. Their Deſigne was to take *L'iſle* the chiefe City of *French* Flanders. They were put vpon it by certaine Conſiſtorian Merchants, great rich men and dwellers in that City. The Plot was ſo laid, that vpon a day when *Maximilian Raſſinghem* Governour of *L'iſle* muſt neceſſarily be out of Towne, the calviniſts ſhould goe, as they were accuſtomed, to their Sermons in the Fields, and in their Returne the Souldiers of *Tournay* ſhould come in mingled among them, the Merchants undertaking to have an eye upon the Citizens of *L'iſle*, that they did not in their Comming back ſhut the Gates againſt them. In the meane time, to keep *Raſſinghem*, away, ſome Foote

The Tournay-Gheuſes *take up armes. With a deſigne to ſurprize* Iiſle. Decem. 22. 1566. 1567. — *The* Armenterians *conſpire.*

Foote Companyes, of the Towne of *Armenter*, had Orders to plunder the Country about *Liſle* The Governeſſe having intelligence of the whole Deſigne, writt in good time to *Norcarmius*, (Lying before *Valenciens*) with part of his Forces to oppoſe the enemyes Practice, firſt acquainting the Governour of *Liſle* with his advance. *Raſſinghem* had already heard of the Souldiers of *Armenter*, and without further delay, chuſing out 150 Foot, and about 50 Dragoones, fought with them neare the Village of *Waterloch*. The *Armenterians* were 300 and odd, moſt of them freſh water Souldiers, with a Captaine more ignorant then themſelves, one *Cornelius* a Calviniſt Miniſter, that from a Smith, was become a Preacher, and from a Preacher a Souldier. Nor did he then with any more ſkill handle his Armes, then he uſed to do his Text. For at the very firſt Charge, being frighted, relinquiſhing his men, this hare in a Helmet fled out of the Field. Two hundred and thirty of his Diſciples were ſlaine, and preſently ſtripped of their armes, leaving *Raſſinghem* Victorious without bloud. Who with his Triumphant Souldiers laded with the Spoiles of the enemy entering into *Liſle*, the newes of that ſudden execution made the feare of the City greater, then his honour by the Defeat of ſuch an inconſiderable Enemy. Their conſiſtoriall Counſell was therefore now at their witts end; and the Souldiers of *Tournay* hearing of the *Armentarians* Overthrow, retreated from *Liſle* to *Lanoy*, which ſhutting their Gates againſt them, their Generall *Sorean* indeavouring to take the Towne, gave *Norcarmius* time to overtake him. But before *Norcarmius* came vp, *Raſſinghem* vnderſtanding by the *Armenterian* Priſoners that the *Gheuſes* of *Tournay* were marching towards him, raiſing as many of the Country as he could upon the ſuddaine, reſolved inſtantly to fall upon them, not imagining that *Norcarmius* beſieging *Valenciens* had the ſame Deſigne. And it fortuned that *Raſſinghem* ſending out ſome Scouts, as the manner is, to diſcover the ſtrength and motion of the enemy, they fell vpon the like number of Horſe ſent by *Norcarmius* to the ſame intent, and as night and ſuſpicion doſes the mind, either Partly miſtaking their fellowes for the enemy, fired upon one another, and one or two being ſhot, retired, frighting and affrighted. While this Accident held *Raſſinghem* in ſuſpenſe, *Norcarmius*, by other meanes underſtanding the Enemy to be neere *Lanoy*, preſently marched thither, and going to order his men for a Bataille, he perceiued the *Gheuſes* too weake for the open Feild, by little and little fell backe into the lanes trenched with Ditches, and bulwarkt with Woods. Wherefore he ſent thither three Companyes of muſketteers, with ſome Pikes mixed among them, which he him ſelfe followed with the Horſe. The *Gheuſes* ſtood the firſt Charge indifferent ſtoutly, and ſhot off ſome ſmall Field-Pieces that guarded the mouth of the Lanes. Nay, though many fel, they filled vp their places with freſh men, & without much Difficulty taking the Advantage of thoſe Straits beat back the *Norcarmians*. But at laſt, the Avenue being opened by the Pikes, the Horſe and Foote breaking in, they gaue back, were routed, fled, and in the Flight (more Dangerous then in the Battaile) were killed like ſacrificed Beaſts: A few, with their Generall *Sorean*, but dividing themſelues, eſcaped through the woods. *Norcarmius*, with the Loſſe of only ſix men, having taken nine of the Enemyes Colours, twentie Field-Pieces, and two Barrells of Powder, thought it beſt to follow the Opportunity, and to march with his men (now fleſhed, and, deſirous of Victory) up to the Walls of *Tournay*: and ſending a Trumpet to the Towne, commanded them

Their Plot diſcovered.

Raſsinghem *falls upon the* Armenterians.

1567. *Deſtroys them.*

And following his Victory enters. Liſle.

From thence purſues them of Tournay.

The Errour.

1567. *Of their ſeverall Scouts.*

Norcarmius *comes firſt up on the Place.*

Fights with the Gheuſes *of* Tournay.

Makes a great ſlaughter of them. 1567.

Commands Tournay *to receive a Garriſon.*

them, in the name of the Governeſſe, to receive a Garriſon of his men: if they denyed, or pauſed, he would uſe his Victorious Armes. The Townſmen hearing, by ſuch as fled out of the Battaile, that their Army was defeated, being ſtruck with the ſuddaine and armed Summons of *Norcarmius* the Conquerour at their Gates, and Feare within their hearts, depriving them both of time and reaſon for conſulting, they yielded to mercy. He entered the Towne triumphantly, and forthwith diſarmed the people, ſending Souldiers from Houſe to Houſe (which he did afterwards through all the Signiory of *Tournay*) that tooke away their Armes, and carryed them to the Magazine. Then he impriſoned the Incendiaryes, and reſtored the Biſhop and Clergy to their Honour and Authority. Laſtly he put downe the Conſiſtoryes, and prohibited all ſuch kind of Meetings, the common Forges of Sedition, thereby abſolutely diſinabling the Hereticall Faction in that City. This done, by Command from the Governeſſe he made *Iohn Croy Count* of *Reuſe* Leiutenant-Governour of *Tournay* for *Montiny*, who was yet in *Spaine*; ſoe leaving eight Foot Companyes in the Towne, beſides 450 Garriſon Souldiers in the Fort, he returned to the Siege of *Valenciens*, and was ready to ſtorme it when the Governeſſe ſhould command. But ſhe being to conſult the King, preſently after the render of *Tournay*, with the Newes of the Victory, writt to his Maieſty her Reſolution to take *Valenciens* by aſſault, becauſe the beſeiged adding Obſtinacy to Rebellion, had made diverſe Sallyes out of the Towne, and beate vp the Quarters of his Maieſtyes men, as in Contempt of the King. His Maieſty though he diſliked not the Siege, yet intimated, that he ſhould have better liked noe Siege; now ſince it was gone ſoe farre, it concerned his Honour to continue it: but it likewiſe concerned his clemency and Affection to his Subjects, to forbeare the Battery of the Towne, and putting them to the Sword: leſt the fury of the Souldiers ſhould deſtroy the Innocent, together with the guilty. The Governeſſe ſhould therefore try all wayes to win the beſieged to yield without fighting, which was feizible, witneſſe the example of *Tournay*. But if the Rebells ſtubbornneſſe could not be broken, but only by Armes; his Majeſty would not have the Town ſtormed, before his pleaſure was known, and two Regiments come out of *Germany*. But theſe cautions were given to no purpoſe, the beſieged growing every day more obſtinat. Therfore the Governeſſe commanded *Norcarmius* to make his approches neerer, to look more narrowly unto the cutting off all Victuall, and commerce: and to preſent his Cannon and Army as prepared for a generall Aſſault; ſo by frighting and wearying the Enemy, to ſpinne out time, till the *German* Regiments ſhould arrive, commanded by *Oberſtein*, and *Scouwenberg*. She likewiſe writ to the King, that "*Mercy was fruitleſſe*, "*that ſhe and the Senate thought it neceſſary before they were better for*"*tified or relieved to take the Towne, which* Norcarmius *was of Opini*"*on might be effected in eight dayes; and that Delay would be dange*"*rous, leſt the Gheuſes (being inraged all over the* Low-Countryes, *and* "*upon the Borders of* France) *might have time to raiſe an Army.* "But "all this moved not the KING, who diſpatched back his Adviſo with "more then ordinary ſpeed, "*that they ſhould hold off, and rather take the* "*Towne by Feare, then by the Sword; perhaps ſtarved and wearyed,* "*they might yield: yet if there was no remedy, but to force them (which* "*he muſt leave to their Judgement that were upon the Place) then he* "*would have theſe commands principally obſerved. Firſt, that raiſing* "*their*

The City obeyes.

He enters as a Conquerour.

Puniſhes the Citizens.

Returnes to the Seige of Valenciens.

The Governeſſe conſults the King about ſtorming of the Town.

His Majeſty will not give way to it.

February 1

Whereupon the Governeſſe protracts the ſiege and drawes a line about the Towne.

Febr. 17.

She preſſes the King by Letters.

1567.

March 13.

The King wiſhes her to deal more gently with the beſieged and gives a rule for it.

1567.

"*their Batteries and planting their Cannon, they ſhould prove them with theſe "Preparations and Fore-runners of a Storme; leaving them in the meane "time ſome ſpace of Repentance. Then if they yielded not, they ſhould "ſtorme the Towne, and do the Duty of Souldiers: but yet forbeare to do "execution, not only upon Children, Old-men, and Women, but that "no Citizen whatſoever, ſhould be killed in cold bloud.* The Governeſſe well weighing this letter, though ſhe knew it was more mercifull then opportune (becauſe about the ſame time a Company of ſacrilegious Villaines, ſallying out of *Valenciens*, had fired certaine Monaſteries that ſtood neere the Towne, and brought the plunder of them into *Valenciens*) yet mindfull both of his Majeſties, and her owne moderation, ſhe reſolved to leave nothing unattempted. It was told her, the *Valencenians* bore an implacable hatred to *Norcarmius*; ſhe therefore ſent to them two of the Lords, *Lamorall* Count *Egmont*, and *Philip Croy* Duke of *Areſchot*: to ſee if they, by their Authority, could bring the Towne to conſider of their Safety. Theſe Lords ſending for the *Valencenian* Commiſſioners gently admoniſhed them, "*to lay downe their Fury "and Obſtinacy that would not ſecure them, when their Walls ſhould be battered with the Cannon; for to that day, their City had ſtood, not by "their ſtrength, but by the King's and Governeſſe's Mercy. That they found "by ſufficient experience, how vaine it was to expect forreine Ayde. That "the* French *ſtirred not in the Quarrell, and if they ſhould, it would bee "neither handſome nor advantageous, for the Low-country-men to be aſſiſted "by their antient Enemies. The Conſiſtories of* Antwerp, *being diſtracted "into factions; what had they yet done? Theſe of* Tournay *had taken "Armes, but were withall ſuppreſſed. They of the Bus and others, had enough to do to looke to themſelves; all the hope left them muſt be in* Tholouſe, *but he and his whole Army (let them not deceive themſelves) were "deſtroyed by* Beavor, *in the ſight of* Antwerp. *Who cou'd be now expected "or from whence, to come and raiſe the Siege? They ought therefore to redeeme their pride by their Repentance, and by their Duty, and Obedience "to prevent (whilſt yet they might) their Princes Indignation, and their "Countryes Ruine.* Having premiſed this, they read the conditions offered by the Governeſſe; that the *Valencenians* ſhould render their City, and receive a Garriſon, That after their rendring the Towne, and receiving a Garriſon, thoſe that would obey the King, ſhould have Liberty to remaine in *Valenciens*; the reſt immediately after the Surrender were to depart the Towne, carrying with them all their portable Goods. The Commiſſioners reported this Offer to the Senate and the People, which were prepoſſeſſed with wicked Counſels; their hearts hardned, eſpecially with *Grange's* Sermons, a man eloquent with a miſcheife to the Publique; They were confirmed in their Obſtinacy by a Rumour that *Tholouſe* had the Day, and *Beavor* was fled, cunningly given out by the Hereticks, to amuſe the Towne, and hinder them from crediting *Tholouſe* his overthrow, at leaſt to ſuſpend their beliefe, ſo long as the Commiſſioners treated. Who returning to *Areſchot* and *Egmont*, they, when they ſaw nothing was done by the *Valencenians*, and themſelves ſlighted, in great fury threatning the Towne, preſently diſmiſſed the Commiſſioners. And *Egmont* (whoſe military heart, and therefore more ſenſible of a Provocation, was grievouſly offended at the Obſtinacy of the Beſieged) that very day and the night following, with *Creſſonerius* in his Company, viewing the Walls, and ſounding of the Ditch, aſſured the Governeſſe,

She obeyes.

And ſends to them Count Egmont and Duke Areſchot.

Who perſwade them to obedience.

Propoſing conditions

but in vaine.

Bb that

A generall Aſſault reſolved upon.

that *Valenciens* might be taken in a very little time. But for as much as the King's commands were obeyed in admoniſhing and terrifying of the Towne, and that her Excellence heard the *German* Forces were at hand, ſpecially being vexed with the Newes of a Sally made by the *Valencenians* in the night to beat up Quarters, ſhe commanded *Norcarmius*, that making his Approaches ſtill nearer, without further Delay, yet according to the King's Inſtructions, he ſhould ſtorme the Towne. *Valenciens* is no leſſe ſtrongly then pleaſantly ſituated, part thereof ſtanding on a riſing Ground, and the reſt lying on a Levell, invironed with Walls, Towers, and Ditches; the River *Schelt* running through the midſt of it, and falling into the River of *Rouell*, they flow round about the Walls: and make the Place almoſt inacceſſible. But *Norcarmius*, knowing he had to do with an ignorant Enemy, and that the Towne was like a ſtrong Body governed by a weake Soule; finding the Ditch to be narrow in ſome places, and the Bankes by negligence fallen downe: with a great and gallant Reſolution began the Aſſault; and calling in part of his Forces, that were ſet to keep the Paſſes, and to cut off Proviſions, under the Command of *Gaſpar* Lord of *Bill*, he tooke *Mons-gate*, a Port of the Suburbs, in the night. From thence, with ſome Companies of *Haynolters*, plying thoſe that came upon the Walls with Muſket-ſhot, ſo as none durſt put out their Heads, *Creſſonerius* with wonderfull dexterity raiſed a Mount, ſcaled the Walls, and with the loſſe of very few of his men, obſerving the diſcipline of Warre, he faced and beat the Enemy from their Workes. And ſo dividing his Forces under the Commands of *Maximilian* Count of *Bolduc*, *Charles Mansfeldt Son* to Count *Erneſt*, and *Egidius* Lord of *Hierg*, he gave the generall Aſſault; firſt making his Battery with 10. pieces of great Cannon, then with 20. beſides other leſſer Guns, with ſo great an Impreſſion, that within leſſe then foure houres ſpace their prime Workes about the wall were beaten down. The Citiſens terrified with ſuch a beginning, ſent two Trumpets to intreat, that *Norcarmius* would pleaſe to give ſafe Conduct unto their Commiſſioners to treat for the preſent Render of the Towne. He gave them leave to come, but neverthelesſe the Cannon ſtill played upon the Battery; which haſtened the Commiſſioners, that were 20. who came about Sunſetting to the Generall, promiſing to yield up the City upon the ſame Termes, which three dayes before were offered by *Areſchott* and *Egmont*. But *Norcarmius* laughing at them, ſaid, '*Belike you think your condition to be as good to day, as it was three dayes ſince.* Valencenians, *you are wiſe too late. I never uſe to article with a conquered Enemy.* All that night he continued the Battery, giving them no time to repaire the Breaches made in ſo many places, that now the Ditch being filled up with the ruines of the Wall, the Souldiers might enter on even ground. But about two a clock in the afternoone the *Valencenian* Commiſſioners returned, and without any exception yielded the Towne and themſelves to mercy. *Norcarmius* ſounding a Retreate, juſt when his men were got up the Wall, and in hope to ſacke the Towne, ſent a Countermand, enjoyning them to containe themſelves within thoſe Bounds of Modeſty, which by Order from the King the Governeſſe had ſet downe. The Battery held 36. houres without any intermiſſion. It is reported, that 3000. Cannon were ſhot into the Towne, doing greater Execution upon Walls, then Men. The ſame day, being *Palme* Sunday, and making good the Omen of that victorious name unto the Conquerour, *Norcarmius* entred the Towne, with 13. Companies of

The Site of Valenciens.

1567.

Norcarmius. *takes the Suburbs.*

Gaſpar Robles Lord of Bill.

Caſts up a Worke againſt the Walls.

The Town is battered.

Egidius Barlaimont.

They ſend Commiſſioners with termes of ſurrender.

Which are not accepted.

They yield to mercy.

Norcarmius *enters the Towne.*

of Foote: and was met in the Streets with multitudes of women and Children with greene boughs in their hands, lamentably crying to him to have Compaſſion upon the Towne. He ſent them away, with gentle Language without the death of any man, or plunder of any houſe, though the Wealth of the Towne was a great Temptation, their Contumacy meriting Deſtruction. The Generall went to their Court, and firſt according to his Inſtructions, diſarmed the Townſmen, and tooke from the City their Cannon (which were 50) and all the reſt of their Munition. Then he cauſed Inquiry to be made for the Boutefeu's and Ringleaders of the Rebellion, with the Hereticall Preachers, and immediately laid 36 Principall rebels by the Heels: but could not take any one Miniſter, for they were ſlipt out of the Towne, though the Ports had preſently been ſhut up, or guarded with Souldiers; but being apprehended at St *Amands*, they were brought back, and committed to priſon. Afterwards, the Citiſens were beheaded, their Teachers and ſome of their Souldiers hanged. Laſtly the Magiſtrates, and Treaſurers, and all other publique Officers were removed from their places; their Charter and Priviledges forfeited, till the King pleaſed to reſtore them. The Governeſſe, writing all theſe Particulars to the King, and annexing a Liſt of the Commanders and Souldiers Names, that had done moſt gallant Service in the Siege, humbly craved Leave to remunerate their Valour and Fidelity out of Delinquents Eſtates, that the Souldiers might reap the Fruit of their Victory and Modeſty, and others be taught their duty. *Valenciens* being in this manner ſettled, and all conſecrated Places reſtored to their pious Vſes, the Biſhop of *Arras* likewiſe ſent for out of *Artois*, and eight Companyes charged vpon the Towne, that He might keep the people in the feare of God, and they in Obedience to the King: it was wonderfull to ſee, what a glorious name *Norcarmius* had got, and what an alteration it made among the Rebels, and Hereticks of all degrees, when they heard *Valenciens* was taken; inſomuch as it was commonly reported, that in this one Town were found the keyes of all the other Cityes.

1567. *Diſarmes the Citiſens.* *Puniſhes them.* *Takes away their priviledges.* *2. Aprill.* *The Governeſſe commends the Conquerors to the King.* *How highly Norcarmius was famed for reſtoring the civill and ſacred State of the Towne.*

In the meane while, her Excellence receiving a new expreſſe, ſignifying that *Ferdinand* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, was to come a little before his Majeſty. Whilſt in the *Lowcountryes* all went as well as ſhe could wiſh, ſhe thought it beſt to preſs, what ſhe had long ſince deſigned, a Proteſtation from the Magiſtrates and all Officers of Peace and Warre, wherein they ſhould ſweare, "*without exception to obey any that ſhould bee appointed in the Kings name.* Which ſhe did; not to ſound any ones mind, for ſhe could well diſtinguiſh the Kings Friends and Enemyes; nor in hope to oblige the Vnfaithfull, which ſhe knew was not to be done by any Tye; but that ſhee might with leſſe envy diſplace ſuch men as ſhould refuſe the Oath, or put them to death if they broke their Faith: by which meanes the King at his coming might finde all parts of the Lowcountryes pacifyed. The Governeſſe ſet this afoote in the begining of the yeare, and acquainting the Senate with it, told them, ſhe would take it as a ſpeciall Service, if the Lords would give Example; which the reſt would eaſily follow. The firſt that Voted for it, and promiſed to take the Oath, was *Peter Erneſt* Count *Mansfeldt*, then the Duke of *Areſchot*, and the Counts *Egmont*, *Mela*, and *Barlamont*, who afterwards performed what they then promiſed. But Henry *Brederod*, whom the Governeſſe, by expreſſe Meſſengers, and afterwards by Letters, vrged to take this Oath of Allegeance, as he that was both the Kings

15. March. *The conſternation of the Rebels.* *The Oath required of the Lords.* *Why the Governeſſe impoſed it.* *Who tooke it.* C. Brederod *refuſes,* *2. Febr.*

Subject and a Commander under him of a 100 horſe, of thoſe 1400 raiſed for the Saftety of the Provinces, a great while kept off, at laſt, becauſe he was commanded to lay downe his Commiſſion, complaining that he was unworthily and injuriouſly dealt with, refuſed the Oath, and ſent back the Horſe. The Oath was likewiſe refuſed, but with more Civility, by the Counts *Hochſtrat*, and *Horne*, becauſe they ſaid they had ſworne their Allegeance ſome yeares before, and that they hoped was ſufficient. *Hochſtrat* was at *Antwerp* Lieutenant Governour there for the Prince of *Orange*, who was then in *Holland*, and from this City gave Orders for *Machlin*, whereof he was Governour in his owne right. Therefore her Excellence that had long had an eye upon *Hotchſtrat*, as a man not to be truſted, gave away the Government of *Machlin* to the Lord *Semer*, one that was ſound in Religion and Fidelity: and wrote to *Hochſtrat*, how ſhe had provided for that City; which, the *Gheuſes* having lately had a plott upon it, required a Governour that ſhould be there reſident. *Hochſtrat*, as if he Vnderſtood not the Governeſſes Anger leſt he ſhould ſeeme likewiſe ſenſible of his owne Offence, in his Anſwer gave her infinite thanks that ſhe had then eaſed him of that burden; only whether he ſhould lay down his Commiſſion before the Senate of *Machlin*, or by Letter ſignify ſo much unto them, he expected her Highneſſes Commands: and if ſhe further pleaſed to ſubſtitute another at *Antwerp* in abſence of the Prince of *Orange*, he ſhould take that alſo for a ſpeciall Favour. But writing to Count *Manſfeldt* he layd aſide diſſimulation. For when the Governeſſe had returned, that ſhe better liked his writing to the *Machliners* about the Reſignation of his Government, & that Count *Manſfeldt* at the ſame time wrote him a Letter to the ſame effect, counſelling *Hochſtrat* as his Kinſman (for they were married to two Siſters of the *Momorancyes*, *Hochſtrat* to Elionor, and *Mansfeldt* to *Mary*) by all meanes to pacify the Governeſſe, he anſwered jeeringly, "*That he was "much bound to him, who having ſo many Imployments, whereby he much "eaſed the Dutcheſſe in her Government, could yet deſcend ſo farre as "to thinke of his poor Kinſman, and to Vouchſafe him his Adviſe; which "Adviſe notwithſtanding, he needed not, knowing well enough what was "to be done. In the meane time, he joyed him, of thoſe great Imployments, "which ſhortly would be increaſed beyond his ambition, by the coming of "ſo many Whelps out of Spaine and Italy.* The buſineſſe with the Prince of *Orange* went ſlowlyer on, and with more trouble. For he refuſing the Oath, among other Paſſages wrote to the Governeſſe, that ſhe would pleaſe to appoint a Governour for *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Burgundy*, ſince he underſtood it was the King's Pleaſure that he ſhould reſigne. This held the Governeſſe in Suſpenſe, becauſe ſhe was not willing he ſhould declare himſelfe an Enemy before ſhe had ſufficient Forces to ſubdue him. She therefore ſent to *Antwerp*, Iohn *Baptiſta Bertius*, her Secretary, that found the Prince of *Orange* onely imployed about his private Occaſions, and having Preſented his Letters of Credence from the Governeſſe, He made it appeare by many Arguments, that the Prince of *Orange*'s determination to reſigne his Commands, could not be approved, either by the Governeſſe or any of the Lords, not only becauſe it would be diſadvantageous to the *Lowcountryes*, and diſhonourable to the Prince of *Orange* himſelfe, but likewiſe becauſe ſuch kind of Governements confer'd by the Kings immediate Commiſſion, can neither be taken away by the Governeſſe, nor reſigned by him, without the King's Leave

And his command of horſe is taken from him

And from Count Hochſtrate *the Government of* Mechlin.

6. *Jan.* 1567.

Who diſſembles his indignation againſt the Governeſſe.

12. *Jan.*

But diſcovers it to Count Manſfeild.

15. *Jan.*

In theſe words

20. *Jan.*

1567.

18. *March.*

The Prince of Orange *likewiſe refuſes the Oath, and of his own accord reſignes his Governements.*

The Governeſſe ſends Bertius *to him.*

Who gives him Reaſons for taking of the Oath.

Leave That therefore he ſhould preſently reſume his Offices, and conſider it was no raſh Determination of his Majeſty, in this common Diſturbance of the Provinces to require, that their Governours, by a new Oath, ſhould teſtifie their Fidelity and Allegeance. The Prince of *Orange* re-plyed (in the preſence of Count *Hochſtrat*, who came in by chance) that for many and ſerious conſiderations, which he had as yet communicated to no man, he refuſed this Oath. Firſt, becauſe the like was never required of any former Governour; then, for as much as he had long agoe taken an Oath of Allegiance to the King, as other Lords did that lived within his Majeſty's Dominions, it might be thought he had broke his firſt Oath, in regard he was put to ſweare againe. Moreover, becauſe he had ſworne to preſerve the Priviledges of his Provinces, if peradventure he ſhould be commanded to the contrary, he could not obey the Order, being tyed by Oath not to doe it: and yet he bound himſelfe to obey it, if he ſhould now ſweare to doe what he ſhould be commanded in the King's name againſt any perſons whatſoever. Add to this, that in the Forme of the Oath the Emperour was not excepted, to whom as a feudatary he was obliged, and would not beare Armes againſt him; Nay more, there was no exception of his Sons and Friends, as the *Duke* of *Cleve*, and diverſe others, againſt which he would not fight. Another Reaſon was, for that many Edicts were daily publiſhed, making it capitall for all ſuch as were not Catholiques; which Edicts ſhould never be executed by his Authority, for his Heart would not ſuffer him to inflict ſuch puniſhments, as men were now liable to, for their Religion. Nay, if he ſhould take this Oath, he might be compelled, in the laſt place, to put his Wife to death, becauſe ſhe was a Lutheran. Laſtly it was to be conſidered, that he who commanded in the King's name, might be ſuch as it would not be conſiſtent with his quality and Honour to obey; and here, with Indignation, he named the *Duke* of *Alva*, and ſaid no more. For as it was reported, the *Duke* of *Alva's* coming troubled him exceedingly, his other Reaſons only were pretended, and becauſe invalid, therefore multiplyed. Nor would the Prince of *Orange* have loſt his Government for an Oath, but he thought it unſafe to truſt himſelfe in the hands of that *Spaniſh Duke*, by nature melancholick and cruell; and out of an ancient Emulation betwixt them, too likely to carry himſelfe proudlier in his Command; or if he ſhould be civill, yet the Prince of *Orange* could never brooke a man, from whom he muſt receive Common Civility in the nature of a Pardon. But *Bertius* ſufficiently inſtructed as well by nature, as by the Governeſſe, anſwered him prudently to every particular, He ſaid, it was no wonder, in regard the Provinces were not troubled in the time of their former Governours, that no ſuch Oath was required of them, That to take the ſame Oath againe, was not by a new Profeſſion to repaire the Violation of an old Vow, but to raiſe greater Alacrity in new Dangers. That to preſerve the Priviledges of the Provinces, the King had noe leſſe obliged his Faith, then the Prince of *Orange* his, and therefore it concerned his Majeſty to be careful, that nothing ſhould be commanded, which was Breach of Priviledge. Nor was the War in agitation, againſt the Emperour, or Empire, or the Duke of *Cleue*, all which he was aſſured the Governeſſe would very willingly let him except in his Oath. That the Care of the Edicts and Penall Lawes againſt Hereticks ſhould not be committed to him, much leſſe ſhould he be inforced by any ones Command to Puniſh his wife. Thus *Bertius* endeavoured to overthrow the Prince of *Oranges* Reaſons without men-

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The Princ[e of] Orange *he[ars]* *and anſwer[s]* *him with [rea-]* *ſons.*

The Firſt.

The Second

The Third.

The Fourth

The Fifth.

The Laſt an[d] *indeed the* *true Reaſo[n]* *concerned t[he]* *Duke of* Al[va]

Bertius rep[lies] *to every Pa[r-]* *ticular Alle[-]* *gation.*

But perſwa[des] *not.*

1567. mentioning the Duke of *Alva*; perhaps doubtfull how to anſwer that Point, perhaps becauſe, vpon the naming of his Wife, the Prince of *Orange* replyed (not expecting till he came ſo farre as *Alva*) that he knew the King, when he arrived in the *Lowcountryes*, would not ſuffer any mans Wife to be of another Religion; therefore, for his owne part, he was reſolved to remoue into *Germany* with his Family, before the King's Coming, leſt if he did it after, it might be ſuppoſed he was rather baniſhed, then that he departed of his own accord: neverthelesſe in what place ſoever he remained, he would live as became a Subject to his Majeſty, never omitting any thing that might conduce to the Kings Honour. *Bertius* ſeeing him not to be wrought vpon, at leaſt, not able to make a Peace, deſired a Truce, praying him (for this was part of his Inſtructions) that before his Departure he would giue a meeting to Count *Egmont*, and any other of the Lords that he himſelfe would name: whereunto he willingly condiſcended, and appointed *Willebroc*, a Village betweene *Bruxells* and *Antwerp* for the Place of Conference. Where on the one part the Prince of *Orange*, on the other *Egmont*, *Mansfeldt*, and (by Command from the Governeſſe) *Bertius* alſo met; and after they had treated diverſe times of the ſame things, they departed, having concluded nothing. They ſay, the Prince of *Orange*, before he went, taking aſide *Count Egmont*, ſpake of the preſent Dangers, and intreated him to withdraw, and by no means to ſtand this bloudy Spaniſh Tempeſt that hung over the Low-countryes. And when *Egmont*, confident in his owne merits, and ſcorning Danger, diſputed againſt his opinion, and how the King's mercy would pardon all, if he found the Low-countries quieted; This "*Mercy of the King* " (ſaid Orange) *that you truſt to, will be your ruine; My Soule preſages* " (*I wiſh it may be falſe,*) *that you are to be the Bridge the Spaniards will* " *tread upon in their comin over to the Low countryes.* At which words, as aſſured of his Propheſy, and that he ſhould never ſee *Egmont* againe, he held him hard in his Armes, and ſo, both weeping, tooke their laſt Farewell. Next day, he wrote a Letter to the Governeſſe, Intreating her, " *that ſhe would pleaſe to remember the King, and make a gracious Inter-* " *pretation herſelfe of the Paines he had taken now, and long ſince, both in* " *Peace and Warre for his Majeſtyes Honour and Advantage. And that he* " *himſelfe whereſoever he lived would alwayes be her Highneſſes moſt faith-* "*full Servant*". Immediately he removed with his wife and Children (all but his eldeſt Son, Philip whom he left a Student, in *Lovaine*) to his City of *Breda*, many of the Nobility waiting on him. Having ſtaid there awhile, he retired to *Cleueland*, and about the end of Aprill, to *Dilemburg*, the antient Seat of the *Naſſau's*. And *Egmont*, though he was troubled at the Parting of his Friend, ſoone after grew cheerefuller then ever. For now being quit of his old Rivall, and therefore aſſuring himſelfe of the firſt Place in the Governeſſes Favour, he began to offer his Service, and to be active in publique Affayres. Firſt taking the Oath, as he had promiſed, in the forme wherein it was adminiſtred, and putting downe the Conſiſtoryes in the lower *Flanders*, he in perſon, with ſix Companyes of Foote diſarmed diverſe Townes, and ſhewed himſelfe ſo averſe to the Deſignes of ſome of his Collegues, that by Count *Hochſtrats* Servant, their vſuall Meſſenger, he adviſed them to attempt nothing againſt Religion, the King, or their owne Honour; if they did, he would hate them worſe then a white Scarfe, which was the ordinary Weare of the *French* Horſe. This made *Hochſtrat* and the reſt ſend to him for the Originalls of all the Letters and

...et brings him a conference.

...othing done. ...he Prince of ...range's fare...ell-admoniti... to Count ...gmont.

...is Letter to ...e Governeſſe ...prīl 4.

...e leaves the ...ow countryes.

...gmont takes ...e Oath.

...ynes with the ...ing's Party, ...clares him...ſfe an enemy ... the Cove...nters.

...heir Friend...ip with him ... broken.

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and Petitions which he had at any time received from them, returning him thoſe he had ſent to them, an undoubted Argument that their Friendſhip was diſſolved. Notwithſtanding, the Governeſſe was feare-full, that all this might be cunningly diſſembled. But whether *Egmont* did it *bonâ fide*, now hating the proceedings of the Covenanteers, or whether he complyed with the Governeſſe, to take off the ill opinion conceived of him, now upon the King's Approach, certainly it was of much advantage to the Catholique cauſe. For many of the Covenanteers, the Prince of *Orange* having left them, and frighted to ſee *Egmont* with ſome of the greateſt Lords fall off, the reſt growing jealous of one another, every man ſhifted for himſelfe, and either perſonally or by friends petitioned the Governeſſe for their Pardons, and bound themſelves, as they were required, by a new Oath. Not long after, *Hochſtrat* and *Horne* wrote to the Governeſſe, promiſing to take the Oath in her preſence, nay the laſt named ſent a Copy of the Oath incloſed in his Letter. The Counts *Culemburg* and *Bergen* had now left the Low-countryes: *Lewis* of *Naſſau* followed the Prince his Brother. So, that Feare had ſevered the foure principall Confederates, excepting only *Bredrod*, who ſtill lived in hope. This cauſed an univerſall dejectedneſſe and conſternation of the Merchants, and Hereticks, complaining they were deſerted, contrary to the Covenant; and crying the Nobility had betraid them. This cauſed diverſe, eſpecially Miniſters, to fly; this incouraged the Governeſſe to uſe expedition, that whilſt the Heads of the Conſpirators were timerous and at difference among themſelves, ſhe might the more eaſily reduce the ſtubborne people to their antient Obedience.

Whereupon followes a great change.

Many renounce the Covenant.

The Conſpiratours leave the Low-countryes.

Eſpecially the Hereticks.

And now by command from the Governeſſe, *Norcarmius* with 21. Companies of Foote, and 10. piece of Cannon was to attaque *Maeſtricht*, in *Brabant*. But they of that City hearing of the Surrender of *Valenciens*, immediately turned out of Towne all the preaching Hereticks, and factious Teachers. Then, underſtanding that *Norcarmius* drew neare, they forthwith ſent Commiſſioners to the Governeſſe, to beſeech a pardon for what was paſt, promiſing for the future to continue faithfull to the King, and Biſhop. For part of *Maeſtricht* is ſubject to the Biſhop of *Liege*, and part to the King as Duke of *Brabant*; The Governeſſe gave them a ſhort Diſpatch, and referred them (ſoundly chidden) to be anſwered by *Norcarmius*. The Commiſſioners were no ſooner gone, but Meſſengers came from *Gerard Grosbeck*, *Biſhop* of *Liege*, aſſuring the Governeſſe that the Hereticall Sinke at *Maeſtricht* was now cleane ſwept, That many of the Citiſens with the Magiſtrate, even when that Plague was hotteſt, kept themſelves uninfected, That the Gentry and Communalty were not paſt Cure, as plainely appeared by the ſuddaine change made in the City, converted, chiefly by the endeavours of one of the Society, ſent for from *Colen* by the Biſhop; which Father dayly chalenging the Hereticall Doctours to diſpute, and dayly confuting them, had brought them a to perfect Recovery of their old Religion and Allegeance. And therefore the people, if they might but have a pardon, would ſatisfy for their Delinquency with more earneſt Obſervance, and were now ready to receive a Garriſon: though the Biſhop himſelfe did not conceive any neceſſity for making it a Garriſon, the Firebrands of the Rebellion being now extinguiſhed. Or if her Excellence were concerned in honour not to alter her Determination, that one or two Companyes would be ſufficient. That he himſelfe for his own part, had pardoned thoſe of *Maeſtricht*,

The Recovery Of Maeſtricht.

The Biſhop of Liege *intercedes for the Towne.*

Henricus Dionyſius.

1567. *ſtricht*, with promiſe to be a Suiter in their behalfe for the like pardon from the Governeſſe; the rather becauſe he conſidered himſelfe not only as their Prince, but as their Father, well knowing the mercy of the Governeſſe. Who thanking the Biſhop for his meſſage full of kindneſſe and charity, told them, it was not in her power to imitate their Maſter's Example: the King having taken from her all Authority of pardoning Offences of this nature: but ſhe was confident, they might hope no leſſe from the Kings Clemency. In the meane time, it was neceſſary, that a new Garriſon, which ſhe might confide in, ſhould be put in into *Maeſtricht* to prevent the practice of Traitours, that made ſure account of that Towne, lying no leſſe convenient to receive Succours out of *Germany*, then *Valenciens* for Ayde from *France*. She had therefore commanded *Norcarmius* to take *Maeſtricht*; but firſt to adviſe with the Biſhop: and to that end, ſhe had ſent *Turius* Secretary of her Privy Counſell to give him notice of their March. The Meſſengers replying, that *Maeſtricht* was not like other Townes of the *Low-Countryes*, becauſe part of the Juriſdiction appertained to the Biſhop. The Governeſſe anſwered not that particular, for ſhe uſed ſometimes to returne Silence for an Anſwer, ſaying, theſe that had not ill eares, would be ſufficiently anſwered by not being anſwered. The Army in the meane time made long Marches, with cheerefulneſſe proper to Conquerours, and invited forward by the hope of Plunder. But the *Maeſtrichers* were as quicke in yielding, and excepted againſt nothing which *Norcarmius*, in the Governeſſes name, commanded. Who entring the Towne, tooke the keyes from the Magiſtrate, and all their great Cannon and Munition from the City, diſarmed the Townſmen, hanged the Author of the Rebellion in the Market-place: and leaving *Egidius Barlamont* with part of his Forces in Garriſon, he with the reſt marched towards *Holland*, as the Governeſſe had appointed, to joyne himſelfe with *Charles Brimey* Count of *Megen*.

Why the Governeſſe denyes him.

Maeſtricht *yieldes.*

Norcarmius *puniſhes them.*

Of the Render of Bolduc *and* Antwerp.

The Citizens of the *Bus*, doubting which way the Conquerour would take, were ſo much the more fearfull of the Governeſſe, by how much they knew they had more juſtly merited her indignation. For by her Edict ſhe had proclaimed them Enemyes to the King, for their uncivill uſage and detaining of *Merodius*, and *Scheiff* Chancellour of *Brabant*, which ſhe had ſent unto them; for expelling Count *Megen*, and admitting *Bomberg*: which Edict confiſcated the Wealth of the City, and deprived them of all their Priviledges, till ſuch time as they ſhould returne her Commiſſ. The Townſmen though at firſt they ſlighted her Decree, yet at length better adviſed by the nearneſſe of the Danger, unknown to *Bomberg*, beſeeched the Governeſſe to grant a ſafe Conduct for certaine Commiſſ. of theirs to attend her Highneſſe in the name of the City. Which ſhe denyed to heare of, unleſſe they brought along her own Commiſſioners that were kept Priſoners at the *Bus*. Shortly after, the Chancellour and *Merodius*, being ſet at Liberty, arrived at Court, and told the Governeſſe, that *Bomberg* diſtruſting his Faction, daily mouldring away, had left the Towne with a band of men, the Citiſens being compelled for what he had acted to give their Approbation, and to pay a thouſand Florens in the name of a Donative. As they were ſpeaking, came in Commiſſioners from the *Bus*, deſiring a generall Pardon; that the Edict might be revoked; and that a Garriſon might not be impoſed vpon them. But the Governeſſe, offended with thoſe proud Demands, anſwered, That their Meſſage looked not like a Supplication made by Delinquents, and ſo put them off, till another Day.

They of the Bus *feare the Governeſſe's Army.*
And labour to appeaſe her.
But cannot doe it.

1567.

Nor ſuffering them to come any more into her preſence, ſhe commanded them, by the Chancellour and *Merodius*, to returne home, and teach their City not to Article with her for a Surrender, but to receiue a Garriſon as ſhe commanded. And that remembring their Offences, they ſhould leave themſelues & their fortunes to the Kings Mercy. The Governeſs was animated, as wel by the late Victory, as by the preſent Forces come from *Germany*, wherewith the *Bus* being terrifyed, ſent back their Commiſſioners rendring themſelues to the Governeſſe without Conditions, only they beſeeched her, that to prevent quarrell betweene the Townſmen and the Souldiers, they might haue a Garriſon of their owne Countrymen. And they receiued part of the *German Army* and their Generall Col. *Schovenburg*, who, together with a Senatour ioyned in Commiſſion with him by the Governeſſe, ordered the Common wealth; repealing indeed the Edict, but ſuſpending both Puniſhment and Pardon till the King's Coming. At the ſame time the Governeſſe was attended by Commiſſioners from *Antwerp*, craving Pardon for their paſt Delinquency, and promiſing that the Towne, now freed from the factious Inhabitants would hereafter be obedient Subiects. And truly, though the *Antwerpers* were the laſt that came in, yet they deſerved the greateſt Commendations, and much more their Pardons; becauſe the beſt of the Towne were forced to ſweate hard for it, before they could remove the ſwarme of Hereticall Preachers. For albeit moſt of them were ignorant people, rather wicked then ſubtle, their Greateſt underſtandings reaching no higher then Taverne-Politicks; yet they were growne ſo numerous & ſo ſtrong by the Aſſiſtance of wicked and factious Perſons, and had ſo captivated the affections of the Commons, that they were become abſolute Maſters of the Towne, and could not be outed but with greate paines and Trouble, and with a miſerable and manifold vexation of the City. The Body of one that is poſſeſſed with the Devill is not more deadly tormented, when the evill Spirit is expelled by the power of the holy Exorciſt, then all *Antwerp* was ſhaken by the Threatenings and Curſes of this Legion of Miniſters and Fugitiues: that long ſtrugled, and at laſt was forced to leaue it. But the Governeſſe though ſhe was glad at heart to ſee Commiſſioners from ſo great a City, yet diſſembling her Ioy, grievouſly rebuked them; and ſaid, there was no talking of a Pardon, till they had received a Garriſon: that done, ſhe promiſed them, to uſe her beſt endeavours, in preferring their Supplication to the King. In the interim ſhe would forbeare to puniſh that contumacious and rebellious City, excepting only the cheif Rebells, and the Sacrilegious people. As ſoone as the Commiſſioners were returned with this Anſwer, they were ſent back from *Antwerp* to offer the Towne, and ſaid, the Citiſens were in the power of the Governeſſe, if ſhe pleaſed to Command a Garriſon they would receiue it. Her Excellence, much commending their Reſolution, replyed (as if ſhe meant it for an Honour to them, which ſhe intended for ſecuring of the Towne) that ſhe would come in perſon to *Antwerp*, and honour with Her Preſence the Rendition made by her deareſt Subiects. The next day ſhe commanded Count *Manſfeldt* to goe before with 16 Enſignes, of her beſt Foote, And he for feare of a Mutiny among the people, being to guard the Paſſages, with Cannon planted at the turnings of the ſtreets, entred the Towne, as if he were to ſtorme it: and ſecuring the Market-place and every part of the City with Musketteers and Cannon, he receiued the Governeſſe; who came about the end of *Aprill*, with great pomp, not only waited upon by his Souldiers

They yeild to mercy.

18. *Aprill.* Antwerpe *ſues for pardon,*

which they deſerve for turning the Hereticks out of Towne,

It being a very difficult worke

The Governeſſe will not grant their Pardon unleſſe they take a Garriſon of her men.

They yeild upon her Excellencies owne termes.

She ſending her Army before,

that

1567. that were 1200. but by the Magiſtrates, Gouernours of Provinces, Knights of the Golden-Fleece, and Senatours of the three Eſtates; Entring the Towne in manner of a Triumph, with great concourſe and Acclamations of the people; Attended with all thoſe eminent perſons, her Highneſſe went directly to the great Church, dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, where ſhe beheld the miſchiefe done by thoſe damned Villaines, which had defaced that goodly Building. The ſight wereof drew teares from her eyes; but now, occaſion being offered for ſome kind of reparation, it partly qualified her griefe. Therefore cauſing *Te Deum* to be ſung, ſhe publiquely gave thanks to God, and privately to the bleſſed Virgin, that without warre or bloud ſo great a City was returned to their Religion and their Prince. Then ſhe applyed her ſelfe to regulate the Common-wealth; wherein her firſt care was to do right unto the Church: and ſending for the Biſhop of *Cambray*, the Altars and Churches, which the ſacrilegious had either pulled down or prophaned, began to be new built and purified with Canonicall Ceremonies, and (which was beſt of all) furniſhed with active men, fit for the Cure of Soules. Afterwards looking upon the Government of the Towne, ſhe examined who were Authours of the Rebellion, and what Magiſtrates had been negligent, or falſe: and a Particular was brought her of all the Armes, which ſhe tooke from the People.

Enters the Towne Triumphantly,

Reſtores things ſacred,

And orders the Civill Government of the City.

While the Governeſſe was thus imployed, ſhe heard, Embaſſadours were come from the Electours of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, from the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Marqueſſe of *Baden*, and the *Lantgrave* of *Heſſen*, which Princes the Hereticks, that had loſt all and fled out of the *Low-countryes*, uſed as their laſt Refuge for Aſſiſtance. The Governeſſe imagining what their buſineſſe was, ſent *Scaremberg* her Secretary for the *German* tongue, to meet the Embaſſadours, and to deſire, that they would paſſe no further, becauſe their coming could not, at that time, be ſeaſonable, either for the City, not yet throughly quieted, or for the Governeſſe, taken up with the Care of ſetling it. That for the preſent it would be beſt to acquaint him with the heads of their Embaſſage, and they themſelves might come at another time more opportunely. But they, affirming that would not conſiſt with the Dignity of their Maſters, were admitted: and under pretence of attending them, Gourtiers and Souldiers were put upon them for Guards and Spyes. The next day, they had audience, before the Lords, and one of them, after he had ſpoke a formall Preamble, read a Booke, written in High Dutch, that with many tedious and odious calumniations, concluded; "*that the profeſſion of* Auſpurg, *being more agreeable to* "*the word of God then the Catholique Religion, ought to be received in the* "*Lower* Germany, *at leaſt not prohibited by Edicts and penall Lawes; The* "*Governeſſe was therefore deſired by the Princes of the Higher* Germany, "*that the People, otherwiſe inoffenſive, might not be troubled for their Re*-"*ligion, and expoſed to the Tyranny of the* Spaniſh Inquiſition *and other* "*cenſures of Law.* The whole Preſence being moved with indignation at his words, he gave the Booke to the Governeſſe. Her Excellence, when the Embaſſadours withdrew; adviſing about it in Councell, infinitely diſpleaſed, delivered her opinion, that they ſhould be returned without Anſwer. But it was thought more civill, that Secretary *Scaremberg*, ſhould anſwer them in theſe words. "*That the Embaſſadors preamble con*-"*cerning Religion, was not worthy of a Reply. What they had ſaid in ex*-"*cuſe of the ſtubborne Rebells and Church-Robbers, demonſtrated, that the* "German

An Embaſſage ſent from the Princes of Germany,

Which the Governeſſe would gladly have put off,

But they are admitted,

And heard,

Speaking out of a Booke,

To whom ſhe returnes this Anſwer.

1567.

"German *Princes gave leſſe credit to the King of* Spaine's *and the Gover-*
"*neſſe's Letters, then to the complaints of ſeditious men; whoſe innocence*
"*belike appeared in Sacriledge, forcing of Magiſtrates, and ſtirring up*
"*the People to Rebellion. Therefore from the Governeſſe, they ſhould admo-*
"*niſh thoſe that ſent them, to give the King leave to govern his owne Sub-*
"*jects, and not by their patronage of Rebells to foment diſcords within ano-*
"*ther Prince's Juriſdiction.* The Embaſſadours replyed, they came only to intreat for their Brethren of the confeſſion of *Auſpurg*, that were not Rebells; but they had no anſwer to that point. And foure dayes after their Arrivall, they returned, ſeeming very much diſcontented all, but the Embaſſadour of *Saxony*, who, unknowne to the reſt, told the Governeſſe, that his Maſter by others perſwaſions was over-ruled in the ſending of this Embaſſy, for he himſelfe was affectionate to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and it was his deſire to be ſo accounted. The Embaſſadours were not gone out of Towne, when newes came that the Covenanteers were overthrown in *Holland*, and *Brederod* forced to depart the Country, 4000. of thoſe Rebels under the Command of *Andelot*, *Vinglius*, and *Leſdale*, had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Holland*, vexing and plundering the Country: Moſt of which, thinking to ſurpriſe *Amſterdam*, were met by Count *Megen* with 13. Companyes of valiant Souldiers that not only ſpoyled their project of taking the Towne, but alſo purſued and forced them into *Waterland*, a mariſh part of *Holland*, and therefore inacceſſible. Yet they were affraied that to this very place they ſhould be followed by *Megen*, with whoſe Forces it was reported *Norcarmius* would joyne. Therefore they tooke ſhipping for *Frizeland*, but were caryed, the wind lying againſt them, into *Gelderland*: from thence diſperſing themſelves into ſeverall Countryes, they all eſcaped out of the King's Dominions. Only one Ship, laded with the Spoyle of the Holland-Churches, and manned with 120. Souldiers (aboard which was *Andolott*, *Vinglius*, and the two Brothers, *Giſbert* and *Theoderick Battinburg*) either by violence of the Storme, or practice of the Maſter *Duncher Harling*, came into the hands of *Erneſt Mulart*, who had Count *Aremberg's* Commiſſion to give chaſe to the Fugitives with a nimble Pinnace. The Souldiers loſt all their Armes and plunder, ſome of them their lives. The principall Commanders were by warrant from the Governeſſe impriſoned, ſome at *Harling*, others at *Vilvord*, and a few Months after, when the Duke of *Alva* was Governour of the *Low-Countryes*, they were put to death. Of all the confederates only *Brederod* yet remained, proud in the hope of recovering *Holland*: and glorying that he alone was head of the Covenanteers. The Governeſſe ſending him a command to depart from *Amſterdam*, *Brederod* not only refuſed to obey, but likewiſe detained the Meſſenger, her Secretary *Turrius*, who in the King's name charged him forthwith to leave the Towne; but he would not ſo much as heare the Royall Edict read, and taking away the Secretaryes Letters and Notes kept him in his Houſe. But the Magiſtrate offended at his diſhonourable proceeding, and frighted with newes of the Render of *Valenciens*, ſent away *Turrius* by night, without acquainting *Brederod*. Who, ſeeing the *Gheuſes* every where beaten and deſtroyed, the Covenanteers flying or making of their peace; and all the burthen both of the Danger and Hatred to lye upon himſelfe, trying to get his pardon, but in vaine; and laſtly, hearing how the reſt of their Forces in *Holland* were either routed, or ſlaine; out of heart, and frighted with the Report of the King's coming,

They are diſmiſſed, all of them unſatisfied,
Save the Saxon-*Embaſſadour.*

The Covenanteers go downe the wind in Holland,

Out of which they are beaten by Count Megen,

Their Plunder-ſhipps taken by Count Aremberg's *men.*

C. Brederod *the remaining Conſpiratour at firſt braves the Governeſſe,*

At laſt his heart failes him,

1567. *And he departs the* Low-Countryes,

May 1.

And this life.

Holland *ſubmits.*

So doth Zeland, *The* Groine *and* Frizeland, *And all the infected places of the* Netherlands

The Governeſſe puts Garriſons into all the Townes rendred fines them, deſignes Forts,

Executes the principall Rebells, repaires the Catholicks Churches, deſtroyes the heretícall Temples.

And this with wonderfull contention and alacrity of the People

Laſtly ſhe reſtores the Low-countryes to their former tranquility.

coming, he fled his Country, and for the preſent waved his hopes of the Principality of *Holland*. With expedition thereof ſetling his Affaires, and leaving a few of his Servants in the Fort at *Viana*, his patrimoniall City; with his Wife and the reſt of his Family, he arrived at *Emden*, a City of *Eaſt-Frizeland*, at the mouth of the River *Eems*: Being received with no great honour at *Emden*, he went to *Breme* in *Weſtphalia*. Deſirous to change place againe; and uncertaine as well in his Reſolutions, as in his Journeys, becauſe he found himſelfe mockt with the Hope of a Crowne, and not able to digeſt the diſgrace of being only titulary Prince of the Covenant: whilſt he was raiſing ſome Forces in the County of *Schouwenburg*, and ſolliciting the Count of that place, *Juſtus*, to declare himſelfe againſt the *Low-Countryes*, he ſickned, and falling into a diſtraction, dyed raving, in the Towne of *Schouwenburg*. After *Brederods* Flight all *Holland* was reduced. For not only *Viana* by ſpeedy Meſſengers ſued for their Pardon and a Garriſon, though they obtained neither: (their pardon being deferred till the King's Arrivall, and the Governeſſe ſignifying her pleaſure that the works of the Towne ſhould be ſlighted and the Fort diſmantled, that was built contrary to her command) but likewiſe *Amſterdam*, *Leyden*, *Harlem*, and *Delph* made it their humble and earneſt Suite, ſome to Count *Megen*, ſome to *Norcarmius*, to ſend them Garriſons. The like did *Middelburg* and the other Townes of *Zeland*, as alſo *Groening*, *Daventrey* and all *Frizeland*, ſubmitting to their Governour *Aremberg*. Laſtly, there was no City, Towne, Fort, or village of the *Low-Countryes*, that did not ſtrive to turne out the Hereticall Doctours, and ſeditious Incendiaries, yielding themſelves to the King's Pleaſure and Mercy. Yet was the Governeſſe no leſſe vigilant or ſecure, notwithſtanding all this proſperity, having for many yeares had the Experience of good and bad Fortune: Wherefore being more carefull to eſtabliſh, then, for the preſent, to enjoy her Felicity; ſhe placed Garriſons in the Townes, that were rendered, ordering the Cityes to pay the Souldiers, as a Fine for their Delinquency. In ſome places ſhe modelled Forts, particularly at *Antwerp*, where ſhe her ſelfe deſigned the Situation, nor was it altered by the Duke of *Alva*. The Church-Thieves and principall Rebells were arraigned, condemned, and hanged, and the Churches repaired with their confiſcated Eſtates, or with the remainder of the publique Compoſition-money. Hereticall Temples built in diverſe Cityes, ſhe commanded to be pulled downe, which the people did with ſo good a will, that at *Gant* (which is almoſt incredible) a great *Lutheran* Synagogue in one houres ſpace was levelled with the Ground. You would think theſe were new Cityes and new People, which a few months before, having been zealous to the cauſe, and ſtood Body and Soule in defence of the Hereticall Party, were ſo changed, as to offer their ſervice in pulling downe of their Temples, as if that could excuſe. Indeed they deſtroyed the Monuments and Memoriall of their Fault with ſuch ſpeed, eſpecially in the Province of *Flanders*, that the beames of the Churches which they ruined, ſerved for Gallowſes to hang their late Worke-men and Audience. Thus, the fire kindled by the peoples diſcontents, blowne to a flame by the Bellowes in the Pulpit, fed by the Emulation of the Lords, and finally ſcattered abroad by the faction of the *Gheuſes*, devouring and deſtroying the *Lowcountries*, was ſo damped and extinguiſhed by the Governeſſe; that Religion and Obedience were every where reſtored, the Hereticks reſtrai-

ned

ned by puniſhment, or forced to fly the Country; ſome few getting their Pardons, others forfeiting their Eſtates, and living in Baniſhment: ſo as the Covenanteers were reduced to poverty and the wallet, that is, they were made *true Gheuſes*, and at laſt all the *Lowcountryes* enjoyed their antient Peace and Tranquility. One thing amidſt ſo many happineſſes did not a little afflict the Governeſſe, who obſerved that multitudes of *Lowcountrymen*, which could not make their peace, frighted with report of the Army comming out of *Spaine*, daily left their Habitations, and to the great dammage of the Cities, carried away their Merchandiſe, & Manufactures, and conſequently the Gaines, into other Nations. Wherefore ſhe had often intreated his Majeſty, that either he would give her Authority to pardon and ſettle the Provinces, or elſe (which ſhe thought would be beſt) to come himſelfe among his Subjects, now quiet, and willing to obey: not terrifying them with an army, but receiving them to mercy. And the Later of theſe two Courſes the King indeed in many of his Letters to the Governeſſe promiſed to make uſe of. But how he came to alter this *reall* or *pretended* Reſolution, and in ſtead of Coming in Perſon to ſend *Ferdinand Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, his Lieutenant thither, becauſe it was the great buſineſſe of *Spaine*, and for a whole yeare agitated at the Councell Board; I will here with my beſt induſtry give you a full view of thoſe Proceedings.

1567. *The* Gheuſes *were made* Gheuſes *indeed*

Many Families leave the Lowcountries *which very much troubled the Governeſſe,*

For remedy whereof ſhe ſollicits for the Kings preſence there.

The Governeſſe from the very begining, deſired the Kings Preſence, and wrote out of her experience of the preſent Evill, and her foreſight of a greater yet to come, that it was incurable without an Application from his *Royall Hand*; which the Lowcountrymen would take for a Favour, leſt they ſhould be forced to indure torments inflicted by a *Servant.* Many *Spaniſh* Lords of the Councell were of the ſame Opinion, nay *Pope Pius* the fifth wrote Letters, and ſent *Peter Camaianus* Biſhop of *Aſculum*, to perſwade him to paſſe with an Army into the *Lowcountryes*, where, no doubt, his preſence would compoſe the Motions of his Subiects, and timely prevent the private Deſignes of ſome great Perſons. But if, in ſuch a precipitate Miſcheife, he ſhould either delay his going; or act there, by any of his Miniſters of State: he much feared the *Lowcountryes* might change their Religion, and the King loſe the *Lowcountryes.* His Majeſty upon theſe and the like Adviſes from the *Netherlands*, *Spaine*, and *Rome*, reſolved to go in perſon, Commanders were liſted, Shipping provided, and his meniall Servants, that were to attend him, named. And leſt this warrelike Preparation might beget a Ielouſy in the minds of princes, his Majeſty ſatisfied them by his Ambaſſadours of his true Intent in that Expedition againſt the *Lowcountrymen.* The King of *France* was deſired to giue the *Spaniſh* Army Paſſage through the Provinces of *Narbon* and *Lions.* To *Emanuell Filibert Duke* of *Savoy*, upon whom he much relyed; the King ſent *Iohn Acugnia*, to adviſe with him, what time, & by what way, he he would direct him to bring his Army; and which were the moſt dangerous Places for Ambuſcadoes: and to intreat him to ſend his Majeſty a Chart exactly deſcribing the Cityes & Forts, by which every day his Souldiers were to march, with the locall intervalls & dimenſions; who therfore deſired the whole Country between *Savoy* & *Burgundy* might be accurately meaſured and put in Colours; to which end *Gabriell Cueva* Duke of *Alburcher* Governour of *Millaine*, ſhould ſend him Captaine *Campin* an exquiſite Enginere, with a painter and a Surveyer, leſt his Majeſty might might upon the way encounter any thing new, upon which he had not precon-

Touching the Kings expedition for the Netherlands *which the Governeſſe holds neceſſary.*

Pius *the* 5th. *Perſwades the King to goe,*

1566. *And Propheſies.*

K. Philip *aſſents and prepares for the journey.*

Whereof he gives notice to the Princes of Europe,

particularly

To the D. *of* Savoy, *whoſe directions His Majeſtie deſires for the ſafety of his March.*

1567. *Yet all this was diſſembled as* Strada *conceives,*

preconſidered. But the more earneſtly and formally the Particulars were requeſted, the leſſe they were intended for Security, being only to amuſe the world: and in all theſe Punctualityes and curious Accommodations for his March, there was nothing of ſubſtance, all meerly Show and Colour. Nor can any man perſwade mee that King *Philip*, a ſubtill and ambitious Prince, would at that time, leave his chiefe ſtrength, when he found ſome beginnings of the Rebellion of the *Moores*, and was inwardly ſo much offended with his Son *Charles*, Prince of *Spaine*. For ſhould he take his Son along into the *Low-Countries*, and bring the Lords a Patron for their cauſe, which the Prince was thought privatly to favour? or leave him behind, and truſt him with *Spain*, which it was likely he would involve in Tumults when he was left to himſelfe, whoſe fierce nature even his Majeſty could hardly moderate in the time of peace. But the King concealed theſe Reaſons, and with new Preparations fed the Rumour of his Voiage, thereby to keepe the *Lowcountry-Lords* in more obedience, and to have the fairer Pretence to put off the Emperour (whom the Lords as it was ſaid meant to make Arbiter) from intereſſing himſelfe in the buſineſſe of the *Lowcountryes*: and by the fame of an Army to deterre others from fomenting the Faction of the *Gheuſes*. The King was holpen in his diſſimulation by a quartan Ague, which holding him long, was thought to be the Cauſe of his Delay, eſpecially for that he ſtill continued his care and proviſions for the Voiage. Though ſome of his neareſt Servants knowing all this to be but Pageantry, ſuſpected his Ague likewiſe to be fained. But when the King was recovered, and that by Letters from the Governeſſe his Majeſty was certified of the Rebellion of ſome Townes, and Danger of all, unleſſe prevented by his Coming: quickned with Griefe and Anger, he made all things ready with ſuch formall Haſt, as not a Servant in his Court, no not the *Lowcountry-Embaſſadours*, the Marquis of *Bergen* and the Lord *Montin*, that had often Laughed at the Comedy of the Royall expedition, did now doubt the truth of it: yet ſtill the King did but act his part, & was not ſerious. For among other diſſuaſions from his Voyage, Letters came from the Governeſs giuing him intelligence; that the Lords were reſolved, if the King (as they heard) would bring an army into the *Lowcountryes*, that they themſelves would call in forreigne Aſſiſtance, and caſting off their Allegeance oppoſe his Entry. Which howſoever he diſſembled, or publiquely ſeemed to ſlight, queſtionleſſe he that was ſo jealous of his Crowne and Honour, muſt needs be very ſenſible how much both would be indangered, if by carrying an Army thither he ſhould teach the *Lowcountryes* how to arme, ſo render himſelfe contemptible to his Subiects; and to the neighbour Princes, that would looke on, or perhaps ſecretly aſſiſt the Rebells. Therefore in the laſt Conſultation which he held about it at *Madrid*, his Majeſty would only have it put to the queſtion, Whether he ſhould goe without an Army, which ſome perſwaded: or take his Forces along: which the *Popes Nuntio* earneſtly adviſed. Among his Privy-Councell, which then were numerous, and great Stateſmen, becauſe the King greatly relyed vpon their Iudgements; there came to the Board *Ferdinando Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, *Roderick Gomez a Silva* Prince of *Ebora*, both of them very powerfull with the King: but as Favour tooke place of Eſtimation, he was greater in his Majeſtyes Account, this had the greater Honours conferred upon him. There was likewiſe Cardinall *Spinoſa*, who from very meane beginnings, was advanced to be chiefe Inquiſitour and Pre-

For theſe reaſons.

How the King was advantaged by this diſſimulation.

A part well acted.

Yet not ſo well but ſome ſaw through it.

The Governeſs preſses the Kings comming with new Arguments. And perſwades him,

Though Strada *is of opinion that all was but jugling for theſe Reaſons.*

A Councell about the Kings going.

The Councellors and their Characters.

D. Alva. Rui. Gomez. P. of Ebora.

Cardinall Spinoſa.

1567.

Preſident of the Councell of *Caſtile*, and had beene of ſo high Authority in King *Philip's* Court, that he was called the *Spaniſh Monarch.* There was alſo *Gomez Figueroa*, Duke of *Feria*, Iohn *Manric de Lara*, and Anthony *de Toledo* Knight of St Iohns of Hieruſalem and Prior of *Leon*: all excellent and active wits. But *Feria*, beſides the vaſt indowments of his mind, exceeded them all in handſomneſſe and ſweetneſſe of diſpoſition. *Manric* was conſpicuous for Prudence: the Prior for Religion. Then ſate *Bernardo Freſneda* the Kings confeſſar, a Franciſcan; *Anthonio Perez* Privy Seale, and diverſe others, moſt of them Councellours of approved integrity, and ſuch as ſeriouſly intended their Prince's Honour; which notwithſtanding, as every one was of a ſowre or gentle temper, they interpreted according to their owne inclinations. Thus it is that all men forme their Opinions; and the Vote which nature extorts, we thinke is given to the Cauſe, when indeed we give it to our Humour. The King himſelfe ſate in Councell, to moderate by his preſence the publique and continuall Iarres between the Duke of *Alva*, and the Prince of *Ebora*, contending no leſſe for ſuperiority at the Board, then for preheminence in Court. Or rather his Majeſty came in perſon, that if any one (which he heard was deſigned) ſhould move for his Son to be Generall, he himſelfe might breake off the propoſall. And there was one that perſwaded the ſending of an Army, remembring his Majeſty of *Tiberius Cæſar*, that left forrein Warres to the Managery of his Sonnes. But immediately Prince *Roderick*, who very well underſtood the King, as if he approved that part of the Adviſe for the King's Security; tooke the Speech out of the others Mouth, and by degrees brought it to this, "*That he could not but think it unſeaſonable to "exaſperate quiet and obedient Subjects with an Army: thereby ingaging the "Hereticks their Neighbours to aſſiſt their Brethren; That the Fire of Civill "War is carefully to be watched, eſpecially in ſuch a place where they are neere, "that feed the flame, and they farre off that muſt extinguiſh it, though in-"deed it can never be extinguiſhed without the Conquerour's Loſſe. For in the "civill Ruine of Cityes, Men, and Fortunes, the* Prince *loſes whatſoever is "taken from the conquered. The Offences till that day committed by the Low-"country-men, were ſufficiently puniſhed and ſubdued by his Majeſtyes "Siſter: and if any thing were unſubdued, it was their minds, not their "their bodyes, but thoſe ſhould be conquered not by Armes, but Favours; be-"ing more agreeable to the King's Clemency, and to the nature of the Low-"country-men, of whom his Father* Charles *the Fifth was wont to ſay, There "is no people under Heaven (ſo they be fatherly uſed) that more abhorre ſer-"vitude, or more patiently indure it.* Then ſumming up the expence of an Army, the Dangers, the Jealouſies of Princes, he concluded. "*That nothing "was ſo intricate in the* Low-countryes, *or ravelled into ſuch hard knots, "but might be eaſily, and gently untyed, without drawing of a ſword to cut it. "Certainly forrein Troubles might be compoſed at diſtance by a Prince, with-"out diminution to his Authority, reſerving his preſence for caſes of extreame "neceſſity*; This Counſell of *Roderick Gomez* was the ſenſe of a man potent at Court, whoſe principall Aime was peace and quiet; and his greateſt Policy to prevent a Warre, where the buſineſſe, and conſequently the Power ſhould be transferred to others. Of the ſame opinion was *Bernardo Freſneda* a plaine and ſweete-natured man: and *Anthonio Perez* a Creature of Prince *Roderick's*. But the Duke of *Alva* was for Armes and Revenge, as the only cure for Wounds given to Religion and Royall Authority. For "*by other Artifices and facility nothing was effected, but the taking*

"*away*

Duke of Feria Manr. de Lara. Antonio de Toledo.

Freſneda the Kings Confeſſor. Antonio Perez.

Why the King was there in perſon.

Manric. de Lara.

The Prince *of* Ebora's *opinion*

Freſneda *and* Perez vote *with the Prince.*
The Duke of Alva's *judgement quite contrary.*

1567.

“ *away obedience from the King, and feare from the Rebells. At firſt the*
“ Low-country-men *deſired only to be freed of the* Spaniſh *Garriſons,*
“ *and proteſted nothing elſe was wanting to quiet the People. But when our*
“ *Souldiers were disbanded, were the people quieted? or the rather, and*
“ *with the more confidence did they not demand that* Granvell *ſhould be re-*
“ *moved from the Governeſſe and the Helme of State, which he protected:*
“ *never deſiſting, till with baſe Libells, ridiculous Fooleryes, and traiterous*
“ *combinations, at laſt they extorted their deſires. But peradventure*
“ *when one man was caſt overboard, it laid the wind which raiſed that popu-*
“ *lar Tempeſt? No rather, as Licentiouſneſſe more eaſily increaſes then begins,*
“ *having now got ground, as men imboldened by our Gentleneſſe, they publiſh*
“ *ſcurrilous Pamphlets againſt the Multiplication of Biſhopricks, the Revivall*
“ *of the Emperour's Edicts, the Councell of* Trent, *and the* Pontifician *In-*
“ *quiſitours; they petition, but with their ſwords in their hands; they fright*
“ *the Governeſſe with Threats, and weary the King's patience with obſtinate*
“ *and impudent Meſſages. Whereupon the King, out of his clemency, con-*
“ *ſidering himſelfe as a Father, was pleaſed to moderate ſome of his Decrees:*
“ *and the Governeſſe to grant ſomething more then ſhe ſhould have done to*
“ *ſuch baſe Petitioners. For what wrought her Indulgence, but only, that when*
“ *they had obtained their Requeſts, by not obeying they forgot themſelves to*
“ *be ſubjects, unlearned their Principles of Obedience, and ſhaking of Alle-*
“ *geance to their Prince, made an Aſſociation of the Provinces, as if the num-*
“ *ber of offendors ſhould ſecure them: and undervaluing all things humane*
“ *and divine, in compariſon of the Liberty they had once taſted off. Indeed*
“ *his Father* Charles *the fifth, who was not ignorant of the Low-country-men's*
“ *natures, had then demonſtrated how they ſhould be uſed, when omitting all*
“ *milder remedies he chaſtiſed his rebellious Country-men with Armes, and ſo*
“ *reduced them. But now it was not one City, but all the Provinces had con-*
“ *ſpired againſt God and the King. Nor becauſe the Rebells ſit ſtill for the pre-*
“ *ſent, are their hearts therefore brought downe, but will reſume their Armes,*
“ *when they are not awed by the Terrour of Revenge. For the moſt venemous*
“ *Serpents may be ſafely handled in Winter: not that they have leſſe Poyſon,*
“ *but becauſe they are more unactive; it being now known by experience, that*
“ *for the ſame man to be an Heretick and a good Subject is incompoſſible.*

Thus his riged diſpoſition argued; particularly diſcourſing how an Army might be raiſed and conducted, and diſputed all the policies advantageous for that Expedition, which he, being an old Generall and the reſt of the Lords no Souldiers, was of all the councell only able to argue. And his Judgement was confirmed by Cardinall *Spinoſa*, who made a grave Speech, complaining how the Holy Court of Inquiſition was violated in the *Low-countryes*: The reſt were of the ſame Opinion; all but the Duke of *Feria*, who being nearer in Bloud then Affection to the *Duke* of *Alva*, and of a milder nature, differed from him altogether: not denying but “ *the* Low-countryes *needed ſome kind of Remedy* (wherein he diſſented from the Prince of *Ebora*, with whom in the reſt hee concurred) “ *but*
“ *that Remedy ſhould rather be applyed by dexterity of Counſell, that by force*
“ *of Armes; which would be more honourable to the Prince, as if he made it*
“ *not a buſineſſe to ſettle his Dominions, not making himſelfe a party, & whilſt*
“ *fought with his ſubjects allowing them for his Equalls: and more ſafe in re-*
“ *lation to his Neighbours, and Enemyes, that would no doubt, make uſe of*
“ *the Low-country-Inſurrections to moulder away the* Spaniſh *Power by their*
“ *owne Victories. Nor did that Allegation of the Emperours taking of* Gant,
“ *ſufficiently*

Spinoſa and many others go along with the Duke.

The Duke of Feria *oppoſes him,*

The ſumme of his Speech.



Ferdinand of Toledo Duke of Alva
Governour of the Low-countreys.

Ro. Vaughan sculp

"*ſufficiently conclude; the Stubbornneſſe of one City might be eaſily broken,* 1567.
"*when the reſt of the Low-countreys were obedient: now almoſt the whole be-*
"*gan to waver, and in the ſame common cauſe and danger were ready to aſ-*
"*ſociate in their defence. Many circumſtances made for that warre, which*
"*diſſwade from this. Then the* Germans *were the Emperour's Subjects, the*
"English *his confederates, and the* French *his Inviters. Now, all thoſe be-*
"*ing obliged by no Right of Empire, or tye of Alliance, many of them diffe-*
"*ring in Religion, all concurring in envy, as they will quicken our troubles,*
"*ſo they will retard our Aſſiſtance. Therefore for the preſent omitting the*
"*thoughts of Puniſhment and Warre, let ſome be ſent into the* Low-countryes,
"*that may narrowly obſerve and bring us a true Account of the preſent con-*
"*dition of the Provinces: and let us in the interim give the Subjects Reſt,*
"*and time to come to themſelves; and take heed, we doe not unſeaſonably*
"*teach them to uſe thoſe Armes againſt his Majeſty, which they have imployed*
"*ſo often in his Service.* Theſe conſiderations nearly reſembling thoſe offered by Prince *Roderigo*, I ſuppoſe the Duke of *Feria* purpoſely kept back, till the Duke of *Alva* had ſpoken; that bringing them in as a new opinion, he might ſide with *Roderic Gomez* whom he much affected. But the King, though he plainly favoured the Duke of *Alva's* Reſolution, yet being many did oppoſe it, deferred or ſeemed to deferre the declaring of himſelfe ſo long; till every ones benefit ſhould reconcile their diverſe and claſhing Opinions. Thus bodyes are dayly formed, when after long contention of the Elements, ſome parts being remitted, others conſumed, the whole is made adequate. For *Roderick Gomez* laboured to keep the King in *Spaine*; but though he diſliked his going into the *Low countreys* with an Army, as dangerous, howſoever unneceſſary, yet he found this advantage in it, that if the Duke of *Alva* ſhould be *Generall* (which he eaſily ſuppoſed) it would remove his Rivall from Court, and ingage him in no ſlight Difficulties. But *Alva* though, in the firſt place, he indeavoured to draw the King from *Spaine*, making ſure account he ſhould wholly governe him in the Army: yet he was well enough pleaſed to be truſted by the King, though abſent, with the whole Warre; and to leave *Roderick Gomez* behind in whatſoever degree of place or Favour. For as it troubled him to ſee the King value his Merits, leſſe then the others perſon: ſo was he ambitious of ſome Imployment, where Warre and the Field might put a difference between thoſe whom Peace and the Court had equalled. Their Opinions therefore meeting in this point, the King without further delay, declared, That he had long thought of a Expedition into the *Low-countryes*, and whatſoever was alledged to the contrary, altered not his Reſolution: but yet hee would not goe, till ſome one ſent before him, ſhould enter the Provinces with an Army; not to affright the Obedience or Peace of his Subiects with thoſe Armes, but to uſe them as a Guard and Ornament to the Prince. Shortly after calling for the Duke of *Alva*, he gaue him the Command in Chiefe for that Expedition, the reſt of the pretenders willingly yielding to him, an old Generall, famous for many Victories. When he had received his Commiſſion, the King immediately wrote to the Viceroyes of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Sardinia*, to draw out three Regiments from their *Spaniſh* Garriſons, to be ſent to *Millaine* in the Gallyes of *Garcia de Toledo*. To the Governour of *Millaine* his Majeſty wrote to ioyne unto them a Regiment out of that Province, whither the Duke of *Alva* would ſhortly come with his new *Spaniſh* Levies, that ſhould ſupply the Garriſons from whence the old Souldiers were ſelected. Likewiſe

Prince of Ebolo.

The King ſeemes to ſuſpend his ſentence, till their ſeverall Intereſts had brought them to be of one Mind.

The King reſolves to ſend one before, to make way for his owne march

Names the Duke of Alva *for the imployment,*

Provides him an Army in Italy,

to

1567.
Writes to the Duke of Savoy to victuall his men,
To the Switz and the Duke of Loraine to give them paſſage.

to the Duke of *Savoy* the King had formerly ſent Iohn *Augnia*, and now diſpatched Francis *Ibarra*: that, as the other deſired a paſſage, ſo this might procure Victuall for the Army. Moreover *Count Iohn Anguiſciola* went Embaſſadour to the *Swiſſe*, and *Anthonio Mendoza* to the Duke of *Loraine*, acquainting them with his Majeſtie's Intentions, and deſiring Leaue for the Royall Army to paſſe without Moleſtation through their Territoryes. For the King had changed his Reſolution of ſending them by *Lyons*, *Charles* the ninth of *France* excuſing himſelfe, pretending the Civill Warres, and conſequently the unſafeneſſe of the Paſſage. Indeed the Report of the *Spaniſh* Army terrified many Countryes, particularly *Geneva*, who were made believe that *Pope Pius* had agreed with the Duke of *Alva*, in his March, to turne his Forces, as he might eaſily doe, upon the *Geneveſes*: and they were aſſured the Duke of *Savoy* would not loſe ſo good an Opportunity. That which I imagine bred the Suſpicion was the ſuddain Embaſſage of *Bernardino Mendoza* ſent to the *Pope* from the Duke of *Alva*, whilſt he ſtayed in *Millaine*. Wherefore *Geneva* not only requeſted Aide to the common Cauſe from *Bearne*, whoſe turne would be the next, but likewiſe from all the Calviniſts of *France*, as from a Plantation of *Geneva*; eſpecially from the Prince of *Conde*, Head of the Faction. Who glad of that Occaſion to make Levies, promiſed and ſent Aſſiſtance to *Geneva* under the Command of *Mombrune*. And the Prince himſelfe with *Gaſpar Colligny* began their publique Muſters in *France*, pretēding to King *Charles* a feare the *Spaniards*, that accounted them as Enemies, had a deſigne to take them unprepared. Nay they would have perſwaded the King "*to* "*raiſe an Army, and not let ſlip ſuch an Opportunity* (*as fairer could not* "*be*) *to revenge himſelfe of a Nation that ever hated* France. *It was true, that* "*the* Spaniſh *Army, both for the Goodneſſe of Souldiers and Nobleneſſe of* "*Commanders, was a moſt ſelect and conſiderable one, yet in their paſſage* "*through the Straits and over the Mountaines; on the one ſide by the* French, "*on the other by the* Geneveſes *and* Swiſſe, *they might eaſily be diſtreſſed* "*and cut off. And then all King* Philip's *Spaniſh and* Italian *Forces being* "*overthrowne, as it was not to be doubted, but either a way might be opened* "*to recover* Millaine, *left naked of old Souldiers: or it was but marching into* "*the* Lowcountreys, *and that people willingly would receive the* French, "*to whoſe Armes they muſt acknowledge themſelves obliged for their delivery* "*from the* Spaniſh. *But if neither of theſe Projects tooke effect; yet certainely* "*for many years a warre was not to be feared from thoſe, that having loſt ſuch an army could not in a long time recruite.*" *The Prince* of *Conde* added, that if it would pleaſe the King to raiſe forces for that warre, he would bring his Maieſty 50000 men. Thus under a ſpecious colour for the publick ſafety, they offered his Maieſty the Army which they had privately deſigned for their Rebellion, like true Hugonots, who call that the Kings Security, which is indeed his Captivity. But the *French* King knowing what they aymed at, leſt by provoking a Potent Prince, he might at one time be ingaged in a Forreine and Civill Warre, replyed it was neither agreable to the Honour nor Valour of the *French*, to circumvent a King, neare to him in Affinity and Freindſhip. But to ſecure his Kingdome from the *Spaniards*, in their March, he would giue Order for the raiſing of a new Army. Withall, he ſignified to King *Philip* the Condition of his Civill Diſcords, by reaſon whereof, he could not promiſe Security to his Forces if they came. And now the Duke of *Alva* tranſported in the Galleys of *Andrea Doria* and *Coſmo* Duke of *Florence*, with his new *Spaniſh* Souldiers that

Lyon. Car. ix.
Geneva *terrified with news of the* Spaniſh *March.*

Ber. Mendoza l. b. a.
They ſend for aſſiſtance from the French *Calviniſts.*
The Prince of Conde *and the* Collignì *promiſe them protection.*
Raiſe men and perſwade the French K. *to fight the* Spaniard.

The King of France *finding the* Hugonots *deſigne, ſtirrs not.*

that were to ſupply the old *Italian* Garriſons, arrived at *Millaine*; where falling into a Feauer he was forced to remaine. At which time upon notice of the Army which the Duke of *Alva* was to bring into the *Lowcountryes*, and that the King himſelf would follow (for ſo it was reported) the Governeſſe endeavoured to diſſwade his Maieſty from coming in a Warlike manner, which would be of no uſe, but to imbroile the Provinces againe. "*That the Lowcountreys were at preſent in a peaceable condition,* "*returned to their Religion and Obedience; nor wanted they ſtrength and* "*Men, by which as this Condition was acquired, ſo it might be preſerued* "*and increaſed by the King's preſence if he came alone: but if he brought* "*a new and mighty Army, what would it import, but great Expences to the* "*King, and noe leſſe Poverty to the Lowcountryes? Vpon the very Rumour of* "*a forreine Army diverſe Tradeſmen and Merchants familyes were now de-* "*parted; and when they heard of the Armyes nearer Approches, more would* "*leaue the Country, becauſe they knew there would be noe Trading in a time* "*of Warre and yet they muſt pay Seſſments and great Taxes for maintaining* "*Souldiers. Beſides the Feare of the People, that cannot but thinke theſe Forces* "*to be their Executioners; the indignation of the Nobility, whoſe good Service,* "*in quieting the late Commotions would ſeeme to be ſlighted; and the certaine* "*Relapſe of the Place into Hereſy, that would returne into the* Lowcountreys "*with a* Lutheran Army *out of* Germany: *and (which out of the premiſſes ſhe* "*prophetically concluded) it would cauſe, by that inexpiable Hatred & anti-* "*pathy betweene the two Nations, a bloudy Civill Warre for many Ages.* "*Wherefore ſhe earneſtly beſeeched his Majeſty, that laying aſide this unſea-* "*ſonable Deſigne of Armes, he would come peaceably into the Provinces, more* "*like a father, then a* King: *and that by his preſence and Wiſdome he would* "*add to theſe happy* Beginnings *what was only deſirable,* Continuation. This Letter the Governeſſe ſent by an Extraordinary, *Gaſpar Robley* Lord of *Bill* and Governour of *Philipvill*, that being preſented by a perſon of Honour, it might have more Authority with the King. But it neuer moved him, who replyed his Army ſhould come into the *Lowcountreys* for no other End but to eſtabliſh peace. And this was writ to the Governeſſe, in the King's name, by *Rui Gomez a Sylva* Prince of *Ebolo*, who likewiſe ſent her Excellence Newes of the Marqueſſe of *Bergen's* Death, which happened in the Kings Abſence from *Madrid*.

1567. Falls ſicke at Millaine. *The Governeſs likes not the comming of ſo great an Army, whereupon ſhe writes thus to his Majeſty. 12. Aprill.*

The King. Madrid. *21. May. Returnes his reaſon for ſending of an Army.*

John Glimèe Marqueſſe of *Bergen* Op *Zoom*, a City in the fartheſt part of *Brabant*, was the laſt yeare, ſent from the *Low-countreys* into *Spaine*, with *Florence Momorancy* Lord of *Montin*, nor was his Embaſſy very well received, the King being exceſſively inraged at the Violation of their Churches and Defection of their Cityes. Therefore the Marqueſſe begging leave to returne very often, but ſtill in vaine (becauſe the Governeſſe had privately adviſed the King not let the Embaſſadours goe, ſo long as the Troubles laſted) when he had now ſufficiently diſcovered the Plot upon him, both by his Delayes at Court, and his mock-hopes, as if he ſhould every day returne into the *Low-countryes* with the King; weary of the Imployment, and ſtruck with the Duke of *Alva's* being choſen Generall, he fell ſick: and deſpairing of his Recovery, ſent for the Prince of *Ebolo*, his old Friend, to whom (they ſay) he grievouſly complained of the King, and prayed he would deliver to his Majeſty theſe words, from a dying man that ſhould no more ſpeake for himſelfe. "*That it much grieved* "*him, not only to have no value put upon the many painefull ſervices hee* "*had done, but likewiſe to ſee himſelfe ſuſpected, and looked upon as an*

Of the Marqueſſe of Bergens *death.* *His unfortunate Embaſſage.* *His ſickneſſe.* *His complaint of the King.*

1567.

"*Enemy; yet he hoped that his Fidelity, and the perfidiouſneſſe and calumnies* "*of his Maligners would once, though too late, appeare.* A while after, having ſettled all worldly buſineſſe, on the one and twentieth of *May* he dyed, ſome ſay poyſoned as if no man frowned upon by his Prince could dye a naturall death. For my part, I meane not to affirme it, otherwiſe then as a Conjecture.

May. 21.
His death, whether poyſoned *or no?*
His Title, Offices and Imployments.

He was equally beloved, by *Charles* the fifth, and his Son *Philip*: from *him* he received the title of Marqueſſe; *this* for his gallant Service at *Saint Quintin* choſe him out of all the Low countrey-Lords to go over with him into *England* to his Marriage with *Queene Mary*: at his returne, he created him Knight of the Golden-Fleece, and made him Grandveneur (or Juſtice in *Eyre*) and Governour of *Haynolt*. In which Province, becauſe he ſeemed not, according to his duty, ſeriouſly to advance the Catholique cauſe (though he himſelfe was ſeriouſly a Catholique) the Governeſſe was then much diſpleaſed with him; and a few months after his Deceaſe, being for the ſame attainted of High Treaſon, he was condemned by the Duke of *Alva*.

His impeachment, after his deceaſe, found guilty of High Treaſon,
Her Excellence in the King's name takes Bergen op Zoom.
May 30.

The Governeſſe receiving the newes of his Death, ſpeedily, that is within eight dayes, written, as I ſaid, from the Prince of *Ebolo*; immediatly, before the Report could be divulged, ſent *Mandevill* with a ſelect Company of Fire-locks, framing a Letter to the Lady-Marqueſſe of *Bergen*, "*That ſhe heard the Here*-"*ticks of that Towne offended with the late Edict, endeavoured ſome Inno*-"*vation, therefore ſhe had in haſte diſpatched Souldiers to guard her, and the* "*City: & to make them the welcomer, had choſen out of her Ladiſhip's Uncle* "Beavor's *Regiment Captaine* Mandevill, *whom She had commanded to re*-"*ceive Orders from her Ladyſhip.*

The buſineſſe is not toucht.

Her Husband's Death ſhe mentioned not, leſt it might leſſen the Favour, and move a ſuſpition of the thing intended. But when ſhe ſent away the Captaine, being a man of approved Fidelity, ſhe diſcovered to him, that hee was, in the King's name, to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Towne. He ſhould indeed ſerve the Lady-Marqueſſe, in any thing that might be for her ſafety; but if ſhe refuſed his Souldiers, or commanded them to depart the Towne: he muſt tell her, he could not doe it, without acquainting the Governeſſe: In the meane while, by writing Letters and expecting Anſwers, he ſhould ſpinne out the time, till his Majeſty expreſſed his abſolute pleaſure.

May 21.
May 31.
The Kings pleaſure touching the Eſtate and Heyre of the Marqueſſe of Bergen.

For the Prince of *Ebolo* from the King, and afterwards the King himſelfe, had writ to the Governeſſe, that ſhe was to bring the Marqueſſe's cauſe to a Triall, and if he were found to have been privy to the Tumults and Rebellion, his Eſtate ſhould be confiſcated, otherwiſe it ſhould deſcend to his Heires. The King added, in his own Hand, That whereas the Marqueſſe had declared his Siſter's Daughter his Heire, who was ſaid to have no good Catholique Education; the Governeſſe ſhould find meanes to get her out of her Father's hands, and breed her, till ſhe were married to that Kinſman, unto whom the Marqueſſe had by his will diſpoſed her. The City ſhe forthwith ſeized, but the young Lady her Mother was a great while fearefull to deliver.

A ſolemne Proceſſion at Antwerp.

And after the Governeſſe had been preſent at the Proceſſion, wherein the Body of our Lord and Saviour was carryed through *Antwerp*, then ſolemnized with more exquiſite preparations and Pompe then ever, and followed with ſuch multitudes and Reverence, that one would thinke they had not ſo much as converſed with Hereticks;

The Governeſſe troubled at the Duke of Alva's *coming, many aggravating her diſpleaſure.*

her Excellence, leaving Count *Mansfeldt* and 13. Companies in the Town, with the reſt and a great Traine of Lords returned to *Bruxells*, there to expect the Duke of *Alva*, whoſe coming every day more afflicted her; and

many

many that loved him not aggravated her diſtaſte, telling her that by his Pride, all which ſhe had with ſo much paines and wiſdome reconciled and compoſed, would be preſently put into confuſion, and he would *make* Troubles, which it might be thought he was come from *Spaine* to *quiet*: whilſt the Honour & Settlement, only due to the governeſſe, would by his vaine-glory be numbred among his Triumphs. The Governeſſe therefore not only expreſſed to the King her Reſentment, in her Letter by *Gaſpar Robley*: but likewiſe writing to the Duke of *Alva* to congratulate his Arrivall at *Millaine*, ſhe let him underſtand the State of the *Low-countryes*, and wiſhed him "*to adviſe, whether it would not be a greater Act of prudence to disband part of his Army, then by thoſe unſeaſonable Forces and Expences to irritate the* Low-countryes, *which were now reduced to Obedience: ſuch a Remedy in moſt mens Judgements being too ſtrong for the Diſeaſe.* But the Duke of *Alva* pretended the King's command. And the Prince of *Ebolo* by *Robley*, who was diſpatched from *Spaine*, about the end of *Iune*, anſwered her; "*That the King was carefull of his Siſter's Eſtimation, purchaſed of all the world, for governing the* Low-countryes *with ſo ſingular wiſdome in ſo dangerous times, taking Cityes, ſubduing Rebels, and at length, vigorouſly reducing all the* Low-countryes *to their Religion, and Loyalty. Nor was* Alva *ſent to rob her of any part of that glory, wholly appropriate to her Highneſſe, but that by ſerving her with his endeavours and counſells, what was gained might be preſerved, with leſſe trouble to the Governeſſe, and no envy that could reflect upon her for puniſhing of Delinquents.* But nothing ſo much ſatisfied her, as the King's Letter ſent by *Lopius Gallus*, after *Robley's* departure, wherein *giving thanks to his Siſter for ſo induſtrious and wiſe an Eſtabliſhment of Peace*, he ſaid, *he would ſhortly better expreſſe thoſe thankes, in perſon, longing exceedingly to be an Eye-witneſſe of her vertue.* And, among other commands, *injoyned her to have in readineſs at leaſt eight Sayle of Ships to meet him, whenſoever an Expreſſe came of his weighing Anchors.* And the Governeſſe in good earneſt provided the Shipps, the Senat decreeing, that for the King's happy Voiage publique Prayers ſhould be made; which neverthelesse his majeſty meaning to ſtay at home, needed not, as ſome ſaid; comparing him to *Tiberius Cæſar*, who gave out from day to day, that he would leave *Rome*; and ſuffered the Empire diverſe times to make the like ſupplications for his good Journey and Returne, long buſying the *Roman* Provinces with that Expectation. But the beliefe of the King's Expedition was to be maintained with ſuch new Scenes, or elſe the Play would have been ſpoyled. Howſoever the Duke of *Alva*, equally diſtaſtfull to the Nobility and the People, would have been much worſe received by the Low-country-men, if they had not perſwaded themſelves by theſe appearing hopes, that the King himſelfe would ſhortly follow.

1567.

She writes to Alva *to diſband part of his Forces.* *June* 15.

He anſwers that 'tis not in his power, Rui Gomez. *June* 30. *Writes to the Governeſſe the cauſe of the Duke's coming.*

July 1. *The King promiſes his perſonall preſence.*

A Fleete made ready to tranſport his Majeſty. Publick Prayers for his happy Voyage, All to no purpoſe. Suetonius in Tiberio.

And now the Duke of *Alva* having perfectly recovered his Health, when he came to *Aſt*, tooke the generall Muſters of his Army; which being greater in worth, then number (though feare among the timerous had multiplyed the very number) he found to conſiſt of 8700. Foote, and but 1200. Horſe. For the Duke cared not for multitude, which commonly is a hindrance to the March, but deſired to have ſtout men, and valiant hands, not many names: meaning afterwards to increaſe them more opportunely in the *Low-countreys*, where without danger he might adde to his old Army, as to a body ſtrong in nerves and bone, as much young fleſh, that is, untrained Souldiers, as he pleaſed. The Foot, in a manner all

The Duke of Alva *muſters his Army.* Aſta in Piemont. *What Horſe and Foote.*

Spaniſh,

1567. *Foure* Spaniſh *Colonels*, Alph. Villoæ. Sanchio Lodonius, Juliano Romero. Gonſalvo Brachamonte. *Ferdinando baſtard-ſon to the Duke of* Alva. Chiapinio Vitelli Campemaſter. Melzius *l.* 1. *c.* 7. Franciſco Paciotto *Engineer* Gabriel Serbellio, Maſter of the *Ordinance*. Antonio Olivera *Commiſſary Generall of the Horſe, who firſt brought this Office into the* Low-countryes.

Spaniſh, he diſtributed into foure Legions, in regard they were raiſed out of foure Provinces, commanded by ſo many *Spaniſh* Colonels, conſpicuous for their abilities in warre. *Alphonſo Vlloa* led the *Neopolitan* Regiment, conſiſting of 19. Colours, *viz.* 3230. men. *Sancho Londognios* had the *Millaine* Regiment, comprehending under 10. Colours, 2200. The *Sicilian* under as many Enſignes contained 1620. commanded by *Juliano Romero*. The like number of *Sardinians* were muſtered under Colonell *Gonſalvo Bracamonte*, *Ferdinand de Toledo Prior* of *Caſtile*, of the Order of *Saint Johns* of *Hieruſalem*, Baſtard Son to the Duke of *Alva*, was Generall of the Horſe, that were *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Epirots*. The Campe-Maſter Generall was *Chiapino Vitelli Marqueſſe* of *Cetona*, an old Generall famous for many Victoryes, and upon the King's requeſt, ſent by the Duke of *Florence* to ſerve his Majeſty; who likewiſe borrowed of the *Duke* of *Savoy Franciſco Paciotto* of *Vrbin*, Count of *Montis-Faber*, an admirable Engineere and rarely ſkilled in fortification. The Generall of the Traine of Artillery was *Gabriell Serbellonio*, a Knight of *Saint Johns* at *Hieruſalem*, Prior of *Hungary*, a gallant Souldier, and a moſt excellent Cannoneere. To theſe great Field-Officers was added *Commiſſary Generall* of the Horſe, a new command lately inſtituted by *Ferdinando Gonzaga* Governour of *Millaine*, and Generall for *Charles* the fifth: and at this time, the Duke of *Alva* firſt brought that Office into the Low-countryes, beſtowing it upon *Anthonio Olivera*, deſcended from that *Marino Olivera*, whom *Pedro* King of *Caſtile* ſent for out of *France* with ſome other Commanders, to beat the *Moores* out of *Spaine*, and *Anthonio* was well able to diſcharge the place, having been an old Souldier both in *Italy* and *Africa*, and being then a *Colonell* in *Millaine*, from whence he firſt brought into the Low-countryes the Name and Office of Commiſſary-Generall of the Horſe. No leſſe gallant men were the Captaines of every Troope and Company,

Charles Davalo

Charles Davalo Son to *Vaſtius* Commander in chiefe, with his Brother *Piſcario* in the Battailes fought in *Piemont* and *Millaine*, emulating therein the antient Glory of his valiant Anceſtors.

Bernardino Mendoza. Camillo a Monte.

Bernardino Mendoza, then famous for his valour, afterwards for his Hiſtory. *Camillo* a *Monte* (Brother to *John Baptiſta Marchio* ſent before into the Low-countryes) who trayled a Pike under his Vncle, *Chiapinio* ſince he was twelve yeares old.

Chriſtopher Mondragonio.

Chriſtopher Mondragonio, that had ſerved under *Charles* the fifth in his *Italian*, *African*, and *German* Warres, and is ſaid to be one of thoſe ten Spaniards, that with memorable Bravery, holding their Swords between their teeth, ſwam the River *Albis*, taking the Boates from the farther Shoare, and bringing them back to the Emperour through a Tempeſt of Shot, made a Bridge of them to paſſe over his Army, a very advantageous Service that haſtned the Conqueſt of *Saxony*.

Sancho Avila. Curtio Martinengo. Nicholao Baſta Franciſco Verdugo. *The Army divided into Tertiaes.*

Sancho Avila, bred up to the Warres from a boy by the Duke of *Alva*, and till death his conſtant Follower. *Curtius Comes Martinengo*, *Nicholao Baſta*, *Franciſco Verdugo*, and diverſe others, almoſt all old Souldiers, that had ſeen many ſeverall Services, and won as many Victoryes. Having muſtered his Army, he divided it into three parts, and ſo marched over the *Ceniſian* Mountaine, the higheſt ridge of the *Appenine*, into *Savoy*. The Van, wherein was the *Neopolitan* Regiment with five Troopes of *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Horſe, was led by the Duke of *Alva* himſelfe; The ſecond Diviſion conſiſting of *Londognio's* Regiment with foure Troops of *Spaniſh* horſe, was commanded by his Son *Ferdinando*. The Marqueſſe *Vitelli* brought up the Rere, containing the *Sicilian* and *Sardinian* Regiments, and two Troops of *Epirots*. The Front

of

of every company, by a new invention, was flanked with 15. Supernumeraryes, armed with Muſketoones, and Reſts, wherein they layed the barrell, that could not be managed by the hand. For before his time ſuch huge Muſkets, as unmanageable, were drawne upon Carriages, and only uſed at Sieges, from whence being tranſlated into the Field, and thoſe that carry them mixed with the leſſer Muſketeers, they have been found extraordinary ſerviceable in Battailes. *Gabriel Serbellonio* and *Franceſco Ibarra* were ſent before with ſome Companyes of Souldiers and Artificers: this to provide Victuall, he to examine the way, and to prepare Quarter. They had Orders from *Vitelli*, that the Army marching in three Diviſions, the ſecond ſhould ſtill lodge upon the place from whence the firſt was moved, and when this diſlodged, the laſt ſhould have Quarter there. And thus in *Iune*, by ſhort Marches, over the *Alpes* and through *Savoy*, the Army came into the County of *Burgundy*, where it was increaſed with 400. Horſe, all young *Burgundians*. Paſſing through *Loraine*, about the beginning of *Auguſt*, the Duke arrived in the Low-countreys, offending none in his Paſſage, nor being himſelfe offended by any one. Though the *French* appeared in Armes upon the Marches of *Burgundy*, and Colonell *Tavan* by command from the *French* King, with 4000. Foot and ſome Troopes of Horſe for defence of the Borders, ſtill coſted the *Spaniſh* Army. Indeed I doe not thinke, that ever any Army marched ſo farre, and kept ſtricter Rules of Diſcipline. So that from *Italy* even to the Low-countryes not only no Townes, but not any Cottage, was forced or injuried. Only one crime in their Entrance to *Loraine* was committed by three Dragoones, driving away as many Weathers from a Flock of Sheep, who, upon examination of the Fact by the Duke of *Alva*, were immediately condemned to be hanged, & the Sheep ſent back: yet upon the interceſſion of a *Loraine* Captaine ſent from his Duke to meet the Duke of *Alva* on the Borders, two of their lives were pardoned, in honour of the Duke of *Loraine*: and the third was hanged up by lot, for they caſt Dice upon the Drum-head, and it was his fortune to dye, that inticed the other two.

1567. *A new Invention.* *Their March.* *Strict diſcipline.* *Exemplary Puniſhment.*

When the Duke of *Alva* came to *Theonvill* in the province of *Lutzenburg* the Counts *Alberick Lodronio*, *Otho Oberſtein*, and *Schowenburg* received him in the head of their *German* Regiments with Volleys of Shot, and generall acclamations. There was preſent *Charles Barlamont* and *Philip Norcarmius*, he Governour of *Namure*, this of *Haynolt*, both come from the Governeſſe to ſalute the Duke of *Alva*; who had ſent *Francis Ibarra* to preſent his Service to the Governeſſe, and to receive her directions, in what Towns the Army ſhould be quartered. Wherein though the Governeſſe differed from the Dukes Opinion, becauſe ſhe would haue *Bruxells* a City allwayes faithfull to the King, exempted from this burden; yet he pretending the ſecurity and honour of the King, who was to be reſident in that City: lodged his Army part in the ſuburbs thereof, part at *Gant* and in other neighbouring Townes, *Lodronio* with his Regiment (which had twelve Enſignes, and under every Enſigne 300 men) was ſent to *Antwerp*, and Count *Manſfeldt*, whom the Governeſſe by order from the King had made Generall of the *German* Horſe, was commanded to diſband his *Lowcountry*-Souldiers, and reſigne his Goverment of *Antwerp* to *Lodronio*. A little while after, the Duke of *Alva*, attended with many Lords that met him on the way, entered *Bruxells*, and went directly to Court, where he curſorily kiſſing the Governeſſes Hand, retired to *Culemburg*-

The Duke of Alva *enters the* Low countreys *He is ſaluted from the Governeſſe, To whom he had ſent,* *He quarters his men in the* Low-countries.

1567. *lemburg-Houſe*, leaving the Pallace to the Governeſſe. The next day he ſent her the Kings Letters, and a Copy of his Commiſſion, wherein the Command in Chiefe for the Militia of the *Lowcountreys* was conferred upon him, the adminiſtration of civill Affayres remaining wholly in the Governeſſe. The ſame day waited on by a great traine of Horſe and his Houſe-hold Servants, he went in that ſtate to viſit her Excellence; the Courtiers (that found the Governeſſe was, or would have had her diſcontented) obſerving how they looked at this firſt Ceremony. Indeed the Governeſſe that had, for ſome dayes before, the grudging of an ague, having made an offer of going forward to Receive this ſtranger, pretended her Fitt, or elſe it was thought to come very opportunely to take downe *Alva's* Pride: who in publique omitted no Complement or Veneration due to the Daughter of *Charles* the fifth, and Siſter to his King: but when they were alone, he produced ſomewhat a larger Commiſſion; not only giving him power over the Militia, but Authorizing him to fortify what Places he thought fit; to diſplace Magiſtrates and Governours; to examine and puniſh the cauſes of the late Tumults. And when the Governeſſe demanded if he had any further Inſtructions, he ſaid yes, a few more then could be opened at one meeting, but according to future Emergencies they ſhould be imparted to her. This Anſwer ſeemed not to move her, ſhe then commended the Kings deſigne, in caſe it were ſo handled, that Peace newly reſtored to the *Lowcountries* like a tender plant were not ſpoyled with diging too deep about it. She added, that ſhe thought it would do well if next day Copyes of the King's Letters ſhould be read in Senate, which was done accordingly. But writing to the King, ſhe complained, that "*the Duke Alva ſhould come with ſuch abſolute Authority, and ſo great an Army, that being greatly preiudiciall to her Honour, this to the newly ſettled State of the* Lowcountreys. *For already about* 100000 *men were fled out of the Provinces, carrying their money and goods into other Princes Dominions; either fearing to be oppreſſed by Forreiners, or diſpairing of mercy, or thinking to avoid future calamity. One thing both comforted her and the people, that is the King's Coming, who was ſo certainly expected by the Lowcountry-men, that foure dayes before, ſhe had ſent into* Spaine Wacken, *Admirall in the place of Count Horne, with nine Ships well manned, to attend his Majeſty: but if peradventure he ſhould alter his determination, and thinke it better to deferre his voyage till another time, ſhe humbly from her ſoule beſeeched him, that he would pleaſe of his goodneſſe to free her, (that now for nine yeares had governed the* Lowcountries) *from further care and charge of thoſe* Provinces. But that which made her much more earneſt in the ſame ſuit, was the ſuddaine Impriſonment of *Count Egmont*, and ſome others.

22. Auguſt. His viſit to the Governeſſe in great ſtate and with much Reverence.

He ſhewes her part of his inſtructions.

Omitting his larger Commiſſion till a fitter time.

She appeares ſatisfied,

But complaines to the King. 8. *Septemb.*

The Duke of *Alva* reſolved to begin his Governement with the Attaindours of ſome of the Lowcountrey Lords, that when the eminent perſons were removed, the People might have nothing whereon to fix their eyes. At firſt therefore he carried himſelfe obligingly to the Lords, in particular to Count *Egmont*, by whoſe example, he aymed to bring in Count *Horne*, that ſtood upon his guard, and was deſirous to heare of *Alva's* Beginnings at a diſtance. They ſay, when, preſaging his owne death, he ſhunned the ſight of *Alva*, Count *Egmont* chid him for his feare, and undertooke he ſhould be no worſe uſed then he himſelfe. The Event ſhortly verifyed theſe his ominous words. But when *Alva* ſaw that Count *Horne* was wrought upon, he ſent for *Hochſtrat* and the reſt of the Lords to *Bruxells*

Of the Attaindor of Count Egmont.

Alva *uſes him to draw in Count* Horne.

He ſummons the Lords to adviſe about the publick.

1567

ells to conſult about regulating the Common-wealth: and he ſet forth, but being newly recouered of a Sickneſſe, whilſt his Coachman went an eaſy pace, as he was Commanded, hearing what had hapned, hee droue back againe with a powder. The reſt of the Lords came to *Bruxells* the ninth of September. That very day, the Duke appointed two Captaines, *Andrew Salazar*, and *Iohn Eſpuc* without tumult to arreſt *Iohn Caſembrot* Lord of *Backerſell*, one of the Covenanteers, who could in all probability make the greateſt Diſcoueries, as being Secretary to *Count Egmont*. The Colonells Count *Alberick Lodronio* and *Sanchio Londognio* received Orders, on the ſame day to bring to Bruxells *Anthony Strall*, Conſull of *Antwerp*, one very intimate with the Prince of *Orange*. And leſt the City, wherein he was one of the moſt popular and richeſt men, ſhould mutiny, and riſe in his behalfe, *Alva* deſired the Governeſſe to write to the Magiſtrate of *Antwerp*, that the Conſull was ſent for to *Bruxells* to aduiſe with the Duke of *Alva* concerning the State of *Antwerp*; ſhe did ſo, and *Lodronius* after he had taken the Conſull, delivered the Letter to the Magiſtrate, who fearing himſelfe made them lay him in a Cart couered with many Pieces and packs of Cloth: but he was ſcarce out of the port, when *Lodronio* advertiſed by a Spye, ſeized on him. While theſe things were acting, the Duke at *Culemburg Houſe* ſate in Counſell with the Lords *Areſchot*, *Egmont*, *Horne*, *Mansfeldt*, *Aremberg*, & *Barlamont*. There was preſent *Ferdinand* Son to the Duke of *Alva*, *Vitellius*, *Serbellonius* and *Ibarra*. *Alva* purpoſely ſpun out time in Conſultation, expecting newes of the taking of the Conſull, and *Caſſembrot*, and therefore, ſent for Count *Paciotto* into the Senate, to reſolve them about the platforme of the Caſtle at *Antwerp*. When he knew his Commands were executed, he diſmiſſed the Lords. As the reſt were going out, the Duke tooke Count *Egmont* aſide, as if he had private buſineſſe with him: and many Commanders ſhewing themſelves out of the next Roome, *Alva* ſaid, "*Egmont I arreſt thee, thou art the King's Priſoner; in his name diliver up* "*thy ſword.* The Count ſtruck at the ſuddaine Arreſt and ſeeing ſuch a Company of armed Men about him, yielded his ſword ſaying "*and yet* "*with this I have often, not vnfortunately, defended the King's Cauſe*, adding noe more words, the Captaines had him into a drawing Roome. At the ſame time, Count *Horne* was by the Dukes Son, who ſeemed to waite upon him downe the Stairs, commanded to reſigne his Sword, and yeild himſelfe Priſoner to the Duke of *Alva* by the King's Command; immediately the Captaines that ſtept in, diſarmed and carried him to the other ſide of the Houſe. In the meane time *Sanchio Avila* Captaine of the Dukes Lifeguard, had drawne up his men to *Culemburg-Houſe*, and ſecured the Streets: the City being amazed, not knowing what this Face of Terrour meant. But when they underſtood that *Egmont* and *Horne* were impriſoned by the Duke of *Alva*: at firſt Griefe tooke away the People's Tongues, then they found the Duke of *Alva's* Plot, and were angry at *Egmonts* Credulity. Many ſaid, that in the Captivity of thoſe Lords the *Low-countreys* were inſlaved. This wrought in them a greater admiration of the cautelous Courſe held by the Prince of *Orange*, and they ioyed in his Safety, as if thereby the *Lowcountreys* were not left altogether Deſtitute. Nay Cardinall *Granvell* at Rome hearing of the doings in *Bruxells*, aſked the Meſſenger, whether the Duke had taken Silence (ſo he called the Prince of *Orange*) when he anſwered, no, he was not taken, *Granvell* (they ſay) replyed, If that one fiſh hath ſcaped the net, the Duke of *Alva's*

The reſt he ſurpriſes by other meanes. Eſpecially Caſembrot

And Strall.

The Lords adviſe with the Duke, very unadviſedly.

Count Egmont *arreſted and diſarmed.*

So is Count Horne.

The City in a Maze.

Cardinall Granvells *ſaying.*

1567 *The* D. *of* Alva *ſends his excuſe to the Governeſſe,*

Draught is nothing worth. But becauſe all this was done without acquainting the Governeſſe before it could be divulged, the *Duke* ſent the Counts *Mansfeldt* and *Barlamont* (whom he knew ſhe Favoured, and were yet in his Houſe) to tell her Excellence what was paſt, and to excuſe his ſecreſie; for he had concealed it by the Kings command, to the end that no part of the *Odium* might reflect upon her, who was concerned to preſerve the love of the people under her Governement. But this gave no ſatisfaction to the Governeſſe, and though whilſt they were preſent ſhee ſmothered her indignation, yet deepely reſenting it, ſhee began to doubt, that many ſuch actions might happen for the future; and the power being transferred to *Alva*, ſhe her ſelfe ſhould only retaine the title and formality of Governeſſe; that the Governement might appeare to be in one of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Therefore upon receipt of new Letters, ſignifying the King had put off his voyage for Sixe moneths longer, that is, till the beginning of the Spring: her hope then failing, and being daily tormented with ſore fits of the Colick, ſhe ſent her ſervant *Machiavell* to the King, and diſputing the impriſonment of *Egmont* and *Horne* briefely without complaint (leſt ſhe might ſeeme diſtaſted at it) ſhe beſeeched his Majeſty "*in regard of her Infirmities, which made her unfit for cares of State,* "*to licenſe her departure from the Lowcountries rather then ſtay her there* "*with ſuch limited and almoſt no Authority. Whether it were advantageous* "*to the King, or handſome for her whom the King vouchſafed to call Siſter, to* "*be ſubordinate to another, She humbly ſubmitted to his Majeſties Conſideration; For her part, ſhe reſolved, ſo long as ſhe lived, to be wholy Governed by his* "*Majeſties Pleaſure, as became his moſt humble Servant.* This notwithſtanding, the Governeſſe omitted nothing which appertained to Civill Affaires. For by reſolution of Senate, which ſhe ſummoned, the Duke of *Alva* being preſent, ſhe endeavoured to ſtoppe the *Lowcountry-mens* Flight, which daily and ſtill in greater numbers ſlipt away; and tenne of the richeſt Merchants of *Tournay* intending to go into England, by her Command weere clapt up priſoners, and their Goods in the Port of *Vluſhing* imbargoed and confiſcated. A while after, the *French* Embaſſadour, as ſhe lay upon her bed, coming to kiſſe her Hands, and making a grievous Complaint that Multitudes of *Lowcountrymen* flocked to the Prince of *Conde*, and others that intended a Warre againſt the King, ſhe publiſhed an Edict againſt all *Lowcountrymen* that ſhould aſſiſt the *French* Rebells. The Embaſſadour not thus contented (by Command from King *Charles*, who was now almoſt ruined by his rebellious Subiects) moved the Governeſſe for ſome preſent Forces out of the *Lowcountreys*. And indeed it was but a reaſonable Requeſt, for though the Cauſes of this Warre (which the French Hiſtorians call the ſecond Civill Warre of France) were not all different from thoſe of the firſt, yet the Prince of *Conde* and *Colligny*, the heads of the Faction, grounded their pretence upon the Paſſage of the Duke of *Alva's* Army, who faining to march another way, intended the Invaſion of *France*, to deſtroy thoſe of the reformed Religion. For, in the Conference at *Baion*, they ſaid, it was ſo articled, betweene *Charles* the *French* King, his Mother *Katherine* of *Medices*, and his Siſter *Iſabella* Queene of *Spaine*; where the Duke of *Alva* was in perſon; In purſuance of which Agreement the Governeſſe formerly had perſecuted and quelled the Hereticall Party in the Low-countryes, and now *Alva* himſelfe was come with a ſtrong *Spaniſh* Army; that at the ſame time King *Charles* might ruine the Hugonots in

Not ſatisfactory.

20. *Auguſt.*

11. *Sept.* *She ſues again to bee diſcharged of the Governement.*

In the interim ſhee is very active in it. By her Edict ſhe ſtops ſuch as were leaving the Lowcountries.

She publiſhes another in favour of the French Embaſſadour. Who likewiſe moves for forces out of the Netherlands *to ſuppreſſe the new Troubles of* France.

Occaſioned by the Duke of Alva's *March.*

in *France*, and the *Spaniard* their Brethren in the *Low-countreys.* Wherefore the *French* Hugonots raiſing great Forces, as if they would revenge wrongs received, or at leaſt ſtand upon their guard for the future, firſt, they ſeized diverſe Townes and Cityes, then laid a Plot to take the King himſelfe, lying at *Meaux:* who very hardly eſcaping in the night, and received into *Paris*, there they ſtraitly beſieged him, and cut off all Supplyes by Armes or Victuall, endeavouring to bring their Prince into their Power. At laſt drawing out their Army, they gave him battaile at the Towne of Saint *Denis*, and though they left the Field and fled, and the Catholiques, by conſequence had the victory, yet it was a bloudy one, the King's Generall *Annas Momorancy* being ſlaine. Notwithſtanding, they made greater Levyes (for Hereſie dayly increaſed) and receiving ſtrong Recruits from *Germany* reviv'd the Warre. Which moved the King of *France*, beſides the men raiſed through his whole Kingdome, to deſire ayde for the defence of Religion, out of *Italy*, *Germany*, and (as I ſaid) out of the *Low-countreys.* But the Governeſſe not willing to grant Aſſiſtance, without knowing the King's pleaſure, gladly referred it to the Duke of *Alva*; who remembring the Agreement for mutuall Succours made at *Baion*, and thinking the *French* Embaſſadour's Motion both honourable to the *Spaniard*, and opportune for kindling Enmity between the Low-countrey-men and the *French* Hereticks, whoſe minds would be diſtracted to ſee an Army come againſt them from the ſame place whence formerly they had ſupplyes, he anſwered the Embaſſadour, that the Senate had decreed *Auxiliaryes* as he requeſted, which ſhould forthwith march away: and acquainting the Governeſſe with it, he gave the charge of 2000. *Spaniſh* Foot, and 1200. Horſe, moſt of them Gentlemen of *Haynolt* and *Artoys*, to *John Lignius* Count of *Aremberg.* Some write, that the Duke offered himſelfe to be their Generall, but ſuch Aſſiſtance (as it was likely to do) would have begot a jealouſie in the *French*, that he came not as a Friend, but as a Spy: therefore as not expedient for either Kingdome, that he ſhould be abſent from the *Low-countreys*, it was by the Embaſſadour modeſtly refuſed, and then *Alva* ſubſtituted another in his place. Howſoever it were, about the end of *November*, *Aremberg* departing from *Cambray* (three dayes ſupplications being made before he went, for his happy Expedition) joyned his Forces with the Marqueſſe *Villeirs* at *Amiens*, from thence marching up to the King's Army, he did his Majeſty great Service in many Battailes; till the *French* Differences partly ſettled by a Treaty, he was commanded back to the *Low-countreys* by the Duke of *Alva*, who then eſpecially needed ſuch a Generall, and ſuch an Army.

1567.

Great Miſchief done by the Rebells.

The Governeſſe doubts whether ſhe may grant the Embaſſador's Requeſt, But the Duke of Alva *makes no difficulty of it,*

Who furniſhes him with men makes Count Aremberg *their Generall, And offers himſelfe to lead them, But the* French *decline that Offer from a* Spaniard.

About that time *Machiavell* returning from *Spaine* brought her Excellence the King's Letters, wherein after he had ſignified, that three dayes before, his Queen was brought a bed of a Daughter (this is the *Infanta Katherine*, married to *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*) he conſented to her Departure from the *Low-countreys*; profeſſing he allowed of it, as his Siſter's deſire, not for the benefit of the Provinces; for the governing whereof wiſely and undauntedly in times of the greateſt difficulty, hee gave thanks to her vertue in ſelected Words, promiſing aboundantly to remunerate the Service. Vpon the receipt of this Expreſſe, her Excellence delivering to the Duke of *Alva* his Commiſſion for the Government of the *Low-countreys*, ſent by the ſame *Machiavell* out of *Spaine*, and giving notice to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadours, with the Emperour, the *French* King,

Of the Governeſſe's departure from the Low-countreys *October* 10.

The King gives her leave to go,

She delivers to Alva *his Commiſſion, And ſignifies her departure to the Princes her neighbours.*

1567. *Decemb.* 7. *Writes about it to the Eſtates,*

King, and Queene of *England*, that they might informe thoſe Princes of her going, ſhe wrote to the Eſtates of the *Low-countreys*, that ſome things, which ſhe could heartily have wiſh'd to have ſpoke in a publique convention, before ſhe departed from the imbraces of her people, muſt be ſupplied (ſince now ſhe had no further Power from the King to ſummon them) by her Letter; wherein ſetting down briefly, but not ſparingly nor falſly, all ſhe had done in her nine yeares Government, and by what meanes the Troubles, continuing for two yeares paſt, were before the end of *April* ſo compoſed, that ſhe had reduced all the *Low-countreys*, by the Help and Adviſe of the good Subjects, to the King's Obedience: She prayed them, unanimouſly to endeavour the preſervation of the State in the ſame condition, and to perſiſt in the Religion of their Anceſtours, and their Allegeance to their Prince: from whoſe mercy it was to be hoped that even the Tratours themſelves would be gently puniſhed. That ſhe had in her Letter to the King delivered her Opinion concerning it, and would write againe to the like effect, before ſhe departed from them: nor would ſhe heareafter faile to uſe her utmoſt power with her Brother for the Good and Peace of the Low-countrey-men, whom ſhe ſo intirely loved. And accordingly, a while after ſhe wrote in this manner to his Majeſty. "*Sir, The happy Delivery of my Lady the Queene (for which good newes I humbly kiſſe your hand) rejoyceth me beyond expreſſion, to ſee the propagation of that great Bloud, worthy of immortality. But that whilſt you give me leave to depart, you are pleaſed to increaſe your royall Favours, by adding, that for my Governing theſe Provinces to your mind, you your ſelfe (ſo much it pleaſes your Clemency to deſcend) are greatly obliged to me; I muſt confeſſe, nothing could more content me: ſince in all I have done, I only propoſed to my ſelfe your Majeſties ſatisfaction, that being the Rule to all my actions. And if I have my End, I muſt accompt my Labour gloriouſly beſtowed. I will not deny, but in this almoſt nine yeares ſpace, I have gone through many and grievous Difficulties, moſt of my Counſellours being either at variance among themſelves, out of their ambitious Emulation: or their Fidelities by me ſuſpected, at leaſt their Enmity to the* Spaniard, *ſo that it was inconvenient for me, not to heare their Adviſe, and not ſafe to follow it. Yet that amidſt all this darkeneſſe, and the ſubſequent Tempeſt of Rebellion, the Common-wealth was ſteered and peaceably brought into the Harbour by a woman's hand, but by no humane influence; it is only, (which I I muſt acknowledge and reverence) your Piety, for whoſe ſake the Divine Goodneſſe hath aſſiſted me in governing the* Low-countreys *for you. But now ſince by Gods grace things are reduced to ſuch a condition, that nothing remaines but to puniſh the Authors of the Troubles, I cannot omit to ſignifie to your Majeſty, what it is that may chiefly overthrow this preſent happy State. Feare of puniſhment threatned by ſuch an Army, as it hath cauſed many, deſpairing of Pardon, to fly into other Countreys, to the great prejudice of this; ſo I doubt, it will force the reſt, whilſt their flight is ſtopped and they as it were beſieged in the* Low-countreys, *to breake out into more dangerous Factions and Inſurrections. Terrour is not the way to beget reverence in the* Low-countrey-men. *They that adviſe this rigid Courſe (I wiſh I may be deceived) will purchaſe* Spaine *more Envy, then Authority. I am ſure it will bring to the* Low countreys, *firſt, Civill Warre, then forreine Forces, and finally Deſolation. Therefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that, in contemplation of God's Mercy and your own, you will contract Revenge into a few Examples; and rather deſire the Repentance, then the*

And anſwers the King thus *Decemb.* 20

“ *the Puniſhment of your Subjects. So God Almighty long preſerve your Ma-*
“ *jeſty, and the Queene, my Lords the Princes, and your little Daughter.*
In the meane time the newes flying about that the Governeſſe was to goe away, there came dayly from all parts of the *Lowcountreys* men of the beſt quality in the name of their Provinces, profeſſing their own Griefe, and the generall Loſſe; and praying earneſtly, as the manner is, for her happy Journey. The neighbour Princes by their Letters and Embaſſadours did the like; but they were all exceeded by *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, who ſhould hereafter (as ſhe writ) want the neighbour-hood of ſo good and deare a Siſter; perhaps out of love to the Governeſſe, or it may be out of hatred to her Succeſſour the Duke of *Alva.* In *February*, when ſhe was ready to ſet forth, the King having aſſigned her a Penſion of fourteen thouſand Duckets, and the Duke waiting upon her to the Marches of *Brabant*, the *Low-countrey-Lords* into *Germany*, ſhe arrived ſafe in *Italy*: where in a mighty concourſe of People, her Husband the Duke of *Parma* in great State received her; who left in the Low-countrey-mens hearts a deep Impreſſion of her goodneſſe, which the following calamities ſo much augmented, as they ſtuck not in the preſence of *Alva* and *Requeſenes* (which Princes Succeſſours ſeldome heare) to make an honourable, glorious, and almoſt upbraiding mention of her Actions. Nay at *Doway*, when *Margarett Dutcheſſe* of *Parma* out of her love to Learning repaired the *Franciſcans* Colledge, and that her Armes, as the Cuſtome is, were ſet over the Gates, the People never paſſed by but they bowed, and put off their Hats. But their Longing then principally ſhewed it ſelfe, when the *Low-country-men*, writing to the King, earneſtly deſired to have the Dutcheſſe of *Parma* for their Governeſſe againe, as there only Stay and help, in their Afflictions: And ſoone after the Death of *Don John* of *Auſtria*, ſhe, with her *Son Alexander* joyned in Commiſſion, returned to governe the *Low-countreys.*

1567.

Complements ſent to the Dutcheſſe of Parma,
By the Provinces,
And neighbour-Princes,
Eſpecially by the Queene of England.

Febr. 10.

She departs the Netherlands *having a Penſion aſſigned her by the King*
And leaving a great deſire of her Returne in the Low-countrey-men's hearts,
Which they expreſſed in their diſcourſe.

1574.

Out of the Letters of Juan Gaug. Franſican, and others.

The

The Hiſtorie of the *LOW-COVNTREY* WARRES.

The ſeventh Book.

THUS farre I have writt of the *Lowcountreys*, though not flouriſhing in Peace, yet not imbroyled in a continued Warre. Howſoever, their Troubles were compoſed at laſt, and their antient Tranquillity reſtored. Now I muſt open the proſpect of a Hiſtory, where you will read the publique Rebellion of the Provinces, great armies on both ſides, greater Hatred, & many Generalls & Souldiers falling in the Quarrell. Nor am I ignorant, that the Cauſe of all this Miſchiefe is vulgarly imputed to the *Duke* of *Alva*; for before he came Governour to theſe Provinces, his name was hatefull to the *Lowcountrymen*. It is reported when the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, meaning to revenge himſelfe upon *Gant*, asked the Duke of *Alva* what Puniſhment, in his Opinion, they deſerved? He anſwered, that *his Majeſtyes ſtubborne Country deſerved vtter Ruine*. The Emperour offended at this cruell Anſwer, commanded him to go to the top of a Tower, & from thence take a View of the whole Towne, then he asked him, how many Spaniſh Skinnes would goe to the making of ſuch a Glove (for *Gant* in *French* is *Glove*) but finding the Emperour by his looke to be diſpleaſed, *Alva* durſt make no Reply. This Paſſage, becauſe interwoven with the Honour of the Prince and City (whether true or falſe,) was eaſily believed by the *Gantois*, and from them diſperſed with an *Odium* upon *Alva*, through the reſt of the Lowcountreys. And by the *manner* of his Coming he increaſed the Opinion of his Severity, entring the Provinces with an Army, as if his deſigne were to Conquer them: bringing *Spaniſh* Souldiers againe into the *Lowcountreys*, awing the Townes with them, and with the Forts he built; ſentencing *Count Egmont*, a man generally beloved; and Count *Horne* Admirall of the Seas; ſummoning the Prince of *Orange* with other of the Confederates to anſwer their Impeachments. And, it is ſaid, he perſwaded the King, that he ſhould not out of Lenity, (of which there had beene too much allready) pardon any man for the future. And indeede if

1568. *A propoſall of the following Evills.*

The cauſe is commonly charged upon the Duke of Alva out of hatred to him

For his words to the Emperour.

For bringing againe the Spanyards.

For condemning and baniſhing the Lords.

1568. if his Majeſty had granted the Petition made by the Prince of *Orange*, that his owne and his Friends cauſes might be heard by the King, as Maſter of the Order of the Fleece, not by the Duke of *Alva* and his Councell, many thinke they had hardly at this time begun the Warre. But the ſentence of the inraged King (condemning the Prince of *Orange* and his confederates of High Treaſon, and confiſcating their Eſtates) being pronounced by an odious Miniſter, and ſo the *Odium* reflecting upon the Judgement it ſelfe, may ſeeme to have conſtrained their taking of Armes, upon a juſt reſentment; and conſequently, that the miſerable and long Warre enſuing, ſhould rather be charged upon the *Spaniards*, then the *Low-countrey-men*, as ſome ſay; but what are they? men of that number, which, ſaith *Polybius*, conceive the *Cauſes* and *Beginnings* of a Warre to be the ſame. For my owne part, as I will not deny, but that *Alva's* cruell and hatefull Government was the Occaſion and Beginning, ſo I aſſure my ſelfe it was not the *Cauſe* of the Warre: For the cauſe was much deeper grounded. Indeed the Prince of *Orange's* Ambition to command in chiefe, exaſperated with griefe and Anger, heightned by the acceſſe of Hereticks and opportunity of a Party, men of all qualities ingaging; this was the *Cauſe*, which, if it had not then and from that Originall taken fire to kindle a Warre in a little more time, and from another Place, would have found combuſtible matter. Nor can occaſion be long wanting to Improbity. But the Prince of *Orange* his Fact was ſo fortunate, as to find Patronage in the Hatred of another. For he, upon the Sentence pronounced by the Duke of *Alva* againſt him, his Brother, and many great perſons, tooke up Armes, with ſo much the fairer pretence, by how much it ſeemed not only *juſt*, but *glorious* to defend himſelfe, to recover his owne, and to vindicate his Aſſociates, his Son, and Countrey in their Rights and Liberties. In the Relation of which Warre managed by the Duke of *Alva*, and his Succeſſour *Ludovico Requeſenes*, I ſhall contract my ſelfe; eſpecially where I have no more, nor no certainer Intelligence then others. For which two Reaſons I have inlarged my diſcourſe in the Dutcheſſe of *Parma's* Government, and ſhall doe, in that of *Don John of Auſtria*, and of *Alexander Farneze*: For I can promiſe many Animadverſions concerning them, out of the Monuments of Letters in my hands, which are not common. Yet in this Summary, if there be any thing, (as I preſume there will be diverſe) which I know, and is unknowne to others; I ſhall not faile to give it you at full.

Out of all which ſome deduced the Cauſe *of the Warre.*

l. 3. Hiſt. *But improperly.*

A more probable deduction.

How *the Author meanes to write the Governments of* Alva *and* Requeſenes.

Some thought the future Calamities were preſaged, by a Boy borne at *Liege*, with two Heads, foure Feet, and as many Hands, portending as they ſaid, the Monſter of a Confederation to be made out of the joynt Forces of ſundry Nations; which ſoone after came to paſſe. This Terrour was increaſed in minds already diſpoſed to feare, by a Fire immediatly after happening in the City of *Machlin*. For a ſparke falling among the Gunpowder, at the Mills, by accident, or perhaps upon deſigne, tooke hold of 60. Barrels, with ſuch a horrid thunder and Earthquake, that in moſt of the Cityes of *Brabant* the men and houſes trembed at the dreadfull noyſe. Though in regard theſe Powder-Milles uſed to be diſtant from Townes, there were but few men ſlaine; yet there might have been fewer, and would be daily, if as we ſever ſeditious perſons, leſt by coming together they ſet the State in a Combuſtion; ſo the Elements that make Gunpowder were kept a ſunder. But *Alva* more moved with the Loſſe, then with the Prodigy, laid the foundation of a Fort at *Antwerp*, modelled by the

Preſages of the future. *A monſter born at* Liege.

A Fire at Mechlin.

The Fort at Antwerp.

the great Engineere *Paciotto*, approved of by the Judgment of *Serbellonio*, raiſed by the hands of 2000. Workmen, with extraordinary Speed and Succeſſe, becauſe he uſed but one man's contrivance, and one man's counſell. It was built in the forme of a Pentagon, at every one of the ſides was a large bulwarke, to foure of which, the Governour gave his owne name, and titles, *Ferdinando*, *Toledo*, *Duke*, and *Alva*, the fifth he ſuffered to be called *Paciotto*. But this Fort, though it long continued a patterne to all the new Plat-formes of *Europe*: and that *Paciotto* got himſelfe a great name by it, being from thence called the Inventour of the moderne Fortification; yet it was not by all men equally eſteemed, as for other Cauſes, ſo particularly for the Situation, upon that banke of the *Scheldt* which looketh towards *Brabant*, in ſo much as when the Enemy from *Holland* attacques the Towne, it cannot beat them off; as it would have done, had it been placed on the other ſide the City, againſt the mouth of *Scheldt*, oppoſite to *Holland*. But 'tis excuſed by ſome, that ſay, when *Alva* built this Fort, he rather conſidered how he might defend himſelfe from the Towne, then the Towne from the Enemy. And they add, that the place was diſcreetly choſen, as opportune for the bringing in contribution from thoſe Provinces ſubject to the *Spaniard*, which indeed is moſt conſiderable in the building of Forts: a convenience they had wanted in caſe it had looked towards *Holland*. Though, I ſuppoſe, *Serbellonio* had not this in deſigne. For when he raiſed this Fort, *Holland* was no leſſe obedient to the King, then *Brabant*: and therefore he would have provided for contribution from both. But I conceive by that Site he intended the Security of the Fort it ſelfe. For when all the Levell between that and *Holland* lyes ſo much lower, that the River is kept off by huge Piles of wood, leſt it ſhould overflow the Fields and Villages; it had been very inconſiderate, to have fortified where the Enemy tearing up the Wood-piles, the very water would have beſieged the Place, and have forced it to yield. To which danger it is not ſubject, being ſeated on the higher ground. Though afterwards when the *Low-countreys* were divided, and *Holland* brought into the power of the Enemy, that fell out, which was not at firſt thought of, the Advantage of bringing into the Fort Supplyes out of the Provinces in obedience to the King of *Spaine*.

At the ſame time, from the councell of Twelve, nominated by *Alva* to determine without Appeale the cauſes of all Delinquents in the late Tumults, by reaſon of their frequent Sentences of Death, called the Councell of Bloud, *William Naſſau* Prince of *Orange*, *Anthony Lalin* Count *Hochſtrat*, *Florence Pallantius* Count *Culemburg*, *William* Count *Bergen*, *Henry Brederod*, and the other Lords fled out of the *Low-countreys*, were upon *Alva's* command, ſummoned to heare their Accuſations and Impeachments, read by the King's Advocate, and to cleare themſelves of the crimes charged againſt them. But they, preſently ſending a Paper to the Duke of *Alva*, wherein they denyed his Councell to be a lawfull Court of their Companions of the *Golden Fleece*, held it their ſafeſt courſe at a diſtance to defend their Common cauſe. The Prince of *Orange* made ſuite to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and implored his and the *German* Princes Aſſiſtance, that by their Authority, the Difference with the Duke of *Alva* might be compoſed. Unleſſe perhaps he did it, that under pretence of making his Peace, the *Spaniard* might not looke into his preparations for a Warre. Nor did *Cæſar*, or the Princes of the Empire deny their Patronage to the Low-country-men. But the Duke of *Alva* anſwered to the

1568.

It's Figure, of five ſides,

The Architect.

The Site by ſome diſliked.

Hier. Coneſtag. *li.* 2.
Defended by others.
Adrian. Sropernus contra Coneſtag.

But with arguments ill ſuited

The reaſon why it was built in that place.

The Councell for examination of the Tumults.

The Duke of Alva *ſummons the* Belgick *Lords to anſwer their Impeachments.*

They proteſt againſt his proceeding.

The Prince of Orange *ſues for the Patronage of the* German *Princes.*

Who treate with Alva, *But in vaine.*

1568. Letters written by *Maximilian*, and to the Duke of *Bavaria's* Embaſſadour, (whom the reſt of the *German* Lords, as one reſpected by the King, had choſen to repreſent their Deſires to the Governour) that he did not this of himſelfe, but by command from the King; and ſo haſtning their cauſe to a Hearing, yet expecting the number of dayes given for their Appearance, when within that time none of them came in, the Duke of *Alva*, according to the power deputed to him by the King in that caſe to heare and determine, pronounced the Prince of *Orange*, his Brother *Lewis*, and the reſt that were ſummoned by Edict, guilty of High Treaſon, and confiſcated their Eſtates. Likewiſe he put a *Spaniſh* Garriſon into *Breda*, a Towne of the Prince of *Orang'es*, and taking his Son *Philip-William*, a Child of thirteene yeares old, from the Vniverſity of *Lovaine*, where he was a Student, ſent him into *Spaine*: where under the name of *Catholique Education*, the name of *Hoſtage* was concealed. This the Prince of *Orange* ſeemed paſſionately to reſent, execrating with continuall and publique Exclamations, the cruelty uſed to a boy of thirteen, whom neither his own Innocence, nor the priviledges of the Vniverſity of *Lovaine*, could protect from Injury. Yet many, upon very good Grounds conceived his Son's Captivity was pleaſing to this ſubtill Prince, meaſuring all things by his own Advantage. For if the King of *Spaine* prevailed, and conſequently he himſelfe ſhould loſe all he had, yet his Majeſty might be mercifull to the boy, bred up a *Spaniard*; but if, as he hoped, it ſhould otherwiſe fall out, he had a younger Son, *Maurice*, Companion in his Father's Fortune, and Heire to his Eſtate. By the ſaid Councell of twelve, all ſuch were particularly condemned, as the Duke of *Alva*, upon Examination by Inquiſitours ſent through the Provinces, found to have violated Churches or holy Pictures, or to have aſſembled at Sermons, Conſiſtoryes, and turbulent meetings, or to have conſpired againſt the King; either by wearing Cognizances, and owning the names of *Gheuſes*, or by taking Armes, or laſtly by aſſiſting the Rebells with their Endeavours, Counſels, or Forces. Yet the wiſer ſort thought this to be an unſeaſonable Courſe: and that rather, till the Heads had been cut off, the Body ſhould have been gently handled and laid in a ſleepe, leſt if it ſhould be in motion, that agility might eaſily decline the blow made at the head. With the like fury the Duke of *Alva* commanded them to pull down *Culemburg-Houſe*, Where the *Gheuſes* firſt received their Denomination: and upon the place ſetting a Marble-pillar, writ upon the Baſis, as a monument to poſterity, in foure Languages, theſe words, "*In this* Area *ſtood the* "*Houſe of* Florence Pallantius, *ruined in memory of the execrable Treaſon* "*hatched therein at ſeverall times, againſt Religion, the* Roman *Catholique* "*Church, their King, and Countrey.* This Spectacle was rendred more horrid by the late newes from *Spaine*, that Prince *Charles* was impriſoned by the King his Father's command; and that *Florence Momorancy* ſent (as you have heard) into *Spaine* by the Governeſſe, was by warrant from the King a Priſoner in *Segovia*. It was thought the ſame objections were againſt him, that were againſt his Brother Count *Horne*: but the Prince loſt himſelfe by his Favours to the Low-countrey-men. Indeed the Judgement upon *Montiny* was certainly known, he being condemned a yeare after, to loſe his Head; but the cauſe of Prince *Charles* his Death, which happned in this yeare, the more uncertaine and obſcure it was, the more litigiouſly do Writers ſtrive to examine it; moſt men having a naturall Ambition to ſearch into Secrets, and paſſe by things before their eyes. Whatſoever I my ſelfe

The Duke of Alva *gives ſentence againſt the Lords,*

Sends the Prince of Orange's *Son into* Spaine, where Amb. Morales was his Tutour; a great Philoſopher and Divine.

The Prince of Orange *appeares inraged.* In his Apology 1581. *But is not ſo,*

The Councell of twelve condemnes diverſe others,

Alva *razes* Culemberg-*houſe.*

New terrour from Spaine, *By reaſon of Prince* Charles *his misfortune.*

And the Lord Montiny's *death.* *Of* Charles *Prince of* Spaine.

ſelfe have by my Induſtry diſcovered that concernes Prince Charles, I ſhall impartially unfold, not regarding the conceptions of others. 1568.

Charles prince of *Spaine* was of a furious and violent nature, and noted to be ſo from his Childhood, at which time being preſented by ſome Hunters with Levorets, he killed them with his owne hands, that he might have the pleaſure of ſeeing them gaſpe and dye. The *Venetian* Embaſſadonr tooke notice thereof, and from thence made a Iudgment of the Child's barbarous inclination; with as much probability, as long agoe the *Areopagites* cenſured the Boy that put forth the eyes of Quailes. This I have read in the Letters touching the Affayres of *Spaine*, writt by the ſaid Embaſſadour to the Senate of *Venice* And the Prince himſelfe dayly manifeſted the truth of theſe coniectures, by his cruell and monſtrous diſpoſition, not being at many times Maſter of himſelfe; as the Archbiſhop of *Roſsana* the *Popes Nuntio* affimed, writing to Cardinall *Alexandrino.* And the Child grew more headſtrong by reaſon of his Father's abſence; and the indulgence of *Maximilian* King of *Bohemia*, who, with his Queene, *Mary* Daughter to Charles the fifth, governed *Spaine* for King *Philip.* This his Granfather *Charles* the fifth perceived, when after the Reſignment of his Kingdomes, returning out of the *Lowcountryes* into *Spaine*, he grieved exceedingly to ſee the Nature and Education of his Grandchild, then but eleuen yeares old. But King *Philip* having tryed many Remedyes, at laſt made experience of the Vniverſity of *Alcala*, ſending his Son *Charles* thither, accompained with *Don Iohn* of *Auſtria*, and *Alexander Farneze*, Prince of *Parma*; in hope that converſing with ſuch a confluence of learned men, as his body by the change of ayre, ſo his mind might recover by the change of Company. but *Prince Charles* being removed from his *Father*, not from *himſelfe*, the ſickneſſe of his mind altered not with the Place, but ſomewhat increaſed by an accident: for falling from a high Ladder, he pitched upon his Head, and hurt his braine ſo dangerouſly, as the Phyſicians deſpairing of his life, they were ready to lay him out, when the Body of the bleſſed *Didacus* being brought into his Chamber, as he was a dying, King *Philip* (who had come poſt from *Madrid*) vowed, that if the already *beatified Didacus* recovered the Prince, he would be an earneſt Suiter to the *Pope* to give him the title of *Saint.* Whereupon immediately, beyond all expectation, he was reſtored to life. But this wrought no cure upon the Manners of the phantaſtique youth, altogether differing from his Father. Which made King Philip more harſh towards him, and the Prince better pleaſed with any thing then his Fathers Sight. This Averſeneſſe grew as the Prince did; and the King dayly more offended and diſtruſtfull of his Son, from time to time put off the Match concluded beweene Prince *Charles* and the emperour *Maximilian's* Daughter; forbidding him to meddle with Affayres of State, in that point of time, when the Prince thought it but a modeſt Ambition for a youth of twentie two to expect the Crown. From hence ſprung his Hatred to his Father's Favourites and Counſellours which he thought were Spyes over him, and told all he did to the King, adviſing his Majeſty to deferre the Match, and to lay Commands upon him not to act in publique buſineſſe: for which hee ſomtimes threatened them with Revenge. From hence likewiſe ſprung his Favour and Patronage of ſuch as hee knew had offended his Father, and were by him deſerted, eſpecially the *Low-countrymen*; whoſe Embaſſadours, the Marqueſſe of *Bergen*, and the Lord *Montiny* were very

His diſpoſition

What conjectures were made from it.

Quint. 5. *c.* 9.

I. B. Caſtaneo afterwards Vrban VII. *Feb.* 4.

Aloys. Cab in Philip the 2. l. 2. 6. and 8. and. Adrian l. 19. and 20. Hiſt.

Charles *the* 5. *liked not his Grandchild.*

Aloys. Cab. *in* Philip. *the Second.* 2 l. 6.

P Charles *ſent To* Alcala *to ſtudy.*

Lyes at the point of Death.

Recovers miraculouſly.

How unlike to his Father.

Their mutuall averſion out of the Letters of Caſtan. the Popes Nuntio to Car. Alex. 30. Aprill.

Vpon theſe two points.

Out of the ſame Letters to the ſame perſon, 4. Feb.

His hatred to his Fathers Servants.

His Patronage of the Low-countrymen.

 gracious

1568. gratious with him, and often privately called into his Bedchamber; and it is reported he defended their Cauſe more paſſionately, then became him: making them a Promiſe that he would himſelfe goe into the Low-countreys to ſettle thoſe Provinces. And whereas the Governeſſe formerly complained to the King, that many Letters of high concernement, written to his Majeſty in *Spaine*, were returned into the *Low-countreys* to their hands againſt whom they were written, I thinke it not improbable, that it might proceed from that Familiarity betwene the Prince and the *Low-country*-Embaſſadours. Sure I am, when the Duke of *Alva* being to goe for the *Low-countreys* tooke his leaue at Court, and came to kiſſe the Prince's Hand, his Highneſſe caſt a terrible frown upon him, and replyed, No man ſhould go thither but himſelfe. And when *Alva* ſaid that he was ſent before by the King, to quiet the Tumults raiſed in the *Lowcountreys*, where it was not ſafe to venture the Heire apparent to the Crowne, The Prince in a rage drew his Dagger, ſaying, I will prevent thy Iourney. The Duke hardly declined the Blow, and, when he ſaw the furious youth ſtrike at him againe, graſped him hard betwene his Armes, in the poſture of a Suppliant, kneeling, and beſeeching him not to offer Violence to an old and faithfull Servant: but ſtill notwithſtanding his youth and fury, the Duke held his Hands: till the noiſe of their Struggling brought in the Waiters, that were but on the other ſide the Hangings, then the Prince withdrew. From this time, he reſolved, whether his Father would or no, to paſſe into the *Low-countreys*, and from thence to *Germany* to his Miſtris; acquainting his vncle *Don Iohn* of *Auſtria* and two others with his Reſolution, earneſtly deſiring them to go along. *Don Iohn* ſhewing him how difficult it was, and indeed impoſſible to be effected, when he ſaw his perſwaſions wrought not, and found the Prince obſtinately bent upon the voiage, imagining the King would know it by ſome other, to whom the raſh inconſiderate youth would impart his Counſell, he himſelfe ingaged the King by the Diſcovery, fearing if he kept it ſecret, he might be held acceſſary to the Princes Flight. The King commending *Don Iohn's* Fidelity, and being informed of his Son's Intention by many others, and laſtly by *Raymont De Taſſis* his Majeſty's Principall Secretary, hearing that he had layed Horſes at ſeverall Stages for the Speeding of his Iourney, remained in a ſad ſuſpence: yet before he would fix his reſolution, his Majeſty commanded Prayers and Supplcations to be made in all Churches of the Towne, and deſired the Adviſe of certaine great learned men, well knowne unto him. The Opinion of *Martin Azpilcueta* Doctour of *Navarre* the famous Caſuiſt (for this of all the reſt I have only ſeene) was briefely, that the King could not, without grievous ſinne, neglect the ſafety of his Kingdome; but it would be neglected, if he permitted the Prince to go away, who afarre off, and therefore more confidently and and publiquely bandying againſt his Father, would diſtract the Kingdome into Factions and Partyes; juſt as it hapned to *Charles* the ſeventh of *France*, upon the difference betweene him and his Son *Lewis*, when he fled into *Burgundy*. But the Father was put out of his doubts by his Sons haſt, who, as *Raymond* brought word, had appointed the next day for his Departure. Therefore the King would no longer deliberate; but taking a long the Prince of *Ebora*, the Duke of *Feria*, and two others, about tewlve a clock at night entred his Son's Bedchamber, who was faſt aſleepe, and taking away his Sword, which he had laid under his Pillow, bade him riſe immediately, and blaming him that having fruſtrated ſo many gentle

More violent then it ought to have been,
His purpoſe to go for the Low countreys

His Endeavours to hinder the Duke of Alva's Belgick *Expedition.*

Out of the ſaid Letters to the ſame man.
April. 30.
He reveales his Deſigne to Don Iohn, Marqueſſe Peſcaria. Duke Mid. Rioſiou.
Who firſt diſſwades him. Afterwards acquaints the King with it.

The King ſeeks helpe from God,
And Counſell from prudent men what to do in the Caſe of his Son.
1456. Paul. Æmil. in Gar. 7. and Haræus in Philip the Good,
Who being to take poſt by breake of day, Was ſeized at midnight:
Rui Gomez. Prince of Eb. Gomez Figueroa Duke of Feria, Anthonio de Toledo Priour of Leon, and Aloyſio Quiſciada.

gentle Remedies uſed by his Father, he had forced him to a ſharper courſe, but more ſeaſonable for his Son, he opened his Cabinets, and tooke out his papers, diſcharged his old Servants, and gave the Prince in cuſtody to ſome of his owne chuſing And now the unfortunate Prince, who but a while ſince was continually waited on by the Lords and Grandees of *Spaine*, ſtriving to kiſſe his Hand; ſeeing himſelfe guarded by a few men, and thoſe Enemies, that obſerved his words, his looks, and almoſt dived into his Thoughts: after ſix Months, when he found his Father not moved with Embaſſages in his behalfe from the Princes of *Europe*, and Petitions preſented from his own Kingdomes: falling into a Sickneſſe, cauſed partly by an obſtinate Refuſall of his Meate, partly by his ſometimes intemperate eating, and drinking Wine too much cooled in Snow, beſides the diſtempers of his mind, if he were not *poiſoned*, he *dyed* upon Saint *James* his Eue. Foure dayes before (having for a long time equally ſlighted the cure of Body and Soule) God turning his Minde, he called for his Ghoſtly Father, and confeſſing his Sinnes, with great compunction, ſending one to his Father to begge pardon for his Diſobedience, holding a hallowed Candle in his hand, gave up the ghoſt. I know this Relation will not pleaſe ſome, that greedily ſwallow downe the fouleſt Surmizes, without any diſtinction or reſpect to Truth or Falſe-hood: for whoſe palates, if I were minded to dreſſe my Diſcourſe, I might inſtance the Rebellion of the Moores at this very time, and make *Prince Charles* their Incourager, and ſay, that he ſollicited *Selimus* the *Turkiſh* Emperour, by *Micheſius* the Jew; fled out of *Spaine*, as I have formerly related. I might likewiſe move a jealouſie, that the Faction of the *Low countrey*-Covenanters was aſſiſted by Prince *Charles*, and might interpret that to be the reaſon why they reſolved to ſend into *Spaine* many thouſands of *Calvins* Catechiſmes tranſlated into *Spaniſh*, whereof the Governeſſe (as I told you) ſent Intelligence to King *Philip*: & *Pope Pius* the fifth wrote to his Majeſty, that ſome Cheſt fulls of them were found at *Lyons* and *Tholouſe*. Nor ſhould I paſſe over the Death of Queene *Iſabella*, Wife to King *Philip*, there being but a few moneths between the Prince his Death and her's, as if their too much Familiarity (for *Iſabella* ſhould have beene marryed to Prince *Charles*) had been the cauſe of both their fates. Laſtly, I might tell you, how the Prince had a deſigne upon his Father's life, either out of affection to the Crowne, or hatred to the King, grounding my conjecture upon common fame, which ſpread ſo farre, that to my knowledge this verſe of *Ovid* was uſed to that purpoſe in the *Low-countreys*; firſt applied, as they ſay, by *Opmerus*:

> 1568.
> *A guard ſet upon him in his Lodgings.*
> *his Infelicity,*
> *His religious Death.*
> Out of the Letters of Caſtan. the Popes Nuncio to Card. Alex. 27. July. Didacus de Chiaves.
> *Cauſes, that might ſound probable, for the impriſonment and death of Prince* Charles.
> *The Rebellion of the* Moores *in* Spaine.
> *The* Belgick *Faction countenanced by him.*
> Ant. Gabie. in vita P.II l. 3. c 3
> 1566.
> *Too much familiarity with the Queen his Step-mother,*
> *A Plot to murther his Father*

FILIVs ante DIeM patrIos InqVIrIt In annos.

> *Lib. 1. Metamorph.*
> MDLXVIII.

Wherein both the Prince's Fact, and the yeare of his Death, are expreſſed in numerall Letters. But this kind of learning, as darke and intricate, I willingly leave to thoſe Writers, that by Interpretation of ſuch *Oracles* are ambitious to be famed for acuteneſſe of wit, and divination; they ſeeming to me, beſides their uncertainty, to have no colour of Truth. For not to ſpeake of the Love betwixt the Queene and Prince, which if it had been true, the King to breake that League would have haſtned, not put off, the Princes Marriage with his Coſen-german; if the Prince had plotted any thing againſt his Father, he might every day have executed it by himſelfe, and with his owne hands: as being young, and coming reſolved againſt an unprepared old man: or if he would have raiſed Tumults and

> *But all theſe* Cauſes *were uncertaine, Or rather falſe*

1568. and called in help, no doubt but he had needed many hands: and conſequently, when the Prince fell, thoſe of his Party (I ſuppoſe) could not have ſtood; yet the Princes Death was the loſſe of no mans Life. Nay the King to leſſen the envy both of his Son's Impriſonment and Death, knowing himſelfe aſperſed by diverſe perſons, in particular, by *Mary* the Empreſſe, the Prince's Aunt, and deſirous to match her Daughter to the Heire of ſo many Kingdomes, would he not have pretended the cauſe of ſuch Severity to have been his Son's impious Deſignes? Notwithſtanding, in his Letter to the Empreſs, he denyed that his Son was found guilty of any treaſonable Intention, but ſaid, it was fit he ſhould be impriſoned for his *own*, howſoever for the *Kingdome's* Good. And a few dayes after his Son's Commitment, ſending the Preſident of his Councell of *Caſtile* to the Archbiſhop of *Roſſana*, the *Popes nuncio*, he aſſured the Biſhop from the King, there was no other reaſon of that Change (as the Biſhop himſelfe wrote to Cardinall *Alexandrino* in the Preſident's words) then his Majeſties Reſolution to prefer Religion and the Safety of his Subjects before his owne bloud, which compelled him in a manner, to ſacrifice his only Son: leſt he ſhould have been more than ingratefull for the great benefits God had beſtowed upon him. Afterwards his Majeſty inſerted in his Letters to forreine Princes and to his owne Kingdomes, that the Rumour ſpread abroad of a Plot which his Son had upon his life was idle & falſe. But this fortune proved peculiar to the two *Charles'es*, the Grand-father & Grand-childe, that the one's Deſire to reſigne, and the other's to inveſt the Soveraignty, very much buſied the wits of Writers. The *Low-countrey*-Lords and Commons affrighted with the King's forrein and domeſticall Severity; every man as his conſcience accuſed him, ſhifted for himſelfe, few hoped for Pardon, many thought of Armes and Revenge. In ſo much as *Alva* himſelfe hardly eſcaped at the Monaſtery of *Greene-vaile*, to which he was going in devotion: an Ambuſh being laid in the woods, by *Reſſorius Nohott* to ſurprize him by the way. And when he came thither, he was in danger to have been murthered in the very Monaſtery by *Charles Reſſorius*, his Brother, who had taken the habit of a Monke, pretending feare of the Duke.

January 21 What the King wrote concerning his Son's Impriſonment.

Didaco Cardinall Spinoſa. *January 24 What he cauſed to be divulged privately.*

And publiquely The ſaid Nuncio to the ſaid Cardinall.

January 27 Charles *the fifth, & Prince* Charles.

The Low-countreys *in great feare,*

An Ambuſcado layed for the Duke of Alva.

But now the Prince of *Orange* profeſſing himſelfe the King's Enemy, made his Addreſſes to the Princes of *Germany*, and partly for Religion, partly for Kindred's ſake, moving them to take Armes, with his Friends in the *Low-countreys* and *France*; it was ſo ordered, that the Provinces were to have at one time a tripartite Invaſion. From *Juliers* the *Nohots* the Brothers, *Dui*, *Villers*, and others were to paſſe the River of *Moſe*, under the Command of Count *Hochſtrat*. *Francis Cocquevill* that to the *Low-countrey*-Exiles had joyned ſome forces raiſed upon the Borders of *France*, was to fall upon *Artois*. *Frizeland* was committed to *Lewis* and *Adolph* Brothers to the Prince of *Orange*, and to *Juſtus Schouwenberg*. The Prince himſelfe being, after theſe Beginnings, to follow with a ſtrong Army; had choſen *Brabant* for his head-Quarters, many having great hopes, that he would ſhortly beat *Alva* and the *Spaniards* out of the *Low-countreys*. But *Hochſtrat's* Forces received firſt a Repulſe by *Sancho Avila*, beyond the *Moſe*, and afterwards, joyning Battaile with him, a Totall overthrow: *Villers* and *Dui* being tooke Priſoners. *Cocquevill's* Army, againſt whom the *French* King at *Alva's* Requeſt, had ſent *Coſſè* a Colonell of Horſe, was forced to retreat into the Towne of *Saint Valery*, and there defeated, the Commanders carryed to *Paris* and beheaded. Thus was thanks

The Prince of Orange's *firſt Expedition out of* Germany *into the* Low-countreys.

Forces ſent to begin the War. Out of Iuliers. *Out of* Artois. *Out of* Friſland

The firſt Army defeated by Avila.

The ſecond by Colonel Coſſè ſent from King Charles *of* France.



John Lignius Count Aremberg
Governour of Frisland
Generall at yᵉ Battaile of Hilligel.

1568

thanks returned by the King of *France* to the Duke of *Alva* for ſending Count *Aremberg* with his Auxiliaries into *France*, and the agreement made at *Baion* on both ſides religiouſly obſerved. But in *Friezland* the buſineſſe began in a farre different manner, *Lewis* and *Adolph* of *Naſſau*, with other Commanders, had entred that Province, and Poſſeſſing themſelfes of *Dam* and ſome other Townes made a halt neare the *Bay* of *Dullart*, which Bay was gained by the Sea, with a memorable deſtruction of thirty three Villages ſwallowed up by the ſalt water at one time. To ſtop them here, Count *Aremberg* Governour of *Friezland* met them with the *Sardinian* and *Spaniſh* Forces, of *Gonſalvo Bracamonte*, and his owne *German* Regiment, whereto were added ſome Companyes of the Gentry of *Haynolt*, and *Artois*, newly arrived from *France*: And indeed he was very fortunate in his firſt Skirmiſhes, the *Spaniards* being particularly incouraged at the ſight of *Dam* (out of which thirtie yeares before the Emperours Army had beaten the Duke of *Gelderland*, and won a famous Victory) with like valour they regained the Towne, putting to flight the *Naſſavians*. The next day *Aremberg* coming up to them, lodged his Army neare *Winſchot*, and the Abby of *Hilligel*, well knowing the place was full of blind Pits covered over with Rubbiſh and the water ſtanding in in them. Therefore conſidering himſelfe to be the weaker in Horſe, and that *Naſſau* had the advantage of the place, he only ſkirmiſhed with them, & though *Lewis* offered him battaile, yet declined it, expecting the Count of *Megen* with *Martinengho's* Horſe which lay at *Groening*. But in the mean time, whilſt *Aremberg*, as if he did but play with *Naſſau* and meant not to hurt him, was publiquely cenſured by the *Spaniards*, deſirous to fight a Battaile: the Generall not able to indure ill language, profeſſing that ſuch precipitation would hazard all, regarded Rumour more then Safety, and leading out his men (rather following them) avoided as much as he could the Pits of water; but not aware of an Ambuſh laid by Count *Lewis* at the bottome of a hill, ſet his men in battaile and began the fight. Where reſolving to ſtop the mouthes of thoſe baſe Detractors, by a cleare evidence of his Courage and fidelity, beholding *Adolph* of *Naſſau* valiantly rallying his men on the other ſide the field, he put ſpurres to his Horſe, and charged him; and though he was ſhot by the way, yet the fiercer for his wound, firſt diſcharged his Piſtoll at *Adolphus*, and then ran him to the heart with his Sword; and *Aremberg* himſelfe, his Horſe being firſt killed, and he mortally wounded by *Adolph*, reviving the example of *Brutus* and *Aruns Tarquin's* Son, fell dead to the ground, *Adolphus* dying not far off. The reſt of Count *Aremberg's* Army, ignorant of the wayes, falling upon Ambuſcadoes, were by the *Naſſavians* either cut off, or miſerably ſhattered, dearly paying for their unſeaſonable Valour. And though upon the place was loſt the flower of the *Spaniſh* Army, ſeven of their Enſignes, and five Captaines being ſlaine, and the ſix Cannon of the *Groine* taken (which had their names from the firſt ſix Elements of Muſick) with great Summes of Money for the Souldiers Pay. Yet all the reſt was nothing, compared with the ſole loſſe of *Iohn* Count of *Aremberg*. He was of the Houſe of *Lignius*, called Lord of *Barbanſon*, before he had the Title of Count of *Aremberg* by his Wife, a *German* Lady. No Commander was ever famed for more Valour and Fidelity, which moved the Emperour *Charles* to make him Knight of the *Golden-Fleece*: and King *Philip*, to truſt him with the Governement of the Provinces of *Friezland* and *Overyſell*. Laſtly the Emperour *Maximilian* created him a Prince of the

The battaile between Count Aremberg *and* Lewis *of* Naſſau.

1277. Arembergc's *men victorious at firſt.*

Commanded by Scemkey.

Charles *Duke of* Gelders.

The place where they fought.

Aremberg *would have put off the fight.*

Curtius *Comes* Martinengho.

The Spanyards *raile at him.*

He joynes battaile.

Out of the Letters of Mic. Barbanſon *to the Dutcheſs of* Parma. 30. May. Delr. l. 1. Alt. Belg.

With his owne hands kills Adoph *of* Naſſau.

By whom he himſelfe is mortally wounded.

Tit. Livy. l. 2.

The Spaniards put the ſword.

Vt Re Mi Sol Fa La.

The merits of Count Aremberg.

1568. the Empire. Yet the Conſtancy of a Generall which he ever maintained in all former Battailes, he quitted in this laſt, not being able to ſuffer abuſive Tongues. The like impatience a few Months before cauſed the Death of *Momorancy* Conſtable of France, a man equall to the greateſt; only that he might not be ſuſpected, as ſome taxed him, to ſpare his Coſen the Prince of *Condè*, or his Kinſmen the *Colligny's*. Iuſt ſo Count *Aremberg* to ſilence the Slanderers of his Fidelity, caſt himſelfe away, fighting and dying more *valiantly* then *wiſely*, leſt there might be a Jealouſie upon his Faith. I know ſome relate it otherwiſe, and impute this unhappy ſucceſſe to Count *Aremberg* himſelfe; who either in contempt of the Enemy, beaten in the laſt dayes Skirmiſhes, or ambitious of the whole honour which he would not ſhare with Count *Megen*, precipitated his owne and his Armyes Fate: as it is likewiſe written in vulgar Hiſtories, that he was ſlaine not by the hand of Count *Adolph*, but of a Common Souldier. But I follow Authours that were preſent at the Fight. And eaſily I ſhall prove their miſtake, who affirme in their Writings that a few dayes after, when the victorious *Naſſavians* were forced to raiſe their Siege from the *Groine*, Count *Megen* dyed ſhot with a Muſket-bullet; who, notwithſtanding, foure yeares or there about after this Battaile, governed *Friezland* by commiſſion from the Duke of *Alva*, in the place of Count *Aremberg* deceaſed. The name of *Charles Brimè* Count of *Megen* is read in the Inſcription of a votive Monument erected at *Leovard*, when he was Governour of *Friezland*, in memory of his eſcape from that fearfull Deluge of water in the yeare 1571. And not till the 8 of *January*, the yeare following the Inundation (as I find recorded in the Annals of *Friezland*) dyed *Charles Brimè*, a great Souldier, and for his knowledge in civill buſineſſe much eſteemed by the Governeſſe *Margaret* of *Auſtria*.

His death diverſly reported

Thuanus l. 41. and others. *Count* Megen *dyed not at this time.*

Anno.1572 *January* 8. Pierius Vinſemius in his Hiſt. of Friezland, *But foure yeares after,*

The death of Count *Aremberg* incouraged not the mind of the Prince of *Orange* and the Confederates more, then it exaſperated the Duke of *Alva*, and haſtened his March into *Friezland*, to prevent *Lewis* of *Naſſau* from joyning forces with the Prince of *Orange*. But the Duke fearing that in his abſence ſome Tumult might be raiſed in favour of the Lords his Priſoners, freed himſelfe of that ſuſpicion: eſpecially being inraged for the loſſe of Count *Aremberg*, & at the newes brought him that *Grave Lewis* had hanged many *Spaniards* in Revenge of his Brother *Adolph's* Death. And though diverſe of his Friends did not ſo well approve his Reſolution, but indeavoured to perſwade him there was no danger of a Tumult in the *Low-countryes*, ſo long as he had for his Security ſuch Hoſtages as thoſe Priſoners. And that it was no more to be doubted, that the *Low-countreymen* would out of their affection forceably attempt any thing for the Liberty of the impeached Lords; then it was to be hoped, that the ſame affection would diſſwade them from ſtirring, leſt by a popular offence they might wrong thoſe Noble-mens private cauſe. Yet the Duke of *Alva* deſpiſing this Adviſe, as one that long experience had made jealous, and of his owne nature was averſe to other mens counſells, which he looked upon with the aſpect of a retrograd Planet, eſpecially when they offered themſelves; on the firſt of *June*, Nineteene noble Covenanters were condemned of High Treaſon, by the Councell of twelve, and by the Duke of *Alva's* Order beheaded in the Sand-market at *Bruxells*. Eight whereof dyed religiouſly, the other Eleven like Hereticks as they were, obſtinately; and therefore the bodyes of thoſe were buryed, but the other (all but foure Lords) being tyed to Stakes, and their Heads ſet upon Poles, were left

The Duke of Alva *proceeds againſt the impeached Lords and Gentlemen,*

His friends diſſwade him,

Firſt, he puts to death 19.

1568.

left in the Fields, and the ſame courſe was afterwards taken with the reſt. For the next day, in the ſame place, foure Gentlemen more ſuffered the ſame death, in which number was *Villers* and *Dui*, Commanders lately taken at the Battaile of *Juliers*: and though both of them dyed equally good Chriſtians, yet not with equall ſenſe, for *Villers* publiquely proteſted, that *Alva* had condemned him to free himſelfe of the Obligations *Villers* had laid upon him: but his Judge himſelfe ſhould not long be unſentenced. Contrarily, *Dui* gave humble thanks to the King and the Duke of *Alva* for that end, and prayed the people to pardon and pray for him. Likewiſe at *Vilvord*, *Anthony Stral*, late Conſul of *Antwerp*, *Caſembrot Secretary* to Count *Egmont*, and others, impriſoned for the ſame Fact, were in the ſame manner condemned and beheaded. The *Provoſt*-Marſhall that gave order in the Duke of *Alva's* name for their Execution was *John Spel*, a great ſtickler in Cauſes of Life and Death, who, a while after, being found guilty of many hainous crimes, was by the Duke of *Alva's* command hanged up, to the great Joy of the *Low-countrey-men*. But theſe puniſhments ſeemed only to uſher in the Death of the two Counts; the laſt Scene of whoſe ſad Tragedy was acted with a great Terrour to the Spectatours, and (which the Authour wiſhes had not been) with their greater Indignation.

Then others, Riſorius. Carloi. Dui. Villers.

Yet more.

John Groneir Spel, Prevoſt de Campagna, ou Droſſart rural.

Fammianus Strada.

The Counts *Egmont* and *Horne* had now been priſoners for nine months in the Caſtle of *Gant*. In which time I find all poſſible meanes uſed to the Duke of *Alva*, to the King, to the Emperour, to the Princes Electors, and to all the Companions of the *Golden-Fleece*, without whoſe joynt conſents it was pretended none of the Order could be put to death. But they that moſt earneſtly ſollicited the cauſe were *Mary Momorancy*, Siſter to Count *Horne*; and *Sabina Palatina* of *Bavier*, Count *Egmont's* Lady. And indeed her Petition, ſent into *Spaine* by *Octavio* Duke of *Parma* and his Wife *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, cannot well be read by any one without commiſeration. Either where ſhe remembred the King of *the Cuſtomes obſerved in the cauſes of his Companions of the Order; quoting the Lawes, and inſtancing Examples*; or where She puts him in mind of *the ſeverall painfull ſervices done by her Husband, even before he was* 18. *yeares of age, both for the Emperour* Charles, *and for King* Philip *himſelfe: The many undaunted hazards of his Life at* Algiers, *in* Gelderland, *and in his warres with* France. *Laſtly, ſhe humbly prayed his Majeſty, to be mercifull, and not ſuffer an unfortunate Mother, and eleven innocent Children, with ſo ſad a loſſe and Diſgrace, to wander through the World, a miſerable and continued example of humane Calamity.* Notwithſtanding, the King's Advocate proceeded to the Examination of witneſſes, taking foure moneths of the nine to prove the Impeachment, and leaving to the Priſoners the other five moneths, for their defence. The whole proceſſe, if I had time to give it you as it lyes by me, in a volume: I doubt not but I ſhould in this place ſatisfie many, covetous of ſuch novities. But I hold it more agreeable to the Hiſtory's Honour, and the Reader's haſt, to ſet down only the heads. It was charged againſt the Counts, *Egmont*, and *Horne*, "that they had "plotted with the Prince of *Orange* and other Noble-men, to diſpoſſeſſe "the King of the *Low-countreys*, and to divide the Provinces among them-"ſelves. To that end, were their indeavours of expelling cardinall *Gran-*"*vell*, who looked into their Deſignes. Nor would they leave off their "Ænigmaticall Cognizances of Hoods, and Arrowes, the manifeſt ſignes "of their Conſpiracy, till they had inforced his Majeſty to call the Car-

Many intercede for the Counts Egmont *and* Horne.

Mary *wife to Count* Mansfeldt. Sabina *Counteſſe of* Egmont.

October 1. *Her humble Petition to the King.*

The King's Advocate ſtill followes the cauſe againſt the Priſoners. Charges them both, Among diverſe other things, With theſe Particulars. The ſumme of their Indictment.

1568. "dinall out of the *Low-countreys*. That they did not onely know of the "Covenant; but that *Caſembrot*, *Egmont's* chiefe Secretary, who had "made his Lord privy to his taking of it, was not only not turned away, but "did his ordinary meniall Service, as before. And *Horne*, who was ob- "liged, as Governour of the place, to have aſſiſted the Generall *Bea- "vor*, ſent by the Governeſſe to drive *Villers* and the reſt of the Cove- "nanters out of *Tournay*, had conſulted with the Magiſtrate about the "expelling of *Beavor*. That both of them were profeſſed Patrons to the "Covenanters, the Conſiſtorians, and Merchants, promiſing them to live "and dye with them. That they treated at *Dendermond* with the Prince "of *Orange* his Brother *Lewis*, Count *Hochſtrat*, and ſome few confede- "rates, to ſtop the King's paſſage into the *Low-countreys*, and were often "preſent at ſuch Meetings. That they oppoſed not the *Gheuſes*, when "they plundred Churches, which Picture-ſcuffle was begun in *Flanders* "Count *Egmont's* Province. And that Count *Horne* had ſuffered ſome of "them at *Tournay* to eſcape out of priſon; by name, one of the chiefe In- "cendiaries, *Ferdinand Martin*, more then once committed to the Jayle "for Sacriledge. That they had not been ayding to Magiſtrates of Townes "(whereof they themſelves were Governours) requiring their Aſſiſtance "againſt thoſe Violaters of holy things. That they had explained the "Governeſſe's Commands againſt Hereticks, contrary to the Gover- "neſſe's mind, granted them Churches to preach in, and done other "things (of which many Particulars were inſtanced) contrary to the "Duties of ſuch perſons as were Governours of Provinces, Privy Coun- "ſellours, Knights of the *Golden-Fleece*, and Subjects to the King of "*Spaine*. For all which, lawfully charged, and proved againſt *Egmont*, "and *Horne*, the Kings Advocate earneſtly moved the Court, that Sentence "might be pronounced againſt them, as Traitours, their Eſtates confiſ- "cated, and they condemned to loſe their heads. To this *Egmont* and *Horne*(as both their cauſes were of the ſame nature) premiſed, that "ſaving "to themſelves all advantages in Law, which bound them not to render "an accompt of their Actions to any, but to the King, who together "with the Companions of the Order, was the only legall Judge over the "Knights of the *Golden-Fleece*; they anſwered ſeverally, but ſo, as to the "greateſt part of the Charge they pleaded, not guilty. Many things "they interpreted; ſome they confeſſed, but alledged they were done le- "gally. That they had conſulted about changing of their Prince they ab- "ſolutely denyed; and *Horne* very much complained, as if he were wrong- "ed with ſuch an imputation. As to that of conſulting to barre the *Spa- "niards* entrance into the *Low-countreys*; *Egmont* denyed not, but that "in the meeting at *Dendermond*, ſome ſuch thing was ſpoken by *Lewis* of "*Naſſau*, the reſt diſſenting; and therefore it was not neceſſary he ſhould "advertiſe the Governeſſe of a conference, wherein nothing was conclu- "ded. How they proceeded with the confederate Gentlemen, they ex- "plained. That they made ſome Conceſſions to the Covenanters, the "Picture-breakers, and Hereticks, but ſuch as they were forced to, by "neceſſity, and the good of Religion, which without doubt had been "otherwiſe ſubverted in *Flanders*, wherein no leſſe then threeſcore thou- "ſand men went *armed* to Sermons. Nor without a Toleration would they "ever have reſtored their Churches to the Catholiques, as they did. Nor "was it leſſe needfull to give ſome way to them at *Tournay*, and in *Tour- "naceſe*, the Hereticks being there the ſtronger party. That they juſtly "oppoſed

He concludes this to be matter enough for Sentence of Death to paſſe upon them.

C. Egmont's Province.

Count Horne's *Province.*

1568.

"oppoſed the Cardinall, as pernicious to the Government of the Provin-
"ces. That *Caſembrot* was retained in *Egmont's* Family, for the Service
"he undertooke to do againſt the Church-Robbers. That *Tournay* being
"then well pacified had no uſe for *Beavor*, and therefore they conſulted
"about ſending him away, eſpecially being requeſted ſo to doe, by thoſe
"of *Flanders*. Thus in order ſeverally, and reſpectively, they anſwered to the other parts of their Impeachment; which if I ſhould but run over, would be an infinite worke, Count *Hornes* particular charge conſiſting of 600. heades. How they cleared themſelves I define not. Truly I know many of thoſe very Objections were made againſt them both, to his Majeſty, by the Governeſſe. Nay their deſigne of dividing the Provinces I find to be diſcovered euen by the Biſhop of *Oſnaburg*, in *Weſtphalia*, who gave intelligence thereof to the Governeſſe by *Cobell* one of his Counceil; adding that he heard it long ſince from Count *Suarzemburg* coſen to the *Prince* of *Orange*, and by *George Holly* a *German* Colonell, when they were merry at Supper, where they ſaid the King of *Denmarke* would put in for a ſhare. All which the Governeſſe inſerted in her Letters to the King, as we have related in the yeare 66. Notwithſtanding the people giving their Judgement, either out of *hatred* to the Duke of *Alva*, or out of *love* to *Count Egmont*, acquitted him, and laid all the fault upon *Alva*, as one that envied *Egmont*, his old Rivall in the Warres. They likewiſe reported, that he bare a grudge to Count *Egmont*, becauſe, long ſince, the Count won many thouſand Crownes of him at Dice: and afterwards, in a publique Solemnity, when they ſhot at markes for a wager, the Duke of *Alva* loſt it, the *Low-countrey-men* ſhouting for Joy, that one of their Nation had the victory over a *Spaniſh* Generall. Which Stories either falſe, or little trifling matters, yet remembred by the vulgar, were brought in, to foment their pitty. And I verily believe in the proceſſe of this Triall, a greater *Odium* was caſt upon the Duke, then he deſerved. Nay I have read, how it was affirmed by very worthy men, that after their ſentence was brought out of *Spaine*, *Alva* wrote to the King; that he was every day ſlower to put it in execution, becauſe he fore-ſaw what miſchiefe would inſue: and that the King, incenſed againſt *Egmont* (partly for the promiſe of his Faith made when he was in *Spaine*, but not performed, partly for the many complaints againſt him, writ to his Majeſty by the Governeſſe, and aggravated by Cardinall *Spinoſa*, then the great man at Court) blamed the Duke of *Alva's* Slackneſs, & commanded him according to former Order, forthwith to diſpatch him. Yet the *Duke* deferred execution, til the Prince of *Orange* invading *Brabant*, he was forced to meet him with his Army. Perhaps this Relation may not gaine like credit with all perſons; but howſoever no man's Malice to *Alva*, ſhall deterre me from writing what I have from good hands receive'd As alſo the peoples Favour to *Egmont*, ſhall not make me omit the clearing him of a Crime, which I find by many obiected againſt him, That he received great Summs of money, which made him winke at diverſe things acted in his Provinces, ſuch as he being a military man, and not conſidering of what dangerous conſequence they were to Religion, did not imagine to be ſo preiudiciall to the Church. Yet this offence, not touched in his Impeachment, wherein nothing was pretermitted, either by negligence, or out of Favour, I ſuppoſe to be a Fiction. Howſoever *Egmont* and *Horne* were brought from *Gant* to *Bruxells* the third of June, and by the Duke of *Alva* Preſident of the Councell of twelve (the King having inabled him by peculiar Com-

Some of theſe Heads the Governeſſe had objected againſt them to the King. *Auguſt.* 20. 1566.

The People doe not thinke them guilty but conceive all this to be the malice of C. Egmont's *Rivall,* Alva: *Whom the Count had foyled.*

The Duke of Alva *not ſo culpable in this, as ſome imagine.* In Adrianus Stopernus.

See the yeares 65.

Whether Count Egmont *bribed by the Rebells, connived at them.*

The Duke of Alva *pronounces Sentence of death upon the Counts* Egmont *and* Horne.

 miſſion

1568. miſſion to exerciſe Authority over the Knights of the *Golden-Fleece*) Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt them, and *Martin Rithovius*, Biſhop of *Ipres* ſent to acquaint them with it, and aſſiſt them in their laſt neceſſity. And *Egmont*, though it much troubled him he ſhould come to an end ſo farre below his Merits, yet collecting himſelfe, as became a Valiant man: and only carefull of his Wife and Children, wrote in *French* to the King. The Copy of which Letter ſent by *Chriſtopher Aſſonvill*, to the Governeſſe, I here give you; " *Sir, ſince you are pleaſed that Sentence " of Death muſt paſſe upon your humble and faithfull Subiect and Servant, " who never aimed at any thing but your Majeſtyes Service; for advancement " whereof, as my paſt Actions teſtify, I neither ſpared my paines nor fortunes; " but to a thouſand dangers have expoſed my life, which never was ſo pretious " to me, but that if it might any way be offenſiue to your Majeſty, I would a hundred times before this have exchanged it for death. Therefore I doubt " not, but when you ſhall fully underſtand the Carriage of Buſineſſe in theſe " parts, you will clearly perceive how iniuriouſly I have beene uſed, whilſt " they have perſwaded your Majeſty againſt me, in things that never entred " my Imagination. I call God to witneſſe; and I pray that he will revenge it " upon my ſoule, that muſt this day appeare before his Iudgment-Seat, if " I have neglected any part of that, which I beleive'd to be my Duty towards " my King, and Country. I therefore beſeech you, Sir, I, that ſhall petition your " Majeſty no more, that for the Reward of all my painefull Services, you will " pleaſe a little to commiſerate my Wife, and eleven Children, with the reſt " of my Family, which I have commended to ſome few Friends yet left me. " And preſuming your Majeſty, out of your native Clemency will not deny " me this, I go to ſuffer death, which I willingly imbrace, aſſuring my ſelfe " my end will give many ſatisfaction. From Bruxells the fifth of Iune, at " two of the clock after midnight, in the yeare* 1568. *Your Majeſties moſt hum- " ble, moſt faithfull, and moſt obedient Subject and Servant, prepared to dye, " Lamorall Egmont.* This Letter for the King hee gave to the Biſhop of *Ipres*; and confeſſing his ſinnes to him, ſpent the reſt of the night in reconciling himſelfe to God, and arming of his minde to ſuffer. The like did Count *Horne*, aſſiſted by the ſame Prelate, and other Divines. In the morning, being Whitſun-Eve a Scaffold, hung with blacks, was ſet up in the Market-Place, guarded with the Regiment of *Iuliano Romero*, whereon were laid two Cuſhions, before a ſilver Crucifix. About Nooneday Count *Egmont* was brought thither, accompanied with the Biſhop of *Ipres* and *Romero*: after ſome few prayers, he put off his Damaske-Gowne, threw away his Hatt, and ſpeaking a few words to the Biſhop, fell upon his knees before the Crucifix, and his night-cap being pulled over his eyes, the Executioner that lurked under the Scaffold, and was once (as it is ſaid) his footman, ſtrucke off his head. Preſently after, Count *Horne* with the ſame conſtancy was by the ſame Executioner beheaded; both their heads being for two houres ſet upon two ſpeares, for the City to behold. Their Bodyes were immediately carryed into the next Churches, and the day after, together with their Heads, ſent to the chiefe Cityes of their owne Provinces, and there honourably buryed. The miſerable Death of Count *Egmont* (for he was generally beloued) was lamented by the *Low-countrymen* with greater Spleene, then Sorrow; Some whereof deſpiſing danger, dipt their handkerchers in his bloud, and kept them, either as Monuments of Love, or Incitements to Revenge. Others kiſſed his leaden Coffin, and without any feare of an Informer, publiquely threatened Vengeance,

July 1. *Count Egmonts Letter to his Majeſty after Condemnation.*

All night long Count Egmont prepares himſelfe for death. He is brought to execution the next day about noone.

Beheaded

In the ſame place and manner died Count Horne.

Strange lamentation for C. Egmonts *death*

Not without Threats.

1568.

Vengeance. Inſomuch as diverſe Perſons noting the *Low-countrymen's* Violent affections to his Memory, and their deteſtation of the very name of *Alva*, ſaid, that by *Egmonts* death the Confederates were firſt eſtabliſhed: and foretold, that all the *Lowcountreys* would in a ſhort time, contrary to the *Duke's* Expectation, be involued in Tumults. This Prediction gave credit to the report, that preſently after it rained bloud in the Fields about *Lovain*: the Multitude eaſily believing, what their Hatred ſuppoſes to be done in Heaven. And indeed there are that doubt not, but it would have beene more policy in the Duke to have made their Execution private, and not preſented that diſtaſtfull Scene and Pompe of *Egmont's* Tragedy to the people. For they doe ill, that make the Favourers and Pittyers of the Cauſe Spectators of the Puniſhement. But *Alva* reſolving to make an Example of Terrour, which hee then thought neceſſary, ſlighted Hate or Envy. It is reported the *French* Embaſſadour, who privatly beheld the Execution, wrote to King *Charles*, that he had ſeene in the Market-place at *Bruxells* his head ſtruck off, whoſe Valour had twice made *France* tremble; intimating the loſſe of the *French* Nobility at *Saint Quintin* and *Graueling*: the firſt of which Battailes was almoſt, the ſecond altogether purchaſed by the Courage and conduct of Count *Egmont*. He dyed in the fortie ſixth yeare of his age, leaving by *Sabina* of *Bavier* (to whom he was married at *Spires* in preſence of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth eight, Daughters and three Sons; the eldeſt inheriting his Fathers Vertues; the ſecond nothing but his Hatred to the *Spaniard*; the third, who was faithfull to the King, only left Iſſue to the Family. He had a Brother that followed the Emperour *Charles* into *Africa*, and dyed in *Italy*: a Siſter marryed to Count *Vadamont*, Mother to *Frances* Wife to *Henry* the third of *France*. The Nobility of his Houſe was antient, their Power much greater once, when the Dukes of *Egmont* were Lords of *Gelderlandt*. He tooke his name from *Egmond* a Towne in the fartheſt part of *Holland* neare the weſterne Shore, of which he ſtill wrote himſelfe Count; though he was Prince of *Gavera* a Towne upon the banke of *Schelt*, not farre from *Gant*. *Charles* the fifth created him knight of the *Golden-Fleece*, King *Philip* truſted him with the Governement of the moſt noble Provinces of *Flanders* and *Artois*. He was a man for the Heroicall Vertues of his mind and body, worthy a farre better Fate; though the very infelicity of his Death (as Compaſſion looks upon all things through a multiplying Glaſſe) did not a Little increaſe the opinion of his Vertues. Nor was it any diſadvantage to his Children, reſtored by King *Philip* to all their Father's perſonall and reall Eſtate. But *Philip* Count of *Horne*, who was likewiſe Knight of the *Golden-Fleece*, dyed foure yeares elder then Count *Egmont*: his Brother the Lord *Montiny* being for the ſame Cauſe condemned and beheaded in *Spaine*, whither he was by the Governeſſe ſent Embaſſadour with the Marqueſſe of *Bergen*. Nor was Count *Horne* of a leſſe noble family then Count *Egmont*, being deſcended of the *French Momorancyes*, and had courage equall to his Honour, as appeared at the Battaile at Saint *Quintin*, and in the magnificent diſcharge of two great offices, of Admirall and Captaine of the life Guard. Hee firſt trayled a Pike under the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, to whom he was a Subject for *Horne*, an Imperiall Caſtle betweene *Gelderland* and *Brabant*, whence he had his Title of Count, though he was poſſeſſed of many other Townes and Caſtles within the Kings Dominions. Indeed his death could not have beene moderately lamented, but that *Egmont* had conſumed all men's Teares.

And preſages.

Confirmed by a portent from heaven as was commonly beleeved.

From hence ſprang the hatred to Alva.

A ſaying of the French Embaſſadour, Charles ix.

Count Egmont's *Elogie.*

The merits of Count Horne.

After

1568. *The Duke of* Alva's *Expedition againſt* Lewis *of* Naſſau. Vitelli *defends* Groening. *Count* Aremberg's *Funerall.* Alva's *March.* Bolduc.

After this, the Duke of *Alva* reſolved to move ſpeedily to *Friezland*, ſending before, with part of his Forces, *Chiapino Vitelli* his Campe-Maſter-Generall, who entring the *Groine* Valiantly defended that Towne, againſt *Lewis* of *Naſſau* that ſate downe before it. Then the Duke in perſon,having payed a Souldiers Duty to Count *Aremberg*, and with the ſad Military Ceremonies waited on him to his Grave, went about the end of Iune from *Bruxells* to *Antwerp*, leaving *Gabriel Serbellonio* there in Garriſon, with eight Companyes of *Germans* for defence of the Fort and Towne. At the *Bus* he ſtayed till *Creſſonerius* came up with ſeuenteene Field-pieces; marching thence, in the beginning of Iuly, he paſſed the *Moſe* at *Grave*, from thence he went to *Arnhem* in *Gelderland*, and ſo to *Daventry* in *Over-Yſell*, where he reſted a while, till his Scouts ſhould bring word, if the Bridges were ſtrong enough to beare the weight of his Cannon: they had not rid farre,but hearing Drummes beate a pretty way off, and preſently diſcovering foure Enſignes, they galloped back to the Duke, and told him, the Enemy was coming hard at hand; though he could not well believe it,yet becauſe his Scouts of ſeveral Nations brought the ſame Intelligence, he forthwith commanded his Colonells and Feild-*Officers* to ſet his men in Battalia, and ſent out others to diſcover the Enemyes nearer Aproaches and their number. Theſe were no ſooner in the Field, but they ſaw foure gallant Banners diſplayed, and as many Waggons covered with Canvaſſe, and greene Boughes, in which a Bride, marryed that morning, who dreamed not of a warre, was riding towards the next Village; with a great ſort of countrey fellowes leaping and playing about her. When this Newes was brought to the Army, they made not better Sport at the Folly of the Scouts, then they did, at the ſimplicity of the Country people, when an Army was ſo neare them; and all that ſuddaine preparation for a Warre being changed into Mirth, they entertained the Bride in her paſſage with a Volly of Muſket-Shot. The memory of this Accident is ſtill freſh in the mouthes of the *Wallons*, who ever, when they ſend out their Scouts, if they ſhew any Feare in their Returne, aſke them, in a military Ieere, *if they have ſeene the Bride.* But the *Duke* of *Alva*, angry at this delay, and ſharply rebuking them that were the Cauſes,entred the *Groin* on the fifteenth of Iuly about Noonday, and at that very houre without alighting or changing of his Horſe, he himſelfe, attended with a few others, rode on, to diſcover the Enemy, that lay three miles from the Towne. At his returne, leaving the Duke of *Brunſwick* to keep the City, by day-breake(for it was time to be quick) he marched againſt the Enemy. His Foot were almoſt 12000,his Horſe 3000, moſt of his Captaines and Officers old Souldiers and Commanders. *Naſſau* had as many Foot, but was weaker in Horſe, and hearing of the *Duke's* Approach, had retreated ſix miles, and intrenched himſelfe with ſuddaine workes caſt up in a watriſh Ground. The Duke followed him, and commanded *Gaſpar Robbley* Lord of *Bill* to take 1200 *Spaniſh* and *Wallon* Muſketteers and Dragoones,and fall upon the Campe at two ſeverall Quarters, not ſo much in hope to beate them out of their Trenches, as to try their Strength, and hold them play, till *Creſſonerius* brought up the Cannon. But ſuch was the Fury of the Musketteers, or rather ſuch was the Cowardice of the Enemy, eſpecially being puzzled with a Mutiny of the *Germans*, that running away on both ſides from their Cannon, they ſtroue who ſhould fly faſteſt. The reſt, firing their Carriages retired, and many, while they retreated, obſerving no Order nor Command, either ſunke with

He ſends out his Scouts. *Their ridiculous miſtake.* *Occaſioning a military Proverbe.* Groningen. *The number of* Alva's *Army.* Lewis *of* Naſſau's *Forces.* *His Trenches.* *Aſſaulted by the* Spaniſh. *The* Naſſavians *run.* *Many loſt in their flight.*

with their Horſes in the Bogges and ditches, or baſely caſting away their Armes were trampled upon by ſuch as followed the Chaſe. Above 300 of them were ſlaine, of the King's men but nine; and doubtleſſe the Execution had been greater, if the Duke had not ſounded a Retreat, fearing leſt in that darke weather his Souldiers, by an errour not to be repaired, might be ingaged in blind coſening holes, and pits, which the Countrey was every where full of. But five dayes after, his Excellence compleated his Victory. For commanding *Cæſar Davalo*, Brother to the Marqueſſe of *Piſcario*, and *Curtius Comes Martinengo* with ſome Horſe to chaſe the Fugitives: he himſelfe, with his Army, returned to the *Groine*, about one a clock at night, and before it was day, the Duke, that could not ſleepe out an opportunity, marched againe into the Field, and on the 21. of *July* purſued the Enemy. 1568.

Naſſau made a halt in the entrance of Weſt *Friezland*, at the Village of *Geming*, between the Bay of *Dullart* and the River *Ems*, at his back he had *Embden* a City that tooke part with him: from whence by the River *Ems* he might expect proviſions, and his Brother the Prince of *Orange* coming out of *Germany*. About him were many Marſhes, and the way ſo confuſed, by reaſon of the *water*, that it frighted the purſuers. Only on his Front, amidſt the low and ſinking mudd, there was one paſſage upon the top of a ſtrong Banke that over looked the ſwelling Billowes, and ran directly into the Campe and Village: which Avenue was made inacceſſible by ten pieces of Cannon planted in the mouth of it. Thus had he choſen and guarded the place where he incamped. But feare can never be ſufficiently intrenched. Their feare was increaſed by a ſecond Mutiny of the *Germans*, that began to be ſeditious before their former loſſe. For when divers Companies of theirs, becauſe they were not payed, came about *Naſſau's* Tent, railing and crying that ſome of their Countrey-men were ready to die for hunger, having in two dayes ſpace not eaten a bit of bread: and therefore threatned to go over to the enemy, *Juſtus Schouwenberg* promiſing that next day they ſhould have foure French-crownes a man, the mutiny was quieted: but this money (the Duke as I ſaid falling ſo ſuddainly upon them) could not be paied; the Souldiers therefore, in their ſtand at *Geming*, after their flight, claimed promiſe, and mutined more fiercely; which the Duke underſtanding from the Priſoners taken, and the newes being purpoſely divulged through the Army, ſo inflamed the Souldiers courages, that almoſt all the Captaines, with great conteſt which Nation ſhould be honoured with the Service, begged leave to fall upon their Cannon, the greateſt danger of the Warre. The Company of *Lopez Figueroa*, that Marched on the Duke's left hand when he led the Army along the River Banke, was commanded to try their Fortune; the moſt whereof were armed with thoſe huge Muſkets that hardly could be managed upon Reſts, which, as we ſaid formerly, were firſt brought in uſe for Field-Service by the Duke of *Alva*. And whilſt the Duke made ſhew as if he would charge the Enemy in the Front, covering his men from their Cannon with Gabions, [or baſkets filled with earth.] in the meane time keeping them in play with ſome light Aſſaults, they that were to attempt the Cannon falling upon their knees and powring out their prayers to God, (which they repeated after *Figueroa*, remarkeable for his devotion to the Mother of God,) waded through the Mud and Water, and came upon the Flanke of the ſteep hill where the Cannon was planted. Few at firſt guarded the place, as that which ſecured it ſelfe: preſently,

July 21. *The Battaile of* Geming.

The Site of Lewis *of* Naſſau's *Campe* Dicco.

Their Feare made the greater by a ſecond mutiny of their Souldiers. Which coming to the eare of the Spaniards.

Dicco.

Some make an appearance of charging the Naſſavians *in the front,*

Others aſſaile them on the flanke.

1568. ly, freſh men coming in to help their Fellowes, after a ſharpe conflict, they tooke the Cannon, and opened the only Avenue by which the *Spaniſh* Army could march up to *Naſſau*. This advantage being cloſe followed by the *Duke*, he ſent men, that not only tooke their Campe and beat them out of their Workes and Trenches, but that in their Flight, along the higher and lower grounds, as farre as the River *Ems*, for ſix houres together did execution upon them, for (as *Hubert a Valle* that was preſent at the Battaile wrote to *Margaret* of *Auſtria*) never men fought either with greater Cowardice, or ſtubborneſſe: if it were a Fight, and not rather a meere Slaughter. Many of the *Germans* throwing their Armes to the Ground, as if they meant to ſtrike, were killed ſo much the ſooner; Many were ſwallowed in the Bogges and Fennes, into which they crowded and thruſt one another as they ran; Many were cut to pieces offering their backs to the Sword, as guilty ſlaves doe to the Whippe. But the greateſt part were drowned in the River *Ems*, whereinto they leaped, though they could not ſwim, and were loaded with their Armes, which immediately ſunke them. Onely a few good Swimmers made ſport to the *Spaniſh* Army, that from the banke-ſide ſhot them with their Muſkets, like ſo many Ducks. They ſay, thoſe that accidentally ſailed in the Bay of *Dullart*, ſeeing ſuch abundance of *Montero's* ſwimming downe the water (for the Sea, that ebbes and flowes at certaine houres, when it was low water drew away from the River the Spoiles of the dead bodies) knew that a Battaile had been fought and great execution done, in the adjoyning Fields: and by the faſhion of the *Montero's* much differing from other mens hatts, and worne by the *German* Souldiers inſtead of Helmets, they ſuppoſed the *Spaniard* to be Maſter of the Field. By which meanes, when the meſſenger preſently diſpatched from the Duke of *Alva*, came to the *Groine*, beyond all expectation and Faith, he found the Towne already acquainted with the newes, the Merchants and Mariners having told them of the victory. Thus, long ago when the *Romans* fought with the *Sabines* by the River of *Anio*, they at *Rome* ſeeing the *Sabines* Armes floating upon *Tiber*, into which the River *Anio* falls, prevented the Meſſengers by their fore-knowledge of the joyfull Tidings. Touching the number of the ſlaine, the Reports of thoſe, preſent in the Fight, were diverſe; The moſt credible is, that there fell ſix Thouſand of the Enemy, and no more then Seventy of the King's men. Though twelve miles in length being ſtrewed with Carkaſſes of men and Horſes, preſented it as a huge and horrid Slaughter to the eye. The Spoile was likewiſe great, twenty of the Enemies Enſignes taken, ten great Cannon, and thoſe ſix muſicall Field-pieces loſt by Count *Aremberg*, with a vaſt quantity of furniture belonging to *Naſſau*, *Hochſtrat*, and *Schouwenberg*; in a word, all their Carriages and Baggage came into the *Spaniard's* hands. *Hochſtrat*, the day before the Battaile was carryed ſick out of the Field. *Schouwenberg* fled in the beginning of the Fight. Of *Naſſau* the Rumour was at firſt uncertaine, for his Armes and the Suite he wore that day, were brought to the Duke of *Alva*: afterwards, it was knowne, that changeing his Cloathes he ſwam the River; and left thoſe he put off; purpoſely in the Field, that they might imagine him ſlaine. In this Province of *Friezland Germanicus Cæſar* conquered *Arminius*, by the banck of *Viſurgus*, another River of *Friezland*, the memory of which overthrow was now revived. Iuſt ſo, the *Romans* for their Sport killed the barbarous people ſwimming the River, till they were weary with the Sport; ſo *Arminius* fled diſguiſed; ſo the Battaile con-

And take their Cannon, opening the way for their fellowes to doe execution.

July 26.

The greateſt that ever was, Equall to the Enemy's cowardice.

The newes of this Victory in a wonderfull manner comes to the Groine.

Bern. Mend. l. 3. Groningen.

Tit. liv. l. 1. *The like happned among the old* Romans.

The number of the ſlaine,

The Spoile,

The ſubtill Flight of Lewis *of* Naſſau.

Tacit. l. 2. Annals. *The Reſemblance of this Victory over* Naſſau, *to that of* Germanicus Cæſar *over* Arminius *in the very ſame place.*

continued till darke night; ſo the Fieldes, for as many miles, were covered with dead bodies. Nor was the Monument leſſe proportionable, which either Generall out of the Enemies ſpoyles erected for Poſterity to behold. Only when the *Roman* ſet up a Trophy, his modeſty omitted to name himſelfe: the *Spaniard* boldly put in his owne Title. Fame therefore in that Inſcription inſerted the title of *Germanicus*, but envy in this, ſoone blotted out the name of *Alva*. I know ſome that accompt this victory a miracle, wrought by the Prayers of *Pius* the fifth, who both by Letters and Supplies of money had animated the Duke of *Alva* againſt the *Gheuſes*. Indeed *Chriſtopher Aſſonvill*, an intimate Counſellour of the *Duke's*, deſcribing the Battaile writes, that when he conſidered the place choſen by *Naſſau*, on the one part to be ſo fortified by nature and Art, as might well have contemned a greater Army: on the other part, to be taken by ſo ſuddaine a ſtorme, and ſo few men, he could not thinke this victory leſſe then a Miracle. And the *Duke of Alva*, after he had won the Field, the firſt thing he did, diſpatched away a Meſſenger that very night, with the newes to *Pope Pius*; who, as he had devoutly prayed to God for good Succeſſe, ſo now having obtained his deſire, commanded three Thankesgiving-Dayes to be ſolemnly kept in three of the greateſt Churches of *Rome*, which was accordingly performed with great Solemnity, and the addition of Cannon-ſhot and Bonefires. But though I will not ſay this was miraculous, in regard a farre leſſe mutiny and conſternation uſes every day to worke ſtranger effects: yet when I looke upon the attempt of the *Spaniſh* Forlorne-Hope, how they being to run the apparent hazzard of their Lives, when *Lopez Figueroa* adviſed them to call the Communion of Saints to their Aſſiſtance, falling on their faces and imploring, after an extraordinary manner and with many zealous Prayers, the Patronage of the Bleſſed Virgin, and the Tutelar Saint of *Spaine*, fearleſſely and fortunately among the enemies Cannon began their Conqueſt; truly out of theſe premiſes I may boldly conclude, that if at this Battaile there was more then humane help, the Devotion of the Spaniards called downe Victory from Heaven, and their heroicall courage merited ſuch a Day.

1568.

Of this Spaniſh Trophey you will read more in this booke and in the beginning of the eight.

This Victory attributed to the prayers of Pius v.

July 27.

Who gives God thanks for it with great ſolemnity,

Whether it may be thought a Miracle,

The Piety of the Spaniſh *Souldiers,*

In the Returne of the conquering Army, a bold and wicked fact was committed, that greatly tooke off the Generalls and his Officers Ioy. The *Sardinian* Brigade marching in the Reare, when they came within ſight of the place, where awhile before many of their fellow Souldiers were loſt vnfortunately, together with Count *Aremberg*; their Bloud riſing, they reſolved to be revenged, and leave a memorable example of their fury; For before day-breake they fired the next Villages: beginning at the Towne where they heard the *Spaniards* in their flight were by the Countreymen betrayed to the Victorious *Naſſavians*. From thence dividing themſelves, they diſperſed the fire among the Townes adjoyning, which ſo kindled, the Houſes being built of combuſtible materialls, eſpecially the wind conſpiring with their Wickedneſſe, that from the Bay of *Dullart* to the fartheſt proſpect of *Weſt-Friezland* nothing was preſented to the eye but dreadfull Flames. The Duke of *Alva* amazed to ſee the Countrey burne, and ſuſpecting it to be a Stratagem of the enemy, when he found that it was the Villany of his owne men, commanded the whole Army to ſtop the Brigade that had fired the Countrey, and calling before him their Colonell *Gonſalvo Bracamonte* reproved him for ſuffering at the preſent that Miſchiefe to *Friezland* and the King, (for they had burnt

The fury of the Sardinian *Legion,*

Revenging Count Aremberg's *death with the firing of many Villages.*

1566.

The Duke of Alva *puniſhes this burning Brigade.*

1568. ſome Townes that were his Majeſtyes Patrimony) and for their former Contumacy, whereby they had importunely forced their valiant Generall *Aremberg* to fight Some of the Souldiers which began it, he commanded to be hanged upon the place; others, eſpecially the Supernumeraryes of the Brigade, which ſeemed to be accidentally involved in the Fault, and Colonell *Bracamonte* himſelfe, he adjudged to change their *Militia*, for this was a kind of warlike penalty, ſtill retained out of the Diſcipline of the Antients, that often degraded their Souldiers, a Horſeman to a Footman, and a Footman into an Archer, to make them ſenſible of their Errours by diſgrace. But this was no great Puniſhment to the ordinary ſort, that were received into other Regiments with little or noe diſadvantage. The Captaines, Lievetenants, Enſignes, and above all the Colonell was aflicted with the Ignominy, who were all to be reduced into the Ranke of Common Souldiers. Therefore ſome of them, particularly the Colonell reſolved rather to leaue the Warre then fight with ſuch diſhonour. But the Duke of *Alva*, ſatifyed with what they already ſuffered, a while after reſtored the Colonell to his Command. The Brigade being in this manner *puniſhed*, but the Loſſes of the province *unrepaired*, which were rated at no leſſe then a Million of Crounes; Victorious *Alva* entred the *Groine* upon Saint Iames his Eue, whoſe aſſiſtance he had found in the day of Battaile: and commanding the Townsmen to receive *Gniffius* long ſince deſigned Biſhop of the place, and Count *Megen* Succeſſour to *Aremberg* in the Governement of their province: for defence of both by the directions of *Vitelli* and *Paciotto*, the *Duke* began to build a Fort like that of *Antwerp*. Things thus ordered in Holland, he was met in his returne to *Bruxells* by his eldeſt Son *Federico* Duke of *Oſcha* great Commander of the Order of *Calatrava*, who brought him from the King 2500 Foote, and a good ſumme of money, a neceſſary Supply againſt the Preparations of the prince of *Orange*.

According to the old military forme.

Val. Max. l. 2. cap. 2. de Diſcipl. milit.

How great a loſſe the Countrey had by this fire.

Alva *returnes victorious to* Groningen.

Orders the affaires of that City.

The coming of Duke Federico Alva's *Son.*

For now the Prince of Orange was upon his March with a vaſt Army raiſed in *Germany*, diverſe of the hereticall Princes willingly aſſociating in hatred to the *Spaniſh* Houſe of *Auſtria*. This League was advanced by by a generall indignation upon the newes of Count *Egmont's* and Count *Horne's* death: the Envy to *Alva* thereupon increaſing: and much aggravated, by a Booke againſt His Tyranny, written and publiſhed by the Prince of *Orange*. There was in his Army when he muſtered it at *Aquiſgrane* 28000 men, that is 16000 *German* Foot, and 8000 Horſe; *French* and *Low Dutch* 2000 Horſe; and very neare as many Foot. To the *Germans* the Prince *Elector* Count *Palatine*, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the City of *Straſburg* had promiſed foure Months Pay; to the *French* and the *Low-countreymen* a *Spaniſh* Merchant at *Antwerp* had ingaged for 1800 *French* Crownes a month, during the ſaid terme. To maintaine the Horſe was undertaken partly by the Prince of *Orange* and his Brother, partly by the very Commanders of Horſe, *Caſimire* Son to the *Palſgraue*, Count *Suarzemburg*, two of the Dukes of *Saxony*, Count *Hochſtrat*, and William *Lumè* one of the Counts *de Marca*; the laſt of theſe, a deadly Enemy to the Catholiques is ſaid to have made ſuch a barbarous Vow as once Cl. *Civilis* (who likewiſe commanded the Hollanders) that he would never cut his haire till he had revenged the Deaths of *Egmont* and *Horne*. With theſe Forces the Prince of *Orange*, ſooner then could be imagined, paſſed the *Rhyne*, and incamping along the banke of the *Moſe* not farre from *Maeſtricht* filled the *Low Countries*, with ſtrange Reports,

The Prince of Orange's *Army raiſed by the joint aſſiſtance of the Princes of* Germany.

How great this Army was,

How payed,

William Lumè's Vow.

The fame of this Army,

ports and Terrour. Indeed the Duke of *Alva* in appearance extreamely ſlighted ſuch Rumours, being a notable Diſſembler of military Dangers, and one that feared nothing more then to be thought to feare. So that when a Captaine with very much Trouble in his Face, amplifyed the Newes, and told him, how many Princes and Kings had entred into League againſt *Spaine:* among whom he numbered *Denmarke* and *England*; the Duke anſwered merrily, he knew what accompt to make of that League, nor was ſuch a conſpiracy of Rebells any way formidable: the King having more Princes that tooke part with him. For with the King of *Spaine* was confederated the Kings of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, the *Duke* of *Millaine*, Prince of *Burgundy*, and the *Low-countreys*, beſides the King's of *Peru*, *Mexico*, and *New Spaine:* but herein the Confederations differed, that in theirs the diſſimilitude of Nations and diſpoſitions and (if no other obſtacle) their ſeverall Intereſts muſt needs cauſe diſagreement, and in a little time diſſolve the union. Whereas in this, what pleaſed one pleaſed all, and conſequently it would be eternall. And truly, *Alva* was not ſo jealous of a forreigne Enemy, as of the Natives, knowing himſelfe hated by a great ſort of them; nor could he thinke the Prince of *Orange* durſt ever have attempted to bring a Warre into the *Lowcountreys*, if he had not beene invited and aſſiſted by the *Low-countreymen.* Eſpecially when ſo many Robberies and Murthers had been done upon the high way by the baniſhed *Gheuſes.* Which becauſe they ſheltred in the Foreſts were called *Wood-Gheuſes.* The common Terrour was increaſed by a fearfull apparition in the Aire of two Armyes in Battalia, ſeen on a cleare night to brandiſh their glittering Pikes, as if they were ready for a charge. The Prodigy, becauſe ſeen in diverſe places, was beleived; and therefore more ſuch ſtories were dayly told; which made *Alva* looke to himſelfe. So that fortifying the Frontier Townes and thoſe he moſt doubted, he haſtened with his Army to *Maeſtricht*, that from thence he might incounter the Prince of *Orange's* Deſignes, and by keeping the banke of *Moſe* hinder him from paſſing the River. But the Prince's ſubtilty and boldneſſe carryed it. And this was his firſt Stratagem in the *Low-countrey-Warre*, wherein he plainly ſhewed, how great an Enemy declared himſelfe againſt the King. For his Horſe finding the River foardable betweeen *Rurimond* and *Maeſtricht*; the *Moſe* being then accidentally at a low Ebbe, the Prince helped his Fortune with Art, in this manner. He tied his Horſe together, and made them ſtand croſſe the River, to breake the Streame (as *Julius Cæſar* did, when he paſſed *Ligeris* and *Cicoris:* and ſome others of late time have done) by this meanes the force of the Current being abated and repelled, he commanded his Foote to wade over ſilently in the Evening: and that night with inobſerveable ſpeed, or rather by an incredible Attempt he deceived the Kings Guards, and ſafely arrived on the farther Shore with his Army. which was ſo ſuddaine and unexpected newes to *Alva*, that when *Barlamont* told him the Enemy was come over, the Duke aſked him, if he thought them to be an Army of Birds, that had flowne over the *Moſe.* But the Prince of Orange entring *Brabant*, and confidently incamping within ſix Miles of the *Spaniſh* Army, the next day drew out his men, and with Drummes beating and Trumpets ſounding, faced and offered Battaile to the Duke of *Alva*, whoſe Campe-Maſter *Chiapino Vitelli* was of opinion, that the Enemy, wet with the River, and weary with their March, ſhould have beene fought, before they had incamped; nor did he as yet

1568. *Which* Alva *ſeemes to contemne.* *His anſwer to a ſouldier frighted at the number of Princes confederate againſt the King* Spaine.

1565.

Alva *ſuſpects the* Lowcountrymen *in generall.*

Particularly the Wood-Gheuſes.

Wonders in Heaven. Chriſt. Aſſon. vlt. Se.

The D of Alva *ſtayes at* Maeſtricht *to attend the Prince of* Orange's *Motion.*

But the Prince of Orange *paſſes the* Moſe *With rare Artifice and celerity.*

l. 7. bell. Gall. l. 1. bell. Civ.

Beyond the D. of Alva's *imagination.*

The Prince offers battaile to the Duke.

Vitelli *holds it beſt for the D. to fight him.*

1568. thinke the fight was wholly to be declined: but that it concerned the *Spaniards* in point of honour to make ſome Attempt upon the now inſulting *Germans*, and let them know the Valour of the Royall Army. But the Duke (foreſeeing that money could not long hold out to pay ſo great an Army, which would therefore moulder away, eſpecially upon the approach of winter) reſolved, with the leaſt hazard to himſelfe, to elude the enemy. His principall deſigne was to keep them from getting into any ſtrong Towne, leſt they ſhould make their Pay out of the Plunder of the Countrey. Yet ſcarce any day paſſed, but (as the Armies lay cloſe together) they had ſome Skirmiſhes, and Fights, commonly about victuall; the Prince of *Orange's* men being ſtill the Challengers. Which Fights how they were managed, and with what daily ſucceſſe, I could particularize. For *Raphael Barberino* Knight of *Saint Steven*, an eminent Commander, & a very great Mathematician, ſent to *Rome Diaries* of all Actions in the Campe, directed to his Brothers *Franceſco Barberino, Proto-Notary Apoſtlicall*, and *Anthonio Barberino* Father to *Pope Urban the Eight*: under which Prince, no leſſe ſupreame in Learning, then Religion, it is my happineſſe to write this Hiſtory. But out of thoſe Letters, whereof I have Copies, I hold it beſt to give you only ſome choice Paſſages; omitting the reſt that were either of the ſame kind, or not ſo remarkable.

The Duke is otherwiſe reſolved.

And will go no higher then light Skirmiſhes,

How Strada *comes to know the particularities of thoſe little fights.*

The third day after he had paſſed the *Moſe*, the Prince of *Orange* advanced to *Tongeren*: thither preſently marched the Duke of *Alva* to defend the Towne; neither incountring nor declining him, only having an eye upon his Motion and Deſignes. It fortuned, that *Vitelli*, with two Troopes of Horſe, about Sun-ſet going to diſcover the Enemy, fell upon an Ambuſcado, and with a rout and the loſſe of ſome men, returned ſafe to the Army: only the Mare he rode upon, had a ſlight hurt, and becauſe he loved her above all the Horſe in his Stables, ſhe being an excellent galloper; that night, when he was ſet at Supper with his old Friend and Companion *Raphael Barberino*, telling him with much vexation how fearefull he was to loſe her, he threatned, if he lived one day longer, to make the Enemy repent that ever they hurt his Mare. Nor was it a vaine bragge: for next morning by breake of day drawing out ſome horſe, moſt of them *Spaniards* and *Burgundians*, when he obſerved the *Prince's* Rere to March at a diſtance from the Army, dividing his Forces and giving halfe to *Camillo Gonzaga* Count *de Novellaria*, he fell upon the Enemy, with ſuch a ſuddaine violence, that he killed about 400. of their men, loſt only fifteene of his, and tooke, beſides diverſe Waggons loaden with Armes, and Ammuniton, 150. of their Horſe; and bringing in triumph to to the Duke of *Alva*, ſaid, "*Looke you, Sir, how many Horſes my Mare* "*hath foaled*. Notwithſtanding, the Prince of *Orange* the very next day offered battaile to the *Duke*, but he aſſuring himſelfe, the enemy would ſooner want meate & mony then confidence, held it his ſafeſt courſe to break them with delaies; which inraging the Prince, ſometimes with Croſſe-Marches he turned upon the Duke, ſometimes, to draw him on, ſounded a Retreate, as if he were affrayd his men had gone too farre; and a while after, fired the Townes and Villages, in ſight of the Enemy, to bring the demurring *Spaniard* to a battaile. But this *Hannibal* found a *Fabius* Cunctator, one that could be moved neither by the deſperate fury of the Enemie, nor by his own men's impatience, and almoſt downe right Railing (for this *Dictator* had likewiſe his Maſter of the Horſe, that was eager to fight) nor laſtly, by the invitation of any proſperous fortune. But as a pru-

Two Troopes of Vitelli's *horſe intercepted.* Vitelli *himſelf eſcapes,*

Chafes at the miſchiefe done to his Mare, Threatens to be revenged for it,

And accordingly falls upon the Prince of Orange's *Rere, Does very great execution, Takes* 150. *Horſe, His Merry ſaying to the Duke Still the P. of* Orange *uſes all provocations to bring* Alva *to a Battaile.*

Who is not moved, but places the aſſurance of Victory in Delay. Chiap. Vitelli.

1568.

a prudent man looking upon the Future, he preferred not Rumour before ſafety, and would rather have the victory, which he promiſed himſelfe, ſlow and ſecure, then dubious and bloudy. Eſpecially, after he had intelligence that ſhrew'd ſignes of diſcord appeared in the Prince of *Orang's* Army. Nor was the Duke of *Alva* deceived in his conjecture. For the Prince of *Orange* having, but to no purpoſe, ſounded the affections of many Cities, from whence he hoped for Money and Ammunition, had not been a full Moneth in *Brabant* before his Souldiers mutined, Captaine *Malburg* being ſlaine in a heate by his own Company, and the Prince himſelfe had a Piſtoll diſcharged upon him, but, the bullet lighting upon the Scabberd of his Sword, eſcaped the Danger. The rage increaſed in the Campe, and would not eaſily have found a ſtop, but that newes of Succour out of *France* gave hope to the Prince of *Orange*, and ſtruck feare into the Mutineers. His Army therefore moved with all poſſible ſpeed to receive the *French* Forces, conducted by *Francis Hangeſt* Lord of *Jenlis*, conſiſting of 50c. Horſe and 3000. Foot.

The Orangians *mutiny.*

The Prince of Orang's *danger*

Recruites ſent him out of France.

In his March, the Prince of *Orange* tooke *Centron*, in the Territory of *Liege*, where he found plenty of victuall, beſides the great ſummes of money for Fine and Ranſome paid him by the Abbot of that Monaſtery, and diverſe other perſons of quality. From thence he went directly to *Tienen*, to joyne with *Jenlis* that was come within three miles of the place. But becauſe the River *Geta* ran between them, to ſecure the paſſe, he placed ſome light horſe upon the banke mixt with Muſketteers. The Duke of *Alva* that never left the Enemy, was at his back with an Army of neare upon 16000. *Vitelli* led the Van, and finding the Prince of *Orange* his Deſigne, ſent *Barberino* on the ſpur to the Duke, who brought up the Rere, to let him know in what condition the Enemy was, and how eaſily he might be routed as he paſſed the River. The Duke commanded him not to fight, till he had more certaine intelligence. But the Enemie wading over with part of his Army, was now poſſeſſed of the farther banke, and had left behind, under the command of Colonell *Philip Marbet* Lord of *Lovervall*, two thouſand Fire-locks and 500. Horſe, moſt of them *Gaſcoignes* and *Wallons*, men choſen out of his whole Army, to keep the King's men in play with continuall ſkirmiſhes, till their fellowes were got to the other ſide the River. *Vitelli*, angry to ſee the Victory ſlip out of his hands by the Generall's Delay, with a great part of his men fell upon the Regiment left, commanding *Barberino* to gallop to the Duke, and acquaint him with his Reſolution. The Duke of *Alva* diſliked it not (rather becauſe it was already, then that he wiſhed to have it done) and turning to his Son *Federick* ſaid, "*thou ſeeſt that Hill made good by their* "*Horſe, thither thou muſt; fire upon them from this oppoſite Hill with ſix* "*Field-Peices, and with ſome commanded men choſen out of that* "*Wing of* Spaniſh-Horſe *and Foot, beat them from their Poſt.* *Federico* did more than his Father bad him, for he drave them from their Vantage-ground, and joyning with *Vitelli* turned his Cannon upon them, which very much contributed to the Victory. For now they fought with *like* but not with *equall* Forces, becauſe ſuch of the Princes men as had not yet paſſed the water, terrified with the charge, and fearing *Alva* had come on with his whole Army, ſometimes reſolved to take the River and fly: ſometimes incouraged by better men, returned and fought, that between the irreſolution of fighting and flying, ſo many were ſlaine, as *Vitelli* doubted not, but if all the *Spaniſh* Army might paſſe the River, the Enemy

Of the Fight at the River Geta.

The Prince of Orange *having taken* Centron *or* San Truyen *intends to paſſe the River, and joyne with the* French *Auxiliaries.* Thienen.

Alva *commands* Vitelli *not to ingage.*

The Prince paſſes the River leaving part of his Forces behind.

Which Vitelli *charges.*

Alva *ſends to his aſſiſtance his Son Duke* Federico,

He takes the Hill.

The Fight.

Vitelli *would gladly have purſued them beyond the River.*

1568.

my that day would be totally deſtroyed, and therefore tooke great care to let the Duke of *Alva* know ſo much; who ſtanding on a higher ground very ſparingly ſent downe his men. Nor was *Barberino* (that of himſelfe, as well as on *Vitelli's* Command deſired to fight) leſſe carefull to deliver his Meſſage, and uſe his beſt perſwaſions to the Duke for the taking of that opportunity.

Barberino *ſent to ſignifie his deſire to the* D. *of* Alva.

He told him, "*the valianteſt of the Enemy were ſlaine, and the* "*reſt apparently conquered. for their hearts were gone; therefore if the whole* "*body of the Army advanced, before they were reincouraged by joyning with the* " French, *no doubt they would be clearly routed.*

Who orders the contrary, very much offended.

But *Alva* angry at the haſt made by *Vitelli*, as if he meant to force him to a battile, like one that loved his owne wayes, and therefore brooked not another man's Adviſe, ſaid to him, "*you will not then let me diſpoſe of the Warre? get you back* "*immediately to* Vitelli, *and command him to ſtoppe his men upon the banke,* "*and no more ſend to me about fighting; for thou, or any man elſe that* "*ſhall preſume to adviſe me in this kind, I ſweare by the Kings head, ſhall* "*never returne alive.*

The Fight renued upon the River-bank.

Vpon this Anſwer *Vitelli* and *Federico* ordering their men to paſſe no further, turned all their fury againſt ſuch as ſtood, ſtrongly maintaining the Fight with *Hochſtrat*, nor was the face of the Enemy's battaile alike in all places, here they were frighted and fled, and both ſorts being ſlaine, deſpaire making them valiant they renewed the battaile, and retarded the Victory.

The Orangians *cut to pieces.*

Some of the prince of *Orange's* Men, that followed, Colonell *Lovervall's* Colours, looking like freſh ſupplyes, turne'd head, and with the violence of dying perſons deſperately charge'd *Vitelli* with a ſtrong Impreſſion opening and ſhattering the Body of Horſe that ſtood cloſe about him.

Vitelli's *valiant gallantry,*

Vitelli, that neither ſtirred from his Reſolution, nor his ground, charged Colonell *Lovervall*, in the Head of his Men, grievouſly wounding him; then fell upon his Cornet, and wreſting the Colours out of his hand, lifted them up adding freſh courage to his men, and not only *cryed*, Victory, but *won* it; they ſay, when he brought the Cornet to the Duke of *Alva*, the deviſe whereof was pillar a with his motto, "*Valour cannot fall, till Conquerd by a greater Valour*, the *Duke* before many great Commanders, ſaid, truly "*Valour it ſelfe is this day* "*conquer'd by the valour of* Vitelli.

Highly commended by the Duke of Alva.

The number of the ſlaine.

In two hours were ſlaine no leſſe then two thouſand of the Enemy, moſt of them by the Sword, the common end of battailes. Some men of quality were taken priſoners; among whom was Colonel *Lovervall*, hurt in three places, afterwards put to death at *Bruxells*.

Count Hochſtrat's *death.*

But he whoſe loſſe more troubled the Prince of *Orange*, then all that fell that day, was *Anthony Lalin*, Count *Hochſtrat*, ſhot in the battaile, and preſently ſet upon a freſh horſe, who being carried off by his owne Souldiers, not long after, publiquely profeſſing himſelfe a Catholique, dyed. Of the King's men very many were wounded, but it is ſufficiently known that only fourescore were ſlaine.

The remainder of the routed Forces ſurrounded in a houſe, which the [illegible] *burn* [illegible]

A hundred and fifty of the Enemy ſtill kept in a body, & poſſeſſed themſelves of a houſe hard by; reſolved, as if they had beene in the Fort at *Antwerp*, not to yield, but upon Treaty and Conditions. And when the Royaliſts, that were to march away, could not gett they out, the *Duke* commanded them to make a Ring about the houſe, and ſet fire upon it; immediately two Souldiers drave to the doore a Cart loaded with hay, under which they ſecured themſelves, and firing it with their Matches, the houſe was eaſily burnt downe, involving thoſe within it in unavoydable Ruine.

Their ſeverall kindes of death

It was a cruell and miſerable Spectacle to ſee ſome ſtifled with the flame, fall with the houſe: whileſt others ſtriving to make their way, ran furiouſly upon the

Souldiers

Souldiers bended Pikes, like wild Boars upon the Huntſmen Spears; many reverſed their Muſkets and Swords ſhooting and killing themſelves, or one another, to prevent the *Spaniards* Triumph, or glory in their deaths. In the meane time, part of the beholders of this Gladiator-like madneſſe pitied, part hiſſed at them, and laughing gave the Enemy thanks for ſaving them ſo much labour and loſſe of Powder and Bullet: wiſhing all their Foes might die as gloriouſly. Many of the Royall Army were of opinion, that if their whole forces had fought, as *Vitelli* propoſed, the Enemi's ſtrength would have been broke in that one battaile. But *Alva*, beſides that he was naturally ſelfe-opinioned, doubting the ſituation of the place, and faith of the *Low-countrey-men*, reſolved to play his game warily. And now the Prince of *Orange* recruited with Succours out of *France*, might probably have repaired his Loſſes, if he had not found by immediate experience, that his Souldiers were increaſed, and likewiſe his misfortunes: as being daily more and more ſtraitned for want of Victuall. Wherefore his hope failing, which had perſwaded him and his, that if he could enter *Brabant* with an Army, diverſe Cities that favoured his quarrell would preſently revolt; nay finding thoſe very Cities as well provoked as fortified againſt him, after he had incamped himſelfe nine and twenty ſeverall times, and ſtill ſaw the Duke of *Alva* marching on his Flanke, who being an old Souldier ſtill got the advantage in ground, and might at his owne pleaſure hinder him from coming to any City, but by no force nor policy could himſelfe be drawn to hazard the fortune of a battaile: adviſed by *Jenlis* and the reſt of the *French* Commanders, he reſolved to joyne himſelfe to the Prince of *Condè*, at that time reviving the third Civill Warre of *France*. Eſpecially becauſe *Gerard Grosbeck*, Prince of *Liege*, not only denyed him paſſage into *Germany*, but commanding his ſouldiers to man the Walles & diſcharge their Cannon, frighted the *Prince* of *Orange* from the Suburbs; Which Affront He barbarouſly revenged, by firing certaine Monaſteries, and ſo marched with his Army into *Haynolt*, where he plundred with extraordinary cruelty, the Villages and Houſes of many Gentlemen that had ſigned the Covenant. It was ſuppoſed he did it, becauſe they promiſed to ſerve in the Warre, and came not. But at *Queſnoy*, fighting above the rate of his uſuall Skirmiſhes with the Duke of *Alva*, that conſtantly followed him, ever cutting off ſome part of his Rere: he routed ſome Companies of *Spaniards* and *Germans*, and ſlew many of them, *Sancho* de *Avila*, & *Cæſar Davilo* that indeavoured to make them ſtand, being themſelves ſore wounded. This was ſome revenge for his former Loſſes. But at his entring into *France*, by a threatning Meſſage from King *Charles*, delivered by Colonell *Arthur Coſsè*, who with his *French* Brigade guarded the Borders, he was commanded not to come upon *French* ground with his Army. Which notwithſtanding, he marched on, but was conſtrained to alter his determination by a furious mutiny in his Campe, his men refuſing to beare Armes againſt the King of *France*, and demanding pay of the Captaines with their Swords in their Hands. The Prince afflicted with ſo many Miſeries at once, increaſed by the extraordinary ſharpneſſe of the Winter, and conſidering his uncertaine condition, that had neither any place of ſtrength, nor money to pay the Army, as he had promiſed: ſelling part and pawning the reſt of his Houſehold-ſtuffe, and Ammunition (which was all he had now left) the Souldiers were by that meanes ſomewhat pacified, and he, with part of his Forces, having disbanded the reſt, about the yeares end returned into

Germany,

1568.

Some of them diſpatch one another.

Opinions touching the Enemy's being ſuffered to paſſe.

The Prince of Oranges *Army growne greater, and likewiſe his Neceſſities,*

Strange to ſee how oft he changed his Quarters ſtriving to take ſome Towne or to circumvent the Duke,

But all in vain.

He thinks of going for France,

Is kept out of Liege,

Plunders the Countrey about it,

And diverſe Villages in Haynolt,

Does ſome miſchiefe to the D. of Alva.

Is prohibited to enter France.

And his hopes there failing returnes into Germany.

1568. *Germany*, to waite a more auſpicious time for renewing of the Warre.

The Duke of Alva *having rid himſelfe of the Prince of* Orange, *ſends an Army into* France *under the command of* Erneſt C. Mansfeldt *To very good purpoſe.* Ber. Mend. lib. 4.

But the Duke of *Alva*, now freed from the warre, ſent into *France* to the Aſſiſtance of *Charles* the ninth againſt the *Hereticks*, 2000 Horſe, and 3000 Foot under the Command of *Erneſt Count Manſſeldt* to returne thankes to the King, for declaring himſelfe againſt the prince of *Orange.* And Count *Manſſeldt's* Service did not a little contribute to the Victory at *Monconture*, where his valour was particularly inflamed with Emulation of *Lewis* of *Naſſau*; who that day leading the maine battaile of the *Hugonots*, Count *Manſſeldt* that had the oppoſite Command, though his Right Arme was ſhot, firſt forced *Naſſau's* Horſe to make a ſtand, and then routed them. But the Duke of *Alva* having as he deſigned it, beate the Prince of *Orange* out of the *Lowcountreys*, without a generall day of battaile, and with little Loſſe to himſelfe: in the beginning of January made his triumphant entrance into *Bruxells* appointing a publique Thankeſgiving-day for his fortunate Succeſſe. His Glory was increaſed by the Honour of an Embaſſadour from *Rome*, who preſented him from *Pius* the fifth a *Helmet* and *Sword* richly ſett and inchaſed with Gold and pretious Stones, ſolemnely conſecrated by his Holineſſe, and ſent to the Duke of *Alva*, as to the Champion of the Catholique Religion. This extraordinary Preſent he received with great devotion in the Church, at the hands of the Biſhop of *Machlin*, whilſt he was celebrating divine Service. The reſt of the day was ſpent in tilting and ſuch warlike Sports. But all the Beholders were not joyfull at heart, many being touched either with Griefe or envy, and ſome that wiſhed the Prince of *Orange* ſhould have loſt the Victory, would not have had it won by the Duke of *Alva*. It added to their indignation, that a Tilt-yard was made of that very place, where a few Months before the *Low-countrey* Lords were beheaded. They ſtomackt him yet more, becauſe, being more ambitious of Honour with Poſterity, then fearfull of Hatred from the preſent times, he commanded the Cannon taken from *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, in the battaile of *Gemming* to be melted: and made himſelfe a Trophey of the braſſe, to be ſet up in the Fort at *Antwerp.* It was his Effigies in compleat Armour, bareheaded, his Right Arme naked, and his eye upon the Towne, treading upon two braſſe-Statues, ſignifying two of the three Eſtates of the Lowcountreyes, the Lords, and Commons; as the Author of the Deſigne, *Arias Montanus* affirmed, and the Prince of *Orange* interpreted, laughing at the Pride of *Alva*, that erected himſeſſe a Statue trampling upon the *Nobility* and *People* of the *Low-countreys.* Theſe two proſtrated Figures, had many Hands, and were armed with Petitions, Purſes, Axes, and Torches: their faces Vizarded; their Eares and Necks hung with little diſhes and Walletts, the Accoutrements of the *Gheuſes.* Vpon the Marble pedeſtall was this Inſcription. "*To the moſt faithfull Miniſter of the beſt* "*of Kings,* Ferdinando Alvarez, Duke of Alva, *Governour of the* Lowcoun-"treys *for* Philip *the ſecond King* of Spaine, *becauſe extinguiſhing Combuſti-*" *ons, beating away the Rebells, reſtoring Religion, executing Iuſtice, he ſettled* "*Peace in the provinces, this Statue was erected.* The ſides of the Baſis were cut into diverſe Emblems, below was written, "*Iungeling his* "*Workemanſhip out of braſſe taken in the Field.* It was wonderfull to ſee with how generall a Hatred and Envy this Statue was looked upon. The *Low-countrymen* inwardly fretting, as if they were daily conquered in that Monument, and their Nation daily triumpht over. The very *Spaniards* themſelves were angry at the Duke, that choſe rather to ſing his owne Praiſes,

He enters Bruxells *triumphantly.* *The Pope ſends him a Helmet and a ſword.*

Which he received with great ſtate. *May* 1.

And as great Envy.

He erects his owne Statue. *Its Faſhion.*

Signification In Apolog. An. 1581. *Deſigner.*

Inſcription.

Workeman James Jungeling. *This rendered him extreamely odious to the* Lowcountrymen. *And to the* Spanyards Ho. Gabr. l. 8. c. 12.



Peter Ernest Count Mansfeldt
Governour of Lucemburg
Campe=master at ye Battaile of Gemblac
Generall of the French Expedition.

Praiſes, then to heare them ſpoken by others. Nor was there any ſubject of diſcourſe more frequent in the Court of *Spaine.* The Prince of *Ebolo* deriding his old Competitour, for calling himſelfe *moſt faithfull Miniſter*, becauſe he inverted the Honour due to his Prince, and transfer'd it to himſelfe. This made ſome cry up the modeſty of the King, who a few months before, when a rare *Italian* Statuary offered that, without expence to the King, he would ſet up his Majeſty's Armes, and Portraiture over the gates of every City in *Lumbardy*; the King, commending the man's good will, anſwered, "*he had rather have a Worke-man* "*that, with any expence whatſoever, could ſet up his Image in Heaven.* Which words of the Prince were infinitely extolled by the Court policy, that *Alva* for ſetting forth himſelfe ſo vaine gloriouſly, might be the more eminently ſcorned. Nay the ſtructure was not very pleaſing (as it is ſaid) to King *Philip*, by whoſe command, foure yeares after, it was removed. Perhaps the King did it, to take away the *Low-countrey-mens* Diſtaſt; or rather his owne, offended that another ſhould have a Monument raiſed out of a Victory won by his Majeſty's Army, and which his owne purſe paid for. And it was conjectured, *Alva* had knowledge of the King's diſpleaſure, becauſe the other Statue (for he had two of the ſame model, caſt by the ſame Worke-man) was not ſent into *Spaine*, as he once reſolved.

1568.
The Court of Spaine ſcornes him for it.
Rui Gomez.
The more, comparing his confidence with the King's Modeſty.
Ant. Herrera l. 3. 2 part of his Hiſtory.
The King himſelfe is diſpleaſed.
Which Alva was not ignorant of,
Mich. van Iſſelt in his Hiſt. and mer. l. 3. 6. Belg.

But nothing ſo much incenſed the Provinces againſt the Duke of *Alva*, and the *Spaniards*, as the new Taxes, being the tenths of all commodities to be ſold, and the twentieth part of goods immoveable; but the hundreth part of all, the *Low-countrey-men* were to pay at once. For thus they ſaid the Exchequer might be repleniſhed, which the Warre had emptyed; and likewiſe the Provinces ſecured. Becauſe *Spaine*, ingaged in a long Warre with the *Moores*, and now ſetting forth a chargeable Fleete againſt the common Enemy, could afford ſmall ſupplies. Nor was it reaſon to expect any thing from King *Philip*, and unſeaſonable to divert him, wholly applying his Indeavours and Expences for the Defence of Chriſtendome. But the Eſtates, that to ſettle theſe Taxes were ſummoned to *Bruxells*, would not yield to the Tenths, "*becauſe they ſhould thereby loſe* "*their Traffique, the only ſubſiſtence of the* Low-countreys. *Indeed how* "*could the Merchants and Artificers brooke the payment of many tenth parts* "*out of one Commodity? for before Cloth, or Hangings, and other Stuffes* "*were woven and put off their hands, they muſt pay the Tenths of wooll, ſo* "*for thread, then for weaving, and dying, and ſuch like parts of manufacture,* "*and thus the price of Commodities being enhanſed, they ſhould have no* "*buyers: the Worke-men would go to other Nations, and the* Low-countreys "*be reduced to extreame Poverty. The Duke of* Alva *might conſider what ad-* "*vantage it had been to* England, *ſince the* Low-countrey-men, *above* 200. "*yeares agoe, forced by an inundation of the Sea to leave their Countrey, had* "*taught the* Engliſh *the art of Weaving, which before they underſtood not.* "*Many other Manufactures were yet in the* Low-countreys, *not known to* "*their Neighbours, whereby they would be greatly inriched if the Worke-men* "*ſhould go and live among them.* All this prevailed not with the Duke in the midſt of his command, victorious, and no enemy appearing; who therefore aſſured himſelfe the *Low-countrey-men* would eaſily obey.

Of the Taxes he exacted, The tenth, The twentieth, And 100. *part*
The cauſe of theſe impoſitions,
The Eſtates deſire him to remit the tenth part.
But Alva is not to be moved.

But the *Queene* of *England* in the interim ſomewhat ſtartled him, and made *Alva* thinke of a new enemy. A *Biſcaine* man of warre with foure Pinnaces ſayling out of *Spaine*, and bound for the *Low-countreys* con-

A conteſt between the D. of Alva *and the Queen of* England. M. Iſſelt's Hiſt and Meteran. l. 3. & Thuan. l. 44. and Meurſ l. 5. and B. Adrian. l. 20. & Aloyſ. Cabrera. l. 8. Hier. Coneſt. l. 3

 voying

1568. voying of money to pay the Duke of *Alva's* Army, a vaſt ſumme (200000. Ducats, as ſome Writers affirme, according to others 40000. nay there is one that ſaies 800000.) forced either by a tempeſt, or for feare of Pyrats, came into an *Engliſh* Harbour. The Queene reſolving not to part with that Treaſure, firſt commanded an accoumpt of it ſhould be taken, then cauſing them to unlade; under pretence of the Kingdome's neceſſity, it was carried to the Exchequer: *Guerrao Deſpèo* the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, and his Majeſties Admirall *Stephano Serra* proteſting againſt it, to no purpoſe. The Duke of *Alva* bitterly reſenting the Injury, made an Imbargo in the *Low-countreys*, arreſting all the *Engliſh* Merchants Goods, and Shippes: the like was done in *Spaine*. On the other part, the Queene of *England* ſeized upon all the Commodities of the *Low-countrey-men*, and *Spaniards*; ſo as they were upon the very point of Proclaiming Warre on both ſides. And *Chriſtopher Aſſonvill* ſent into *England* by the Duke to demand the money, and to compoſe the matter in controverſie, found the *Queene* ſo offended and inraged, that he was commanded backe to the place from whence he came, the *Queene* refuſing to treat upon conditions with *Alva*, or any man elſe, but the *King* himſelfe. She was ſo peremptory (as I have read in *Aſſonvill's Letters*) becauſe ſhew knew the *Moores* intended to rebell in *Spaine*, and the *Germans* were againe preparing to invade the *Low-countreys*: ſhe her ſelfe, in the meane while, being inriched with dayly Prizes taken from the *Low-countrey-men* and *Spaniards*. At the very ſame time 14. *Portugall-ſhippes*, laded with *Indian* Merchandiſe, Ignorant of the Quarrell between the Nations, thinking they might paſſe ſecurely, were ſurprized by the *Engliſh*: and it is not to be imagined how much that Booty inflamed thoſe *Iſlanders* with a deſire to continue a difference ſo advantageous. Which made the *Spaniard* the more earneſtly to labour the compoſing of it. And to this end *Thomas Raggeus* was ſent into *England*, on whoſe prudence the Duke of *Alva* much relyed, who was afterwards, when the *King* knew him better, made his Treaſurer. *Raggeus*, though he could not prevaile with the *Queene*, that was reſolved to keep the money, yet ſo won upon her, as ſhe was no longer deafe to an Agreement. Then the Duke ſending over the *Marqueſſe Vitelli* with *Raphael Barberino*, and his Secretary *Turrius*, the *Queene* received them more gratiouſly, and publiquely explained her ſelfe, that ſhe underſtood the money appertained not to the King, (whom ſhe never had any Intention to wrong in any kind) but to the *Genoa*-Merchants: that ſhe had uſe for it at the preſent, and would hereafter returne it to the owners faithfully, and with intereſt. This Anſwer was reported to the *Duke* of *Alva*, from the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour and *Vitelli*, by *Barberino*, who adviſed him (notwithſtanding the *Queene* intended not Repayment, ſince no Merchant could demand the Money) to take into conſideration whether the *Low-countrey-men* or the *Engliſh* would be more prejudiced by the Quarrell. And further told his Excellence, that he had taken notice of 80. *Low-countrey* and *Spaniſh* Ships under Arreſt in the *Engliſh* Ports, their lading dayly decaying, and imbezelled. And therefore the Embaſſadour and *Vitelli* held it beſt, that matters ſhould not be aggravated with new cauſes of offence, for they hoped that in a little time, the fury of both ſides being allayed by mutuall Loſſes, at laſt with equall Diſſimulation they would fall to their antient intercourſe. For the Duke's better ſatisfaction therein, he delivered him a Breviate, wherein he had ſtated the controverſie. All this was truth, as afterwards appeared when the

Occaſioned by her interception of his Moneys,

He ſeizes the goods and ſhips of the Engliſh *in the* Low-countreys,

So doth her Majeſty, the Low-countrey-men *and* Spaniards *commodities in* England,

The Queene will not admit of his Embaſſadour.

May 20.24

The Portugall-*Fleete with their* Indian *Freight taken by the* Engliſh.

A new Embaſſage from the Duke.

The Queen's Anſwer.

Barberino's *Relation.*

The Original Strada ſaies he hath by him.

1568.

the conteſtation being ended, the loſſe of the *Low-countrey* and *Spaniſh* Merchants was found ſo farre to exceed the damage of the *Engliſh*, as theſe were forced to refund above 200000. Florens. Neverthelеſſe *Alva* would not deſiſt either from revenging the Injury done by *England*, or from exacting the Tribute he had begun to demand of the *Low-countreys*. *That*, he thought, concerned the King in point of honour: and though he knew *this* for the preſent would hinder the Exchange and Traffick, yet he hoped thoſe Loſſes would be ſoone repaired. Eſpecially, ſince his mony was intercepted by the *Engliſh*, he held it juſt to aske Supplies from the *Low-countrey-men*, for whoſe benefit that money ſhould have been imployed. When the Duke therefore to his Requeſts and Admonitions added Threats, & the Eſtates pretended the People's wants; there was a note ſubſcribed with an unknowne name ſcattered in the Preſence, directed to the Duke of *Alva*, in theſe words; that "*if he acted* Themiſtocles, *& to raiſe* "*money brought two Goddeſſes*, Perſwaſion *and* Violence; *they would play the* " Andrians, *& to prevent Payment, interpoſe as many, & as great Goddeſſes*, " Poverty *&* Impoſſibility. Thus while the Conteſt was kept a foot, on the one part with Petitions and Complaints; on the other, with often varied Edicts, & Commands; & yet, the yeare ended without any thing concluded; at laſt, the Duke of *Alva* in a Rage advertiſed the Provinces, That " *the* " *State was committed to him alone, and he only would be carefull of it. In* " *the meane time they ought to obey his juſt Commands; and call to mind,* " *that diverſe Cities ingaged in the Rebell's cauſe might be fined, if he ſo* " *pleaſed, in farre greater Summes then he demanded. Now therefore with* " *cheerefull obedience they ſhould redeeme their Delinquencies; the rather,* " *ſince he looked not after the money for his owne uſe, or to ſend it into* " Spaine *to the King, but only therewith to defend and ſecure the* Low-" countreys *againſt the danger of the times*. He likewiſe tooke away the priviledges of diverſe malignant Cities, charged others with Gariſons, and ſtruck feare into them all. In ſo much as moſt of the Provinces conſented to the 100. part; ſome commuted, and bought out that Tribute with ready money: But many taking time to deliberate, diſpatched Agents into *Spaine*, petitioning to be eaſed of the tenth part: but the hundreth part (more they were not able) they offered to pay. Which Affront though *Alva* deeply ſtomackt; yet fearing the power which his Enemies at Court had with the King, he thought it beſt to diſſemble his indignation. And to win the Peoples hearts, he reſolved at that inſtant to publiſh, what he had long deferred, a General pardon for the late Tumults.

Nothing is concluded.

The D. of Alva *proceeds in exacting Tribute from the* Low-countrey men.

Who refuſe to pay Taxes.

Plutarch, in Themiſtocles.

Feb. 1570. *Whereat he inraged writes threatningly to the Provinces.*

And proves as good as his word,

They yield to the Duke in ſome things, for the reſt they petition the King.

July 16. Sent to him *March* 25.

Three yeares before, *Margaret* of *Auſtria* had earneſtly ſollicited the King to grant them This Pardon; becauſe ſhe ſaw, that every day many *Low-countreymen* in feare of puniſhment, either left the Provinces, or there conſpired with ſome of their own Faction; as if with their Number their Safety would increaſe, becauſe a Multitude is eaſieſt pardoned, and where all offend, none ſuffers. But the King, not ſending the Pardon under Seale, till two yeares after, to the Duke of *Alva*; and he delaying Publication till another yeare; both of them leſſened the favour, by protraction Howſoever *Alva* omitted nothing that might glorioully ſet off that benefit to the *Lowcountrymen*. For going to *Antwerp*, he commanded Supplications to be made in the great Church of our Lady, he himſelfe in a rich habit (after Sermon, which was preached in *Low-Duch* by the *Biſhop* of that City) being preſent with all the Lords of the Councell, at the Archbiſhop of *Cambray's Maſſe*. Towards the end of the Sacrifice, the

A generall Pardon long ſince deſired by Margaret *of* Parma.

Sent too late by the King to Alva. *And yet the Promulgation by him deferd.*

The Fore noone Ceremonies at the Promulgation.

Prayers. *Sermon in* Low Dutch. *Maſſe.*

1568.
The Popes Letter read.
An Oration in French.
Interrupted.

Archbiſhop read *Pius* the fifth his Letters, wherein he abſolved all thoſe that had complied with the Hereticks. Vpon which ſubiect-matter the Biſhop of *Arras* made a Speech in *French*, exhorting the people to give thankes to God for that mercy of the *Pope* and *King*, and for the indeavours therein uſed by the *Duke* of *Alva*, their Governour. Whilſt he amplified this point, he was taken with a ſuddaine qualme, and carried out of the Pulpit, diverſe perſons making a ſuperſtitious Conſtruction of the Accident, as if he had undertaken a cauſe that Fortune favoured not. In the Evening the Duke, attended with a great Traine of Lords and Gentlemen, came into the great Market-place, filled with an infinite Crowde (his Souldiers guarding the Streets, and ſtanding mixt among the Townſmen.) Then his excellence aſcending a Theater ſate downe in a golden Throne, (having on, his hallowed Sword and hat, which I told you were ſent him by the *Pope*, pretious both for their Conſecration, and their Iewelles,) and commanded the Cryer, that ſtood by him, to read the King's Decree; wherein his Majeſty granted the *Low-countreymen* an Act of Oblivion, and Indemnity, The man read it in *French*, and *Low-Dutch*, but with ſuch a hoarſe vnaudible Voyce, that very few underſtood him. Which was perhaps an Accident; perhaps, ſo ordered by the Duke, who had rather the *Low-countreymen* ſhould meaſure the benefit by the greatneſſe of Pompe, and the glorious Newes of a Generall pardon, then by the Decree it ſelfe, containing ſo many Exceptions. But the juſt contrary hapned. For the people upon ſight of ſo magnificent a preparation, promiſing themſelves all they could deſire: whatſoever fell ſhort of their Expectation, they accounted as taken from them. Beſides, the Multitude that looked on, and could not get neare the theater, not knowing how farre the Pardon extended to particulars, were eaſily deceived by ſuch as watcht there, on purpoſe to extenuate the Kings Favour. And many of thoſe that ſtood neereſt, by reaſon of Clauſes of Exception, not yet thinking themſelves ſufficiently ſecured, were obſerved to depart very melancholique and doubtfull: and contrary to the Duke of *Alva's* Expectation, no bonefires were made that night, to ſignifie their Joy and thanks. In the mean time Princeſſe *Anne*, daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, came into the *Low-countreys*, ſhe having beene after the death of *Charles* Prince of *Spaine*, to whom ſhe was promiſed, eſpouſed to his Father *Philip*; it being fatall to that Prince to have his deſigned Wives, either taken from him in his life time, or after his death enjoyed, by his owne Father. The Duke of *Alva* was an earneſt Suiter to the *King*, for leave to waite upon the Princeſſe into *Spaine*, thinking it would be an honour on ſo good an occaſion to quit the *Low-countreys*, which, by beating the Enemy, he had ſufficiently preſerved for the preſent: and ſecured, as he thought, for the future, by the Forts which he had built. And though at firſt the king conſented not, yet in the end, diſpleaſed at ſome thing done by *Alva* in his Governement, and that he had not, as he was commanded, publiſhed his Royall Pardon for thoſe Tumults (if Count *Mansfeldt*, long ſince alienated from *Alva*, wrote truth to the Dutcheſſe of *Parma*) his Majeſty reſolved to call him away from the *Low-countreys*, and named his Succeſſour, of the Bloud Royall, *Iuan de la Cerda Duke of Medina Celi*, *Viceroy* of *Navar*, who notwithſtanding, came not till two yeares after, and then preſently reſigning the burthen of the *Low-countrey* Warre to another, he himſelfe returned into *Spaine*. At which time it was the common newes, that *Cardinall Granvell*, ioyned in commiſſion with *Mary*

The afternoone Pompe.
Out of Count Mansfeldts Letters to *Marg* of *Parma* 9. of *Auguſt.*
A ſtage in the Market place.
The Duke upon a Throne.
The Cryer reades the K. Letters in Low Dutch and French, *But ſo low that few heare him.*
Out of the Letters of Chriſt. Aſſonv. to Marg of Parma. *July* 17.
And fewer like of what they heare.
Princeſſe Ann *Eſpouſed to* K. Philip. *Auguſt.* 11.
Anne Daughter to the Emperour Maximilian and Iſabella Daughter to King Henry.
The Duke of Alva *deſirous to attend her Highneſſe into* Spaine. *and to leave his Governement of the* Low-countryes.
51 *Septem.*
The King aſſents.
And nominates his ſucceſſour Who was long a comming.

Princeſs

Princeſs of *Portugall*, Wife to *Alexander Farneze*, ſhould ſucceed in the Governement of the *Low-countreys*: though all their Wiſhes were fixed upon her mother in Law, *Margaret* of *Auſtria* Dutcheſſe of *Parma*. But the Duke of *Alva* (before the deſignation of his Succeſſour) leaving the buſineſſe of conducting the Queene into *Spaine* to *Maximilian* Count of *Bolduc*, Admirall of the *Belgick* Seas; and ſending in his owne Place, his Sonne *Ferdinando de Toledo*, *Cæſar Davalo* and *Mondragonio* with his Regiment, (all of them a while after returning into the *Low-countreys*, but only *Cæſar Davalo*, who ſerved *Don Iohn* of *Auſtria* in the battaile of *Lepanto* and the Warre of *Tunis*) In the meane time the Duke himſelfe fell againe upon his demands of the tenth, and twentieth part; on conditions, which he had often altered, and the people as often refuſed, with like willfullneſſe of both ſides. The *Low-countreymens* obſtinacy was increaſed by their intelligence, that *Alva* had but a little time to ſtay among them, which the People wiſhed, and therefore eaſily believed: ſo as their feare of a falling man was leſſe; and his indignation greater, in regard he thought they inſulted over his departure. 1568.

In the interim Alva *returnes to his Demands of the 10 and 20. parts.*

Another cauſe of their diſſent, was the new and ſuddaine Calamity of the provinces. For upon All-Saints Eue, the Sea exceſſively ſwelling, and in ſome places overflowing, in others bearing downe the banks; ſuch a prodigious and unheard-of Deluge covered certaine Iſlands of *Zelandt*, a great part of the Sea-coaſt of *Holland*, and almoſt all *Friezland*: as that Inundation which forty yeares before is ſaid to have ſwallowed up threeſcore and twelve Villages, was not ſo high as this by a foote. There was not only an incomparable loſſe of Fortunes, but of men. In the very compaſſe of *Friezland* twenty thouſand perſons were drown'd, ſunke and ſwept away, at the riſing and falling of the water, (which at both times was alike mercileſſe) whoſe bodies with the Carcaſſes of Cattell, Houſe-hold-goods, and broken ribbs of Ships, floated over the Fields, the Land now being indiſtinguiſhable from the Sea, and, as they affirme, preſenting to the eye a modell of *Noah's* Flood. I find in the Hiſtory of *Friezland* that many men, who had climed to the tops of Hilles and Trees, ready to give up the Ghoſt, were timouſly ſaved by boates, which the Magiſtrate ſent out to gather up the remainder of the Ship-wrack. Among the reſt, upon a hill by *Sneace* they found an Infant, carried thither in the Cradle, lying beſides a Cat, and ſoundly ſleeping, neitherin feare of Ship-wrack, nor the Flood. The Duke of *Alva* moved with this loſſe of the maritime parts of the *Low-countreys*, for ſome months forbare to preſſe the point in Controverſy, not reſolving abſolutely what generall future Courſe to hold. For his Court was divided in opinions, Arguments were held on both ſides, the wiſer ſort diſputing, "*That his* "*reaſon deceived the Duke, who perſwaded himſelfe, the Treaſury could be* "*ſupplyed by the* Exciſe, *which would impoveriſh the Provinces, therefore* "*was not likely to continue long. That the Duke had done ill, to boaſt in* "*in his Letters to the King, how he by a compendious way, by Exciſe had* "*found out the Golden Mines of* Peru: *for, he would have noe better fortune* "*then King* Antigonus *his Treaſurer, who upon the diſcovery of a Kind of* "Spaw *at* Edepſus, *which cured ſuch as dranke the water, when he impoſed* "*a Tribute upon all that uſed it, his Coveteouſneſſe was immediatly deluded;* "*the Well and impoſt drying up together. And the like Tribute, being ſet* "*upon Merchandiſe in the* Lowcountreys, *would in like manner loſe them* "*all the benefit of Trading. How much more conſiderate was* Charles *Duke*

An Inundation in the Low-Countries. *November.* 1

Greater then any in mans memory.

What a deſtruction is made. See Pier. Winſem.l.2.Hiſt.

A rare Accident.

This calamity drawes off the Duke from inſiſting upon the Taxes.

Some perſwade him to deſiſt altogether.

Athen. l.3. Dipnoſ.

of

1568.

"*of Burgundy, that when he thought to impoſe the hundred part upon all* "*vendible Commodities; being told what prejudice would follow by the de-* "*parture of the Merchants transferring the Mart into ſome other Countrey,* "*abrogated the Innovation. And when Commerce was gone, what could* "*remaine to the* Netherlands, *but ſolitude from their owne poverty, and* "*ſlavery from their inriched Neighbours.* On the contrary ſome argued, that the Treaſury being exhauſted by a Warre maintained by the *Spaniards* not willingly but upon compulſion, neceſſitated by the Tumults raiſed within the Provinces, it was therefore requiſite the Provinces ſhould defray the Expence, eſpecially at this time, when the *Engliſh* threatned them with hoſtility. Others, as they had put the Duke upon the Project of the tenth part, ſo they affirmed, that it concerned him to be conſtant to his reſolution: pretending it was for his honour, but indeed aiming to bring upon him the Envy and hatred of the *Low-countreys*, in order to his Ruine. Whoſe Counſell, as ſutable to his rigid nature, he obſtinately followed. Wherefore threatningly complaining, that the *Low-countrey-men* were ſo ſtubborne meerely in contempt of the King's Majeſty; without further delay, he commanded the Edict tempered and qualified with new moderation; (but now immutable) to be publiſhed at *Bruxells*, where by reaſon of his preſence he expected their readieſt obedience. But they unanimouſly reſiſted. In ſo much as they ſhut up their Shops, and all that day the Bakers, Butchers, and In-keepers would ſell nothing. The Duke paſſionately inraged to ſee before his eyes, in the principall city and place of terrour, ſuch confidence in the people; that very night, commanded ſome of them to be hanged, upon their Signe-Poſts. And now the Souldiers were in Armes, and the Hang-man ready with a Rope, when the Meſſenger that brought newes of the taking of *Brill* by the *Gheuſes*, like a god coming downe upon the Stage, untyed the knot of that intricate and diſmall Tragedy. For *Alva* ſtruck with that unexpected loſſe, at laſt gave over the odious diſpute; for two yeares together continued with no other fruite, but that, aggravating their hatred to the *Spaniard*, it ripened the Plot of their Revolt. Indeed it plainely appeared, how great a provocation to Rebellion Taxes are, when people having other grievances, have that burthen added. For the *Low-countrey-mens* complaints of *Alva's* Pride and Cruelty went no further then hate and execration; ſo that lately when the Prince of *Orange* came with an Army, the Cities, though offended with the Duke of *Alva*, ſent no Aſſiſtance to the Prince. For puniſhment falls but upon a few; and by how much it ſpurrs on the multitude with hatred, by ſo much it curbes them with feare. But Taxes are accompted every man's particular Loſſe, and they that be therewith grievouſly oppreſſed, loſe their *feare* together with their *fortunes*; and not regarding future prejudice, ſeeke a Generall, meerely to defend themſelves from preſent injury and dammage. This hath beene the familiar practice of other Nations, but particularly of the *Low-countrey-men*, whereof the major part, eſpecially the *Hollanders*, were antiently exempt from all Taxes and Contribution; being reſerved by the *Romanes*, like their armes, only for the warres, as we read in their Hiſtory. Nor of old was there any other cauſe of their Rebellion under *Tiberius Cæſar*, but that *Olennius* their Governour inhaunſed the ſmall Tribute which they formerly paied, and when it was inhaunſed did ſeverely exact it. With whom their prayers and petitions not prevailing, their refuge was a Warre, which for many ages they obſtinately maintained againſt the *Roman* Generalls. And

Others argue, that it was juſt and Neceſſary,

And diverſe meerely put a trick upon the Duke of Alva,

At length He qualifies the Edict and propoſeth it the third time.

April.

The City of Bruxells *refuſe it with notorious contumacy.*

Alva *provides againſt them Forces and Halters.*

See further in the Prince of *Orange's* Apology. 1581.

But ſuddaine Newes diverts him,

So that he is forced to leave the deſigne of Taxes,

Which had infinitely prejudiced the Duke, and occaſioned the Revolt of the Low-countreys *farre more then all his cruelty.*

The Hollanders *anciently free from Tribute,*

Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum Idem l. 4. Annal.

The exaction whereof cauſed their Rebellion againſt the Romanes.

1570.

And truly when I looke upon the Counſells of the Prince of *Orange*, that ſo often caſt the Dice in hope to win the Government, it ſeemes his Fortune never ſmiled, till the occaſion of this Tribute was preſented. For he ſtirred a little in the time of *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Parma*, raiſing thoſe Inſurrections about the Biſhops, the Inquiſitours, and the Councell of *Trent*. Yet theſe being compoſed by the King's grace and goodneſſe, and the greater part of the Lords adhering to the Governeſſe, fearing Count *Egmont* eſpecially would not ſuffer him of his Friend to become his Prince, he durſt proceed no further at that time. But when the *Duke of Alva* by his Severity loſt the hearts of the Lords, and among the reſt had impeached and condemned the Prince of *Orange*, then he joyned the common cauſe, as he ſtrove to make it, with his owne: and openly tooke up Armes, ſafe in point of reputation, becauſe there was one to whoſe execrated name the Warre would be imputed. But the Cities being terrified with the ſuddaine puniſhment inflicted by the Duke, the Prince of *Orange* found by experience, that in the new Impreſſion of a feare (whoſe firſt Fit is the ſtrongeſt, and by continuance leſſens, till it be ſhooke off) it is to no purpoſe, ſo long as the humour that hath weakened the people, is undigeſted, to ſollicit them to rebell. But when the Cities, as well thoſe that continued faithfull to the *Spaniard*, as thoſe that ſtood ſuſpected, were preſſed to pay Taxes, the *hatred* of the Generality increaſing, overcame their *Feare*; the people growing more confident when they heard that the *Duke* of *Alva* muſt be gone. Then the Prince of *Orange* knew his time was come for maturing a Rebellion; and founding of that Government which he had long deſigned. Therefore whilſt *Alva* fixt all his Care upon raiſing the Taxes, the Prince of *Orange* laid hold of the opportunity to draw the people from their obedience to the King: and incouraged by the ſecret Intelligence which he had with many Townes, ready to revolt, levied Souldiers at his leiſure; and kindled ſuch a fire of Warre in the *Low-countreys*, as for ſo many yeares ſpace could never be put out with the ruines of battered Cities, nor extinguiſhed with a torrent of bloud.

And now for the ſame reaſons the P. of Orange *ſollicits their Defection,*
Having often tryed other waies to bring them to it.
At laſt he compaſſes his deſire
The People being imboldned upon the newes of the Duke's *preſent departure.*

The Warre was begun upon the Sea of *Holland*, as if they had now already found their ſtrength, and were ſenſible from the very firſt in what part they ſhould eſtabliſh their Dominion. And notwithſtanding this Rebellion was often intended and attempted by the *Gheuſes*, as well thoſe of Corporations called the City-*Gheuſes*, as the High-way-men called the Wood-*Gheuſes*, yet the Water-*Gheuſes* (for ſo they were commonly called) were they whoſe fortunate Audacity carried it. The Commander in chiefe of theſe Water-*Gheuſes* was *Count William* a *Marcha*, Baron of *Lumè*, profeſſing his enmity to the *Duke of Alva*, in his Colours; wherein was painted ten pieces of money, to inflame the fury of his men by putting them in mind of the tenth part. The firſt that tooke Commiſſions with him were, *William Bloſius Treſlong*, *Lancelot* baſtard Son to *Brederod*, *Bartholomew Enteſe*, *Sonoi*, and diverſe others. Theſe had Letters of Mart from the Prince of *Orange*, and orders to ſcoure and rob the Sea-Coaſt of *Holland*, and *Friezland*. And out of hatred to the *Spaniard*, and deſire of Free-boote, whereof the Prince of *Orange* was to have a fifth part, they executed their Orders, and robbed from the mouth of the *Ems* to the *Engliſh* narrow Seas: where if at any time they met with Ships too ſtrong for them, or fled before a Tempeſt, they commonly ſecured themſelves in ſome *Engliſh* Harbour. But the *Queene* her ſelfe refuſing to protect them, as common Enemies, upon requeſt made to her by the *Duke* of

The Duke of Alva's *Loſſe at Sea.*
*The Water-*Gheuſes, *Their Generall,*
His Principall Officers,
They turne Pirates,
Are prohibited the Ports of England.

1570. *Vorna.* *They take the Towne of* Brill. *of Alva* they, having boarded and taken a *Biſcaner*, were by tempeſt driven into *Vorna* an Iſle of *Holland*, the People ſuppoſing them to be Merchants caſt upon that Coaſt by the Storme. Where, imboldened by their late perills they fell upon the *Brill*, a Port-towne of *Zeland*, and before the Townſmen were aware that they brought Warre, not Merchandiſe, with unimaginable ſucceſſe, no man reſiſting, they tooke the Place, upon Palme-Sunday: and *Lumè* leading them on, broke the Saintes Images, in pieces; and omitting no kind of Irreverence to holy things or Orders, ſo fortified the Ports, that when Count *Bolduc* Governour of *Holland* by *Alvas* Command came againſt them, they not only gave him a ſtrong Repulſe, but likewiſe *William Treſlong* with incredible Confidence fired ſome of his Ships accidentally ſevered from the Fleete. Vpon report of the taking of this Iſle, as if the Scarlet Colours had beene hung out for Signall of battaile to the Provinces, tis not to be told what wonderfull changes through all the *Low-countreys* immediately inſued. For many Cityes favoured the Covenanteers, ſome invited them, others ſtood neutrall, and would neither admit of *Alva*, nor revolt from the King. A few were ſenſible of their Allegeance, and tooke armes for the *Spaniard*. *Dort*, the Chiefe City of *Holland*, when Count *Bolduc* fled thither, and demanded entrance for his men; it being cunningly given out, that the *Spaniards* were upon their March to diſtraine for the tenth part; would not let him in, but ſhut their Gates againſt him as an enemy. *Vluſhing* a port Towne of *Zeland*, and the bulwarke of the Ocean, upon an Exhortation at *Maſſe* made to them on Eaſter day in the morning by the Pariſh Prieſt, who hated the *Spaniard*, & perſwaded them to maintaine their Liberty, turned out the *Spaniſh* Garriſon, with ſuch a popular fury, as they hanged Colonell *Alvarez Pacecho*, Kinſman to the Duke of *Alva* at *Treſlong's* requeſt, in revenge, as hee ſaid of his Brothers death, foure yeares before, beheaded by *Alva's* Order: and the Hereticks themſelves were earneſt to have him put to death, that *Vluſhing* might not hope for pardon, from the Governour's juſt Anger. A while after *Enchuyſen* lying over againſt *Friezland*; which among the chiefe Ports of *Holland* had till then continued loyall, revolted from the Duke. *Enchuyſens* example was follwed by *Horne*, *Alcmar*, *Edam* and other Townes of *North-Hollandt*. And in South-*Hollandt*, *Goude*, *Oudewater*, *Leyden*, *Gorcom*. So that beſides *Amſterdam* and *Schoonhoven*, that were ſtill faithfull to the *Spaniard*, the Duke of *Alva* loſt almoſt all *Holland*, and a great part of *Zeland*, which had ſo ſhaken off the terrour of his name, that they wrote publique Libells againſt him; and aſſoone as *Brill* was taken, pictured him with a paire of Spectacles put upon his Noſe, by *Lumè* ſtanding behind his back: for the *Low-Duch* call Spectacles *Brills*, and they have a jeering Proverb when they hamper a man, that they put Spectacles on his noſe, and a Snaffle in his mouth. Theſe Figures therefore ſignifyed, that *Alvas* Severity was now bridled. But they that made them little dreamed, what a world of Miſchiefe hung over their heads, in the hand of this great Generall, one that deſpiſed ſuch ridiculous toyes. And though ſome of the Cityes I have named, wavered at the very firſt, reſolved to rebell, not reſolved to whom they ſhould ſubmit: yet partly deſpairing, out of the greatneſſe of their crimes committed againſt the Church and Churchmen; partly out of an obſtinate determination never to indure the new Taxes, they finally came in, to the prince of *Orange*; and as if he had beene their Kinge, *Lumè* moving it, tooke an oath of Fidelity to him. From him they received

April 1. *Deſtroy all things Sacred.* *Beate the* Spanish *forces.* Gulielmus Bloſius Treſlong *A wonderfull change followes.*

Durdrecht *or* Dort *revolts from the* Spaniard.

And Vlushing.

John Treſlong.

And Enchuyſen.

And almoſt all Holland. *And a great part* Zeland *being now out of feare of the Duke of* Alva, *and jeering him for the loſſe of* Brill.

The revolted Townes put themſelves into the Prince of Orange's *power.*

received their Gariſons, Shipping, and Armes: he diſpoſed of all places of Governement, made Lawes, beſtowed and ordered the Revenues taken from the Clergy; ſuch Multitudes out of *France* and *Great Britaine* flocking thither in hope of plunder, that within leſſe then 4. Months, in the Port of *Vluſhing* lay a Fleete ready rigged, and manned of a 100.&50. ſayle, which made diverſe bold Attempts upon Townes and Shippes of the *Spaniſh* party; wherewith in ten yeares ſpace, during which time they had many Sea-fights, the *Hollanders* were but once overcome, to be for ever after Conquerours, as the *Spaniſh Hiſtorians* themſelves affirme. So that it ſeemes theſe were but preluſory Victoryes, by which at this time the *Hollanders* Strength by Sea exceedingly increaſed. Thus at laſt the water brought forth this new Common-wealth; Ambition being the Mother, Hereſy the Midwife: and Terrour like Thunder, making her fall in Labour before her time. Truly when this laſt Occaſion of Rebellion was controverted, the Biſhop of *Namure*, writing to *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Parma*, concludes, that the tenth and twentieth part was the price wherewith the Prince of *Orange* purchaſed the Maritime Provinces, and his new Principality. But in this ſo thick and ſuddaine a Defection of Cityes, though the newes of loſſe upon loſſe extreamely vext the Duke of *Alva*, for in *Zupthen*, *Overyſell*, *Gelderland*, and *Friezland*, the Succeſſe of the Prince of *Oranges* Kinſman *William* Count *Bergen* was no leſſe fortunate; the Cityes and Townes there being partly taken by ſtorme, partly ſubmitting out of Affection, or Feare. Yet whilſt the Duke of *Alva* only thought of keeping out the *French* and prepared againſt a Land-Winde, not againſt a ſtorm from Sea; nothing more amazed him, then to heare that *Lewis* of *Naſſau* had taken *Mons* the chiefe City of *Haynolt*, by the aſſiſtance of the *French*: becauſe he doubted this was the beginning of a war which (it was cōmonly reported) *Charles* K. of *France*, perſwaded by *Lewis* of *Naſſau* and *Gaſpar Colligny*, had deſigned againſt the *Low-countreys*. For King *Charles* having concluded a Peace with the Hugonots, and received the greateſt of their Faction into his Favour and Grace at Court, ſuffered himſelfe, as it was ſaid to be overruled by the Admirall *Gaſpar Coligny*, ſo farr, as to ſend forces into the *Low-countreys* to aſſiſt the *Naſſaus*. And now the Drum was beat for them in *France*, and becauſe *Colligny* was to be Generall by the Kings appointment, he invited to *Paris* the Flower of the Hereticall Nobility, under pretence of doing honour to the King of *Navarre* at his marriage with the King of *France* his Siſter, but indeed hoping to ſtrengthen himſelfe by the acceſſe of thoſe Lords; diverſe of which, and thoſe the ſubtilleſt of the Faction, were loth to truſt themſelves in the Kings power, and wondered that *Coligny* who a few yeares before, when the King ſent for him to Court, returned anſwer, that "*in France there was no Count Egmonts*, ſhould now with ſo much confidence come in perſon, and be the Decoy to bring his fellowes to the Royall City, and into the King's hands. Notwithſtanding the Admirall, becauſe he ſaw *Mons* taken by the *French*, the Peace with *Spaine* broken, and a Peace for that end concluded with the *Queene* of *England*: not doubting but the deſigned warre would follow, raiſed as many forces as he could poſſibly get among the German P. laboured to undermine the faith of the *Low-countrey* L. & by a certaine Inſtrument of his tryed to corrupt *Alva's* Campe-Maſter *Vitelli*, promiſing him the place of greateſt honour and benefit in the *French* Army, if he would in time come over, and ſerve the King of *France*, ready now to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the *Lowcountreys*. And

1570 *Their new Commonwealth*

The predatory Fleet very much increaſed and conſtantly victorious. Bernard Mend. l. 16.

Making the Taxes their Pretence. *July* 24. *Anno* 74.

Many other Townes revolt. Doesburg Zutphan, Harderwick, Oldden ſal, &c. Lewis *of* Naſſau *takes the City of* Mons, *aſſiſted by the* French.

May 25. *With their Kings leave procured by* Gaſpar Coligny.

Who with too much confidence truſts himſelfe to the King.

Endeavours to win the Low-Country Lords. And makes high offers to Vitelli.

1570.

The Marqueſſe Vitelli's *noble carriage.*

And after his firſt Repulſe, when *Coligny* ſent againe, and ſhewed himſelfe as impudent a Buyer of anothers faith, as he was a Seller of his owne: *Vitelli*, inraged at the receipt of more Letters, by the ſame Meſſenger; in his preſence, ſealed as they were, threw them into the fire, and bad him get out of his ſight, and carry back that Action for an Anſwer to the Admirall his Maſter.

Of Mons *recovered by the Duke of* Alva.

J. B. Adrian. l. 18. & Thuan. l. 36.

The *Duke of Alva* informed by *Vitelli*, and advertiſed from the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour in *France*, of the Deſignes and hourely proceedings of the Hereticks at *Paris*, though he could not at firſt believe the King of *France* to be an enemy, being privy (as ſome write) to the King's Plot againſt the Hereticks: yet hearing of the loſſe of *Mons*, he thought it beſt to confide in the King no longer: therefore neglecting the Warre from Sea, he ſent his Son *Federico*, and *Chiapino Vitelli*, with part of his forces before, to beſiege *Mons*; he himſelfe with the reſt of his Army reſolving immediately to follow.

Duke Federico *attacques the Towne.*

The French *bravery.*

When *Federico* came neare the Towne, ſome commanded *French* Horſe ſallyed out, leſt the *Spaniard* ſhould ſit downe without reſiſtance. Indeed they conceived it a punctillo of honour to give the Enemy proofe of their valour before they be coopt up within Walls & works; Though in that ſkirmiſh *Vitelli* was ſhot in the left Thigh, which was no little grief to the King's men: yet they lodged the Army in the place he had appointed.

The Spaniards *pitch their Tents.*

Women-ſpies.

The next day, after they had intrenched themſelves, they found in their quarters certaine Women of *Mons* that came, under colour of ſelling herbes, to diſcover the ſtrength and reſolutions of the *Spaniards*.

Puniſhed.

Bern. Mend. l. 6. 2 Reg. c. 10

All which, by *Federico's* Order had their petticoates cut off above the knee, a military puniſhment, wherewith the *Spaniſh* uſe to ſhame that Sex: not unlike the old cuſtome of the Ammonites; and being firſt carried through the Campe, and laught at, they were with this Diſgrace ſent back to *Mons*.

The Abbey D'eſpine *taken by the Beſiegers*

A while after the *Monaſtery D'eſpine*, which was fortified by the Towne, in regard of the neare diſtance, was twice aſſaulted by the *Spaniards*; who at laſt, after hot diſpute, beate out the Garriſon, and tooke it.

The Armyes ſent by Coligny *to relieve the Towne.*

The Admirall this while omitted no endeavours to relieve the beſieged, liſting Horſe and Foot upon the Borders, and appointing for their Commander in chiefe (as he ſaid by order from the King, *John Hangeſt* Lord of *Jenlis* (Brother to *Francis* de *Jenlis* lately ſlaine.)

Gives battaile to Federico,

Who though adviſed, by a letter ſent poſt from *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, not to fight till the Prince of *Orange* was joyned with him: impatient of Delay, and of a partner, that muſt ſhare the honour of delivering the Beſieged, and being incouraged by the cheerefulneſſe of his Army conſiſting of ſix or ſeven thouſand; at St. *Giſlen*, not farre from the Towne beſieged, with more Valour then Diſcretion he gave Battaile to Duke *Federico*, who omitting no duty of an Active Generall, defeated him with the loſſe of almoſt all his men.

Is defeated.

Vitelli's *bold venture.*

That day the boldneſſe of *Vitelli* was admired, who not being as yet cured of his wound, and neither able to go nor ſtand, neverthelеſſe could not be perſwaded to keep his Tent, but made himſelfe be carried upon a hand-barrow which he ſaw by chance, and ſo ſitting ordered the battaile with the Generall *Federico*, planted the Ambuſcadoes, and did all that belonged to the Campe-Maſter's place.

Thuan. l. 54.

John. Meu. l. 7. & Ber. Mend. *reckons but twenty Priſoners put to death.*

Then appearing in the head of the Army among the thickeſt of thoſe that fought, his voice, his hand, and even his preſence was very much conducing to the Victory: though his wound feſtring upon the cold he tooke, his recovery was deſpaired of, and it had like to have coſt his life. *Ienlis* they ſay, loſt twelve hundred men, the *Spaniards* no more but thirty. *Ienlis* himſelfe

and

1570.

and ſix hundred of his Souldiers, whereof about ſix ſcore were Gentlemen, coming into the *Spaniards* hands, part were impriſoned in the Forts next adjoyning, and the reſt hanged up. Such as fled out of that unfortunate battaile, and hid themſelves in the Woods, were by the Countrey people whom they had cruelly uſed awhile before, with like cruelty murdered. But *Federico*, whoſe name grew glorious from that Field, returned with his Victorious Army to the next Village, to give publique thankes to *Saint Leocadia* Patroneſſe of *Toledo* (whoſe body at that time was there preſerved) ſpending the day in warlike pompe. And to fill *Spaine* with the newes, the Duke as haughty in Oſtentation, as in Action, ſent Captaine *Bobadilla* to the King to gratulate his Majeſty for the victory won by his Majeſties Armes and Influence.

Thoſe that eſcaped the fight knockt in the head by the Boores.

The victorious Army full of jollity.

In the meane time, the Prince of *Orange*, animated with fame and hope of the rebellious Provinces, was the more confident to march the ſecond time againſt the Duke of *Alva*: and bringing into the Field 6000 Horſe, and 11000 Foote, in the beginning of *July* paſſed the *Rhine*, and the *Moſe*, & ſtorming *Ruremond* in a cruell manner, entred *Brabant*, forcing a paſſage into *Haynolt*, to relieve his Brother *Lewis*. In the way, he traverſed his ground to *Lovaine*, a City faithfull to the King, but forbare to uſe violence againſt it, upon the Receipt of 16000. Crownes. *Mechlin* having a while before refuſed a *Spaniſh* Gariſon, and therefore unable to make reſiſtance, yielded. The ſame fate had *Nivell*, *Dieſt*, *Sichem*, *Thienen*, and other Townes, that either out of Feare or Love ſubmitted to the Rebells. *Bruxells*, conſtant to their Loyalty, kept out the the Prince of *Orange*. *Dendermund* and *Oudenaerd* were ſtormed and plundered; Many Villages, not ſtrong enough to reſiſt, redeemed themſelves with money. And indeed the *Lowcountreys*, if ever, at this time were truly miſerable, being invaded by forren Armyes, by Sea, and land. The Seacoaſt was ſpoiled and harreſſed by *Lumè*. The parts bordering upon *France* by *Lewis* of *Naſſau*. Thoſe confining upon *Germany* by Count *Bergen*; and the Inland-Countrey by the Prince of *Orange*. Nor did they only take Townes, kill ſuch as made reſiſtance, and rob houſes, with the Licentiouſneſſe and Avarice of Souldiers, but with barbarous Inhumanity ſpared no age nor modeſty: tyrannizing over the Reſt and Monuments of the dead, which they ſpleened as much as the Living: eſpecially holy things and Perſons; no money could buy the Lives of Prieſts, but with exquiſite and ſhamefull cruelty they were tortured to death. Some Writers expreſſely deſcribe this Prieſt-Shambles, which the *Gheuſes*, and and *Lumè* of all the *Gheuſes* the bloudyeſt Butcher, ſet up in many Cityes, with as much glory to the Sufferers, as diſhonour to the Iudges and Hangmen. And though in ſome places the King's Army (Sacrilege excepted) uſed their Victory afterwards with greate Cruelty. Yet becauſe the *Gheuſes* began to them at *Brill*, and likewiſe, contrary to their faith obliged by oath, had plundred *Amorſfort*; the ſeverity of the *Spaniard* ſeemes to be ſomewhat more pardonable, as done by Example. I am ſure, for this very reaſon, the Hereticks in their owne Annalls doe confeſſe, the Prince of *Orange's* men were infamous in the *Low-countreys*: and he himſelfe that was thought at firſt to have taken armes for Protection of the *Netherlands*, againſt the Tyranny of *Alva*, now by making no diſtinction between Friend and Enemy, grew to be generally hated; the people complaining that they were fallen among a multitude of Tyrants. But the Prince of *Orange*, ſlighting the diſtaſte of the Cities, came into *Haynolt*, within

The ſecond expedition of the Prince of Orange *from* Germany *into the* Low-countreys *to relieve his brother* Lewis.
He takes Ruremond *by ſtorme,*
Paſſeth by Lovaine *for a ſumme of money,*
Mechlin *yields.*
He takes other Townes in his March,
Bruxells *holds out,*
Guelm a Mar. Lud. Gulielm.
Foure Armies of the Enemy at one time harreſſing the Low countreys
Pouring their fury upon things ſacred and the Prieſts

Gulielm Eſtius de crudelitate. In 21. Mart. Gorcom. Sur. in com. Arnold. Havr. l. 15 de erect. Epiſc. Johann Meurſ. in Orang. l. 7. and others.
This makes the Prince of Orange's *Army illſpoken of.*
He haſtens to Mons,

 fight

1570. ſight of the beſieged, in the month of *Auguſt*; where he found the Towne ſtraitned, and as it was commonly thought, not able to hold out long againſt the *Spaniards*. He wondred much to ſee the fortification of the Leaguer, no leſſe ſtrong for maſtering and keeping in the Gariſon, then inacceſſible to the aſſaults of any that ſhould come to their Reliefe. Diverſe pieces of Cannon played upon *Bartimont*-Port, from a hill which with a worke running on the left hand, and a line from thence, almoſt incloſed the Towne; many little Redoubts at convenient diſtance ſtanding on the Bulwarks, which flanked one another, and ſecured the whole. Theſe Intrenchments whilſt the Prince of *Orange* vainely endeavoured to paſſe, being entertained with ſome pickeering (for *Alva* was reſolved not to venture a battaile) he heard about evening in the *Spaniſh* Campe a great joy expreſſed by three Vollyes of Shot, and the cheerfull ſound of Drums, and Trumpets, the light of Bonefires ſhining through the Army: whereat being very much troubled, his Spyes brought intelligence, that two dayes before, by King *Charles* his Command, the great Maſſacre of the *Hugonots* was executed at *Paris*: which becauſe it hapned at the Marriage of *Henry* King of *Navarre* (afterwards King of *France*) and *Margaret* Siſter to King Charles, upon *Saint Bartholomew's-Eve*, the Maſſacre it ſelfe was called *Bartholomews-Eve* or the *Pariſian* wedding. A ſtrange attempt it was indeed, but a juſt puniſhment of Traitours, conſpiring againſt their King. The *Pope* when he had the newes ſent him from the Cardinall of *Loraine*, ſet apart a day of publique Thanskgiving to God the juſt Revenger, in the Church of *Saint Lewis*, and publiſhed a *Bull* of extraordinary Indulgences to ſuch as ſhould pray for the heavenly aſſiſtance to the King and Kingdome of *France*. The Prince of *Orange* amazed at the ſuddaine accident, and doubting the Event of the Warre; becauſe the Admirall *Coligny* and the reſt of the Hereticall Princes being murdered, no Aydes from the King of *France* could now be hoped for, by theſe of the adverſe Faction; held it his beſt courſe to try the fortune of a battaile with the Duke of *Alva*, before the newes of the Maſſacre came to his Souldiers eares. But *Alva* ſtill cautelous kept himſelfe within his Trenches, and from thence ſafely battering the Towne; the Prince of *Orange*, when he ſaw he could neither make any impreſſion into his Campe, nor draw him out, fearing leſt the *French* Commanders the chiefe ſtrength of his Army, upon notice of the Maſſacre at *Paris*, ſhould change their mindes and leave him; wrote to his Brother *Lewis*, That hee ſhould provide for himſelfe, and give way to his fate; and ſo retired with his Army to *Mechlin*: not without ſome loſſe received as it commonly happens in a Retreate. For almoſt 200. commanded *Spaniſh* Foot, and about 800. Horſe; all of them ſo habited, as they might bee diſtinguiſhed by one another in the darke; broke into the enemies Campe in the night, and killing their firſt Centrees, fell into the Tents that were next at hand, with great Terrour and Slaughter; and before the Enemy could bring their men together, no leſſe then foure hundred of them were ſlaine, or burnt (for they fired their huts that were thatched) and with this victory retired. Doubtleſſe the Execution had been greater, but that the fire, which at firſt affrighted them, preſently after diſcovered the Stratagem; whereupon many *Spaniards*, as they were eaſie to be known being all in white, were cut off; ſome of which, running before their Companions, got as farre as the Prince of *Orange's* Tent, who had a Dogge lying by him on the bed, that never left barking, and

Admires at Alva's *Trenches,*

Tryes to breake through in vaine.

The Joy in the Duk's Campe,

For the Maſſacre at Paris.

Henry. IV.

Gregory XIII. *A Thanksgiving day, upon the ſame occaſion, at* Rome,

Which causeth the Prince of Orange *his Deſpaire,*

And retreate from Mons,

His Campe aſſaulted in the night by Spaniards *in their ſhirts.*

Their confidence, *The Prince of* Orange's *danger.*

and ſcratching him by the face, till he awaked and roſe: in the meane time his men came in. The reſt of the night was ſpent in feare and care, by breake of Day his Army moved, and he by long Marches paſſing the *Rhine* came to *Delph* in *Holland.* Not long after, *Lewis* of *Naſſau* (who was the moſt aſtoniſhed and ſtricken at the Admiralls Death, becauſe he had perſwaded him to truſt himſelfe to the King upon his Royall word) yielded up the Towne to *Alva*, upon no contemptible Conditions; and went to *Dilemburg*, the chiefe Seate of the Counts of *Naſſau. Alva* having taken the Towne ere he had lyen three Months before it, though at the ſame time whilſt he beſieged it he himſelfe was beſieged by the Prince of *Orange*, it ſo much advanced his fame, by conquering Enemyes on both ſides him, that he recovered all the Prince of *Orange* had gott in *Flanders* & *Brabant*, with more ſpeed, then Clemency; *fining* ſome Townes, & ſacking others. Particularly *Mechlin* a very faire and rich City awhile before yielded to the Prince of *Orange*, was expoſed to the fury of the King's men, that pillaged it for three dayes together. But even that Calamity wanted no good Preſidents. The Souldiers carryed moſt of their Plunder to *Antwerp*, and ſold it, according to their ordinary courſe, dogg-cheape. Whereupon a prieſt of the Society of *Ieſus*, exceedingly beloved by the Townſmen of *Antwerp*, meeting ſome Factours, his Friends, told them of a greate bargaine to be had, and fit for *Chriſtian* Merchants, if with their money they would redeeme the Plunder of *Mechlin*, which the Souldiers had ſold for little or nothing, and returne it to the Owners at the Price they themſelves paid for it: for ſo the men in miſery would be leſſe ſenſible of their loſſe, which, if it came into the Brokers hands, would coſt dearer. And in the meane time the Merchants ſhould be no looſers in their *money*, but great gainers in their *fame* even among men; but with God no doubt this kind of Traffick was moſt advantageous. Theſe religious Merchants liked the Motion. The greater part of the plundered Goods were bought for a ſmall Summe; not ſtanding them in above 20000 Florens, wheras they were prized at 100000. At the Rates, which the Merchants paied, the Owners had them againe; only ſome few Parcells, their Proprietaries not appearing, were diſtributed among the poore. Nay (as there is a certaine pleaſure in relieving the neceſſitous) the ſame Merchants making a Purſe, upon the ſame Prieſt's Exhortation, bought great ſtore of Victuall, and therewith lading a Ship ſent it to the Poore at *Mechlin.* In that Ship (which is more to be admired) I finde the Souldiers, perſwaded by the ſame man, beſides other houſehold ſtuffe, laid aboard above a hundred rich Veſtments, which they freely preſented to the religious men and Women. But notwithſtanding the Duke of *Alva* ſcaped not the Peoples Curſe's for that Plunder. Though by his Letters, ſoone after publiſhed, he laid the fault upon the perfidiouſneſſe of the *Mechliners*, who, to frame a pretence for yielding to the Prince of *Orange*, had a while before refuſed a Gariſon from the King. But in *Gelderland Federick* acted with no leſſe Valour, then Diſpatch, though with more Cruelty then his Father, His ſtorming and plundering of *Zupthen* brought ſuch a Terrour upon the reſt of thoſe Provinces, that Count *Bergen*, before victorious, within a month after flying, (all the Rebells Gariſons being mouldred away) left him the whole Countrey. This while in *Zeland* Colonell *Mondragonio* with 2000 commanded men, choſen out of the whole Army, paſſed his Foote over the Sea, that was about fiue Miles broad, and with admirable Courage raiſed the Siege before *Tergoes* at

1570.

Septem. 19. Mons *yielded to* Alva.

His juſt commendations for that victory.

He recovers all the Prince of Orange *had taken.*

The ſack of Mechlin.

Peter Trigoſe.

The charity of the Antwerp Merchants towards the Plundered.

Iohn Boter. in vita Albani & ex Hiſt. Societ. Ieſu Ann. 1572.

The Souldiers piety.

Alva *ſtrives to cleare himſelfe from the Infamy of Sacking* Mechlin.

The Victory won by Duke Federico.

And Mondragonio.

1570. Goes Octob. 20. at the Mouth of the *Schelt*; and partly killing, partly routing the Enemies Forces, tooke the whole Iſland of *Zuid-Beverland*. Which exploit is rendred much more gallant, becauſe *Mondragonio* doubled it with another of the ſame nature, but of more danger, paſſing his men to *Schelt* an Iſle of *Zeland*, the naming whereof ſhall ſerve inſtead of a further Relation of this great Attempt. But the deſtruction of *Nardem* upon the Borders of *Holland* brought a farre contrary Succeſſe to the victorious *Federico*. For howſoever that Towne by reaſon of their foule Rebellion, and ſiding with the Hereticks, deſerved to be made a ſingular example: yet the Revenge exceeded their demerits: for being all put to the Sword, even the weake and innocent, their houſes fired, and their Walles levelled with the ground: it was not a Puniſhment, but a Crime. The newes of that Ruine augmented by the cunning of the *Gheuſes*, was told with ſo much, not terrour, but hatred of all the *Hollanders*, never to be forgotten towards the *Spaniard*; as their mindes being hardned with deſpaire, they were reſolved to ſuffer any thing, rather then do what *Alva* would command them.

Ann. 72. The deſtruction of Nardem,

Which make the Spaniard *odious.* Mich. Iſſelt. in Hiſt. ſui temp. Fran. Har. in Annal. Belg. & alij fere omnes.

Of the Siege of Harlem.

Particularly *Harlem*, a noble City of *Holland* (which *Federico* had attaqued, invited by the convenience of the faithfull Towne of *Amſterdam*) not onely with ſcorne rejected the pardon he offered them, but receiving a new Garriſon from the Enemy, to cut off all hope of Reconciliation, publiquely renouncing the old Religion; breaking the holy Images, violating and robbing the Churches, they held out eight months Siege, with equall contempt both of the enemie and their Lives. In ſo much as *Federick* deſpairing of ſucceſſe would have returned into *Brabant*, but that *Alva* grievouſly offended at his Son's Irreſolution, wrote to him, that "*if he thought of going, he himſelfe, though he were carried in his bed, would come, or (in caſe his Sickneſſe ſo increaſed that he were not able to remove) he would ſend for his Wife out of* Spaine, *and give Her a Commiſſion to be Generall inſtead of her Son.* But though the young *Duke*, out of countenance with this Reproofe, uſed all kindes of Stratagems to take the Towne; yet they, every day more bold and ſtubborne, omitted nothing defenſive or offenſive, dayly ſhewing their contempt by new reproachfull, and inſolent expreſſions. Many times they hanged their *Spaniſh* Priſoners over the Walls in ſight of the beſiegers. And when the Leaguer ſhot into the Towne a man's head, with this writ upon it, "*the head of* Philip Conin *that came with* 2000. *men to relieve* Harlem: and afterwards another, with this Inſcription "*the head of* Anthony Painter, *that betrayed the City of* Mons *to the French*: thoſe of *Harlem*, in requitall cutting off the heads of eleven Priſoners barrelled them up, and in the night rolled the veſſell into the *Spaniſh* Campe, with this direction writ upon it "*The Citizens of* Harlem *to the Duke of* Alva, *that he may have no farther pretence to make warre upon them for the tenth part, have payed ten heads; and for Intereſt, becauſe they have been long in his debt, have ſent him the eleventh.* Moreover with impious Scorne they ſet up Altars on the Bulwarks, dreſſed them with Saints Pictures, and putting on Copes and Veſtments, ſung Hymnes before them, as if they were offering their devotions; and on the ſuddaine, their ſport turning into fury, they tooke the *Effigies* of Prieſts and Religious men made of ſtraw, and firſt whipping, then ſtabbing them, cut of their heads, and threw them into the Leaguer. There were ſome that ſet up Saints Images, and *Chriſt's* the Prince of Saints, for markes to the *Spaniards*, when they were ready to give

Federico *deſpaires of taking it, His Father chides him.*

The Harlemers *provoke the Spaniards with new Scorne.*

The Spaniards jeere to the Towne.

Their Anſwer.

Their mocquery of holy things.

give fire : and by ſuch mockery frighted the pious Souldiers from ſhooting. But their ſacrilegious Pageantry eſcaped not unpuniſhed. For it was obſerved, from that very time *Harlem* fell into a miſerable condition: which grew worſe & worſe, till in a moſt wretched manner, conſumed with famine, they were by God's juſt judgment, forced to yield to mercy. For 'tis evident, that of 1600. Garriſon-Souldiers (to which number they were reduced when the City was rendred, whereas at the begining of the Siege they were 4000.) ſcarce 700. eſcaped with life. The other 900. with almoſt 400. Townſmen, moſt of them Incendiaries to Rebellion, principall Inſtruments of Hereſie, being adjudged by *Federico* de *Toledo* to be put to the ſword, or hanged, or drown'd (which fatall Spectacle continued many dayes) they dearely payed for their jeering God Almighty. The Siege of *Harlem* was memorable for many Paſſages. They revived the antient invention of Carrier-Pidgeons. For a while before they were blocked up, they ſent to the Prince of *Orange's* Fleete and to the neareſt Townes of their owne party, ſome of theſe Pidgeons, which afterwards being diſpatcht away when neceſſity required, with letters faſtned under their wings, remembring their ſeverall Maſters houſes and their young ones, they flew back to *Harlem*. By theſe winged poſtes the Prince of *Orange* incouraged the Townſmen to hold out for the laſt three months: till one of them, tired with flying, lighted upon a Tent, and being ſhot by a Souldier, ignorant of the Stratagem, the Myſtery of the Letters was diſcovered. After that accident, no Pidgeon could flie over the Leaguer, though not of that kind, but the Souldiers would ſtrive who ſhould kill her. The *Harlemers* likewiſe had a gallant Regiment of Women, that in repairing the breaches, and defending of the Workes, might compare with the induſtry of the men. Their Colonel was onely *Goody Kemava*; a woman of a manly ſpirit, neare upon 50. yeares of age. Under her command and conduct they were imboldened to doe Souldiers Duties at the Bulwarks, and to ſalley out among the Firelocks, to beat up the *Spaniſh* Quarters, to the no leſſe incouragement of their owne men, then admiration of the Enemy. Yet nothing was more admirable, then the Townſmens obſtinacy, who, notwithſtanding they had loſt three great Armies, and had hardly any ſhelter within their Walls, ſhot through, as they ſay in ten thouſand, three hundred, and ſixty places; yet would not heare of a Treaty, or conditions. And when the Garriſon was brought to a *ſmall number :* both day and night upon the Walls they ſo well performed the dutyes of *many*, that if at any time the King's men chanced to appeare never ſo little above their Trenches, they were in a moment taken off with Muſket-bullets, and thoſe ſhot, as for a wager, from many parts at once. Nay, I have heard, that the *Spaniſh* Souldiers partly to mocke the enemy, partly to make them ſpend their powder, would many times put their Helmets upon faggot-ſticks, ſo as they might be ſeen but to cock above the Workes : which in an inſtant were ſhot at and hit by the Beſieged. Laſtly, though they were inforced by famine, for the two laſt months to eat Mice, old Shooes, and every naſty thing: yet they loſt not their fury, reſolving to ſally out, and rather die fighting, then, by yielding to mercy, have their throats cut like beaſts; and they had done accordingly, but that as they marched out of the Port, their Wives and Children, with pittifull Shriekes and imbraces, ſtayed them. To conclude, the Siege of *Harlem* was rendred Illuſtrious by the reſemblance it bare to the Siege of *Sancerre*. In the ſame month, *Sancerre* in *Aquitaine* was beſieged, and

1570.
Not unpuniſhed
Auguſt 1.
They yield to mercy,
Very many put to death,
Alva's Son.
The remarkeable Accidents hapning at this Siege.
Carrier-Pidgeons.
A Regiment of Women.
The wilfulneſſe and cruelty of the Harlemers.
The Siege of Harlem *and* Sancerre.

1573. *Compared.* and *Harlem* in *Holland*. Both theſe Cityes were Rebells to their King, and their Religion: both, becauſe at firſt they were in vaine attempted by the Royall Party, were no more aſſaulted, but carefully cloſe beſieged. The Women of both Townes, with like courage tooke up Armes: there was a kind of *Kennava* at *Sancerre* that perſwaded & gave example to the reſt. Both Towns ſhewed like obſtinacy, *that* holding out ten Months, fooliſhly hoping for reliefe from the *Rochellers*; *this* as long, & as idly, relying on the Prince of *Orange*. At laſt both Garriſons, conquered by Famine, in the ſame Month of Auguſt, almoſt upon the ſame day, rendred themſelves: *Sancerre* upon Articles, *Harlem* to Mercy. But in *that*, more were hungerſterved, above fiue hundred periſhing for want of food; inſomuch as a Girle of three yeares old newly dead and buryed, was moſt horridly digged up, and eaten by her owne Father and Mother. In *this*, more dyed by the Sword, for it conſumed no leſſe then thirteene Thouſand, and diverſe Perſons of great quality. For there was loſt of the King's part, the Governour of *Graveling Creſſonerius*, that noble *Engineire*, Generall of the Artillery for this Expedition; *Bartholomeo Champio* of *Piſaura*, no leſſe famous for his quick deſigne in fortification, which appeared in many places; but *France* had the beſt proofe of his Skill at the Siege of *Roan*. Beſides thoſe that were carryed off the Field wounded, and halfe-dead: as *Norcarmius* Governour of *Haynolt*, *Valentine la Mott Succeſſour* to *Creſſonerius*, *Iuliano Romero*, *Gaſpar Bill*, *Roderick de Toledo*, all great Colonells, and their Generall himſelfe, Duke *Federico* Son to *Alva*: with about twelve Captaines more, and Multitudes of Common Souldiers; whereof the *Spaniards* confeſſe they loſt no fewer then foure Thouſand. Of the Confederates were ſlaine *Willam Bronchorſt*, *Baron* of *Battemburg*, Lievetenant Generall to the P. of *Orange*; *Vbaldo*, *Riperda* Governour of the Towne & Garriſon of *Harlem*, *Lancelot Brederod*, *Dardeindius Gallus*, and Peter *Ianſen*, all exquiſite in the art of Fortification. *Hadrian Ianſen*, *Martin Prutius*, *Lambert Wirtzemburg*, and other principall Commanders. Whereunto may be added the baniſhment of *Willam A Marcha* Count *Lumè*. For he (as no man will take a fault upon himſelfe) when he had fought unfortunately at *Harlem*, charged the States with his Miſfortune, becauſe they were ſlack in paying of his men, and almoſt in plaine words threatned to fall upon them with his Army. Therefore by Command from the Prince of *Orange*, who (as I conceive) looked not with equall eyes upon the man boaſting himſelfe to be the ſole Infranchiſer of *Holland*; he was put out of his Lieuetenant-Generalls Place, which was conferr'd upon *Willam Battemburg*, and being reduced to the quality of a private man, with *Enteſius* and others of his Followers, was committed Priſoner. And after his releaſe, being convicted of a Plot againſt the States (of whoſe ingratitude he publiſhed his Complaint in Print, That he who had freed the Maritime Provinces, and taught the world by experience that the *Spaniards* were conquerable, ſhould be rewarded by the *Hollanders* with ſuch Vſage) he was condemned, as well by the Prince of *Orange's* Sentence, as by a generall *Odium*, to depart the *Low-countreys*. And foure yeares after, when he had once more taken up Armes, againſt *Don Iohn* of *Auſtria*, loſing the battaile of *Gemblac*, he fled to *Leyden*, and there bitt with a mad dog, or poyſoned at a feaſt, dyed this wickedly ſtout man. The ſurrender of *Harlem*, as it is the common fate of Conqueſt gained by long Sieges, brought more Fame then benefit to the *Spaniard*. For the Army being not a little waſted, and retarded with ſome

Thuan Hiſt. l. 55.
How many Royaliſts were ſlaine and hurt at the ſiege of Harlem.
Roan 1562.
How many Covenanters were killed. *Bern. Mend.*
Lumè diſcontented.
His Commiſſion taken from him by the Prince of Orange.
He is impriſoned.
Baniſhed the Low-countries.
Arnold Havenſius l. 1. de nov. Epiſcop. An. Carner. in Hiſt. Belg. l. 5 & Fran. Haræus in Annal.
He dyes.

ſome mutiny, *Duke Federico* ſitting downe before *Alcmar*, upon the approach of winter, was forced to leave the *S*eige. Nor was there any better fortune at Sea. The confederated *Gheuſes* in a Sea-fight taking *Maximilian Henin*, Count of *Bolduc*, Governour of *Holland*, and *Zeland*, and Admirall of the Belgick Seas, an actiue Souldier, and very intimate with the Duke of *Alva*. In that Fight, it is reported Count *Bolduc's* Admirall (the *Hollonders* called her the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*) forſaken by the reſt of the Fleete, for 28 houres together fought with twentie ſaile of the Enemy, and her men brought from the Number of 300 to 80; and thoſe all but fifteene wounded, at laſt was forced to yield. Yet this loſſe was recompenced with ſome Townes reduced by the *Spaniards* in South-*Holland*, and at the Hague they tooke Count *Philip Marnixius Aldegund* a man of great place and account among the Confederates: inſomuch as the Prince of *Orange* threatned, whatſoever was done to Count *Aldegund* ſhould be ſuffered by Count *Bolduc*.

1573. D. Federico *forced to raiſe his ſeige of* Alcmar. Count Bolduc *Admirall of the Spaniſh Fleete beaten at Sea.* Heuter apud Haræum in Anal. *Gallantly fighting.* Aldegund, *the Prince of* Orange's *intimate friend, taken priſoner.*

Novemb. 17

In the meane time *Lodovico Requeſenes* came from the Governement of Millaine into the *Low-countreys* guarded only with two Regiments of *Italian* Horſe, under the Command of *Mutio Spaganio* and *Pedro Buſto*. He was by the King appointed Succeſſour to *Alva*, becauſe *Iuan de la Cerda* declined the Governement, deſpairing that any good could be done in the *Low-countreys*; ſo leaving both the Burthen and the Enuy upon *Alva*. And he with his Son *Federick* returning immediately to *Bruxells*, delivered the provinces and Armies to *Requeſenes*; and December being now begun, imbarqued for *Spaine*, after he had ſix yeares governed the *Netherlands*. All the Hereticall Commanders were not equally pleaſed with his departure; it troubled ſome of them, who conceived his Fortune was decreaſing, and that the people could be moved to Rebellion with no ſtronger Provocative, then their Hatred to the Duke of *Alva*. But the Prince of *Orange*, that Publiquely hated, and privately admired the Duke, was glad to be ſo ridde of him: never hoping to compaſſe his Deſignes, whilſt he had *Alva* for his Enemy. Nor were the Catholiques all of one minde. For ſome thought his Departure a happineſſe, being irreconciliably diſtaſted at him, becauſe (as they ſayed) he had found the *Lowconntreys* brought to a peaceable Condition by *Margaret* of *Auſtria*; and by his Cruelty to the Lords, & Exactions upon the Commons, had left the Provinces troubled and exaſperated; and they feared, that, as from thence *Holland* and *Zeland* tooke occaſion to revolt, ſo the reſt of the adjoyning Provinces, infected with the ſame Contagion would have ſhortly renounced their Religion and Obedience. But others, in a kind of middle way; as the *Romans* ſaid of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, that he ſhould either not have beene *borne*, or not have *dyed*; affirmed, that it was to be wiſhed, *Alva* had either not at all come to the *Lowcountreys* or had not departed at that time, when the Prince of *Orange* had fortunately matured his Plot, and could not be taken off by an amicable way, nor broke more ſurely by any Armes, then his; who no leſſe prudently then valiantly, when the Prince entred the Provinces with ſuch great Armyes, had twice beat him out. But the King of *Spaine*, contrary to the *Low-countreymen's* Expectations, and the Deſires of ſome *Spaniſh* Courtiers, very gratiouſly received the *Duke*. Though ſome were not moved with ſuch Formality, knowing it to be king *Philip's* Cuſtome, to Countenance before others what his Miniſters had done, But ſuppoſing, that his Indignation, then raked up in Embers, would in time breake out: and that it did ſo, ſome yeares after, when the Duke

The Duke of Alva *reſignes the* Lowcountries *to his ſucceſſour* Requeſenes.

And goes aboard for Spaine. *The diverſe ſenſes touching his departure, of the Hereticks. The Prince of* Orange, *And of the Catholickes,*

Sextus Aurel. in his Life.

He is gratiouſly received in Spaine *by the King.* *But the Courtiers thinke the King diſſembles.*

1573. *Wherein they were deceived.* was confined to *Vzeda.* I confeſſe, I rather thinke the greateſt part of *Alva's* Actions in the *Low-countryes* was done by Order from the King, and therefore merited not his diſpleaſure: or if he did erre, his Service was more conſiderable, then his Errour, in the King's account: into whoſe Favour, as the acceſſe was rare and difficult, ſo the poſſeſſion was firme and laſting. *The true cauſe of* Alva's *confinement.* And that there was evidently no other Reaſon for the Duke's Confinement, but becauſe his Son *Federico* had promiſed Marriage to one of the Queen's Maydes of Honour, and by his Fathers Adviſe, marryed another Lady: whereupon the King in a rage, baniſhed the Duke *of Alva* to *Vzeda.* *His excellent temper of mind in that calamity,* Which Miſfortune (and what greater could happen to a man in the higheſt Grace at Court) manifeſted beyond al mens Imagination, the wonderfull equall Temper and Gallantry of his minde: and though he was accompted a great perſon whilſt he ſtood, yet being falne like a proſtrate wall, was thought greater lying on the ground. Certainely he deſerved, that his Miſery ſhould at laſt be turned into his Glory. *How great an honour it was to him in the end.* For after the deceaſe of *Henry* the laſt of the Kings of *Portugall,* King *Philip* reſolving his Army ſhould move thither, and doubtfull whom to make Generall, paſſed by many, that ſtood faire for the Imployment, *He is called from baniſhment to be Generall againſt* Portugall. chuſing the Duke of *Alva*, not without the admiration of the world, to ſee him truſt a man diſcontented by long Baniſhment, to command in Chiefe in the greateſt Warre he ever undertooke. Nay it is reported, that *Alva* himſelfe glorying to the Meſſengers that brought his Repeale, *His words to the Meſſengers,* said, "*he wondred, that for the Conqueſt of a Kingdom his Majeſty ſhould have uſe of a fettered* Generall. Diverſe thought this more proudly ſpoken then became an Exile, but the King tooke it well; as he that looking upon his Actions, eaſily pardoned the freedome of his Words. *He conquers,* Nor was the King deceived in *Alva*, who fortunately managing the War amidſt the great diſcords of the *Portugeſes*, forced the Magiſtrates and Nobility to ſweare Allegeance to the King of *Spaine*. Wherein whilſt the *Duke* overtoyled himſelfe, at *Lisbon* he fell deſperately ſicke, the King comming often to viſit him on his death bed: and the Sacraments being adminniſtred to him *And dyes,* by *Lewis* of *Granada* a wiſe and religious man, he departed this Life. Whoſe death with many other Funeralls, hapning in the height of that Proſperity, grieved the King ſo much, that he was heard to ſay, *The King's expreſſion.* "*he nenever had greater experience of the incertainty of humane things: becauſe,* "*when his fortunes were raiſed to ſo high a pitch, by the addition of many* "*Kingdomes; he was then deprived of the Heire apparent to his Crowne, of* "*the Queene his Wife, and of this his great and faithfull Generall.* Didaco Prince of Spaine. Anne the Emp. Maximilian's Daughter. Alva's *Elogy,* And truely the Duke of *Alva*, deſcended from great Warriours, had military Prudence by a kind of Inheritance. *His Father,* His Father was that *Garzia*, who in the *African* Warre, being created Admirall, in the Iſle of *Gerben* (where about 3000. *Spaniards* fell by the Sword and Famine) whilſt he together 1510. with *Pedro Navarr* Generall of the Land-forces, endeavoured to ſtop the flight of his men, wreſting a Pike out of the hand of a common Souldier, and valiantly fighting with it, was ſlaine by the *Moores*. *His Grandfather.* His Grand-Father was *Federico* Coſen German to King *Ferdinand*, who, as he was more active then his Son *Garzia*, ſo he did more gallant things. For he gloriouſly put an end to the Warre of *Granada*, where he was Generall of the Royall *Betick* Army, and with the ſame courage defended the *Appennine*, and all the Borders of *Spaine*, againſt the *French*. Laſtly it was his fortune to joyne the Crowne of *Navarre* to the *Spaniſh* Empire. *He himſelfe greater then his Progenitors* But *Alva* himſelfe farre tranſcended all his Anceſtours in the vertues of a Generall. The

1573.

Age wherein he lived, had not any other that commanded in chiefe ſo long and in ſuch various places. The common ſaying among Souldiers, that a good Generall is never long-lived, was ſufficiently confuted by the Two great Generalls of that time, *Annas Momorancy* Conſtable of *France*, and this of whom we ſpeak, *Ferdinando* Duke of *Alva*. Both of them conſtantly followed the Warres from their Infancy, even to their decrepit Age: he being almoſt foureſcore, this 74. yeares old, inlarging their honours by continuall imployments. *Momorancy* under foure Kings of *France* fought eight Battailes; in foure wherof he commanded in chiefe. *Alva* ſerving the Emperour *Charles the fifth*, and his Son King *Philip*, in *Germany*, *Africa*, *Italy*, the *Low-countreys*, and *Portugall*, was Generall in the greateſt expeditions. But the *French man* was more *active* by the *Genius* of his Nation; by his owne, more *unfortunate*: as being ſeldome Maſter of the Field, three times taken priſoner, and at laſt ſlaine. The *Spaniard* oftner by delaies then Fighting, gained glory out of the Succeſſe of his Actions. In warlike Abilities they are accompted rather *equall*, then *like*. But *Alva* was as good a Souldier at Court, as in the Field. Who though he was by nature and continuall converſation in the Campe, growne rough; and like a Souldier either careleſſely regarded not, or proudly contemned the Offices of Court-ſhippe, which gave offence to ſome; yet Princes diſlike not their Miniſters Auſterity, rendring them inacceſſible to the ſubtill Flatterer. And *Alva* by that Souldier's freedome, ſpeaking as if he would fight for his Maſter as well at *home*, as in the *Field*; advanced himſelfe in the King's favour merited by his Fidelity and long ſervice. Yet by this kind of favour, he got more private eſtimation, then publique honour. So that when he was called from baniſhment to be Generall in the Warre with *Portugall*, though he was an earneſt Suiter to the King, that in his March he might kiſſe his Royall hand, being not yet fully aſſured of his Pardon, his Requeſt was denyed. And at the ſame time, when the Nobility of *Spaine* were ſent for by the King to ſweare Allegiance to *Didaco* Prince of *Spaine*, though the Duke moved for Leave to be preſent at the Solemnity, yet the ſame ſterne nature of the King would not admit him. So much his Majeſty confided in the man, he thought that *Alva* might be *uncertaine* of his Favour, yet He *ſecure* of the Fidelity of *Alva*. Whoſe obedient Loyalty ſeemes to merit the Honour he had, to die in the King's ſpeciall Grace, in his Court, and almoſt in his Armes: and, having to his owne wiſhes ended the Warre, among the Applauſes of victory, to be carried to his Grave, in Triumph. Undoubtedly he was comparable to the antient Generalls, in military Abilities; if the *Odium* he contracted by too much Rigour, Pride and Scorne of others, as at preſent it obſtructed the Current of his Vertues, had not likewiſe taken off ſomething of their reputation with Poſterity.

Alva *and Annas* Momorancy *parallel'd.*

The Duke of Alva *a good Courtier.*

Much affected by the King.

But rather inwardly then in ſhew.

How much the King relied upon his Faith.

What ſoyled his Fame.

The



Lodovico Requesenes, Great Cõmendador of Castile Governour of ye Lowcountreys

The Hiſtorie of the *LOW-COUNTREY* WARRES.

The eighth Book.

IN the beginning of the year 1574, *Ludovico Requeſenes*, great *Commendador* of the Knights of *Saint Jago*, in the Province of *Caſtile*, began his government; moſt men conceiving extraordinary hopes of him, grounded as well upon his Civil, as Military Prudence, appearing in the courſe of his great employments both in Peace and Warre. It was likewiſe believed, that with his facilitie and modeſtie, virtues ſet off by compariſon with the Duke of *Alva*, he would exceedingly gain upon the Low-countrey mens affections. Nor was he himſelf negligent of fame; but partly upon Deſigne, partly by the Kings Command, endeavoured to make himſelf popular. And the people were preſently much taken with him, for puniſhing the Inſolencies of ſome Garriſon Souldiers, but eſpecially for pulling down and removing out of ſight the armed ſtatue of the Duke of *Alva*; his other ſtatue by the Kings Command being ſent for into *Spain*, to the *Antwerpers* very great contentment. Inſomuch that ſome were glad his ſtatue had been erected, that they might ſee his puniſhment in the demoliſhing and carrying it away. But *Requeſenes* for all this could not raiſe the Rebels from their ſiege of *Middelburgh*. That Citie, the head not onely of *Walcharen*, but of all the *Iſles* of *Zeland*, was yet kept by Colonel *Mondragonio*, who with frequent ſallies and little fights, rather to make ſhow of confidence, then out of any reall truſt in his own ſtrength, had now for almoſt two years defended it againſt the *Zelanders*. To mollifie that people (incenſed againſt *Alva*, but ſaid to be well-affected to the new Governour) when *Requeſenes* had often ſent them very kind Letters, by meſſengers aſſuring them of the Kings mercy, all would not do; for having made themſelves maſters of many ſmall Towns, the ſucceſſe ticing them on, they placed greater hopes in their own ſtubbornneſs, then in the Kings *unfruitfull* mercy; and according to the cuſtome of the world, held it better to be knaves and *gain* by it, then to be honeſt *gratis*. Wherefore the Governour, lately advertiſed by *Mondragonio*, that famine would compell him to deliver up the Town, rigged a fleet of ſixty ſail at *Antwerp*, diſpatching them away to the relief of *Middelburg*. And becauſe

1574. Requeſenes *begins his Government of the* Low-countreys. *The hopes conceived of him.*

Mart.Delr.l.1. Belg. Turb.

He takes away the Duke of Alva's *Statue. To the great joy of the Low-countreymen.* The Zelanders *beſiege* Middelburg.

Requeſenes *ſends a Fleet to relieve the town.*

1574. there were two paſſages by two arms of the River *Schelt*, he divided the fleet between *Avila*, and *Glimè* Vice-Admirall in the place of *Beavor*, appointing him *Juliano Romero*, for his adjutant. *Avila* was commanded to take the left hand way to *Middleburg* by the *Hondt* (ſo they call that diviſion of the River by reaſon of the barking water) and *Glimè* to ſteer upon the right hand down the *Schelt*. The Prince of *Orange*, underſtanding this incountred them in like manner. For dividing his fleet, with part of it he himſelf lay at Anchor before *Middelburg*, exſpecting *Avila*: and ſent the reſt to the Iſle of *Thol*, under the conduct of *Lodwick Boiſot* Governour of the Sea coaſt of *Holland*, to fight with *Romerio* and *Glimè*. *Boiſot* (for the Prince of *Orange* and *Avila* looked on, at a great diſtance) meeting the *Spaniards* at the mouth of *Bergen*, gave them battell: which at the firſt was improſperous and bloudy to him, one of his eyes being ſhot out; the Maſter of his Admirall ſlain; and his ſtouteſt Souldiers wounded. But the *Zelanders*, (having the advantage in greatneſſe and number of ſhips and skilfulneſſe of Pilots) at laſt with multitude oppreſſed the Royalliſts: *Glimè* was ſlain: *Romerio* narrowly eſcaped in a long boat: part of the ſhips ranne aground, and part were fired in the ſight of *Requeſenes*, that from the Peer of *Bergen*, beheld the event of that unfortunate battell, with infinite greif to ſee his men ſo loſt. The enemies conqueſt was followed with the preſent ſurrender of *Middelburg*, almoſt the onely town that held out in *Zeland*. By which Render *Mondragonio* gained ſuch honour as we ſeldome read parallelled. For when he had drawn up his conditions ſo, as that if the *Zelanders* would tranſport his Souldiers, Mariners, and Engineers, with all their Cannoneers, and Artillery, and the Religious men and ſecular Prieſts, with all their ſacred furniture (both ſorts likewiſe carrying away all their houſholdſtuff, and baggage) and land them in the neareſt parts of *Flanders*: he would then prevail with *Requeſenes*, that *Aldegund*, at that time a Priſoner, one the Prince of *Orange* highly eſteemed, and three other perſons, ſuch as *Aldegund* ſhould name, within ſix moneths, ſhould be returned into *Zeland*; but if he could not prevail with the Governour, then he, before the exſpiration of that term, would render himſelf priſoner to the *Zelanders*; They gave ſo much credit to his Parole, as the conditions being accepted, though without any hoſtage given, they doubted not, but that, if the Governour diſapproved of this agreement, *Mondragonio* would not fail of his promiſe to return; whoſe Captivitie they knew would ſatisfie for many *Aldegunds*. But the Articles were by *Requeſenes* confirmed to the contentment of all parties. For immediately *Aldegund* had his libertie, and by his appointment *Simons*, and *Pettin*, two Colonels, and Captain *Cittadella* an Enginier, Grandchild to that *Franceſco Cittadella*, who commanding the Cittadell of *Lucca* for the Prince, *Paulo Guinichi*, when he loſt his Principality reſtored the Cittadell to the Commonwealth; for which Act the people, leaving out his Sirname of *Jacobio*, called him *Cittadella*, and inſerted into his family the remembrance of his merit: from which, his poſteritie were at once both *named* and *praiſed*. But the Citizens of *Middelburg*, as it was in their Articles, redeemed the plunder of their town with three hundred thouſand Florens paid to the Prince of *Orange*: who, notwithſtanding, is known to have made out of Merchant-ſtrangers goods a million of *Florens* more. But this loſſe at Sea, the *Spaniard* ſtronger by land, immediately revenged.

Lewis of *Naſſau* Brother to the Prince of *Orange*, with his youngeſt Brother *Grave Henrick*, and Prince *Chriſtopher* Sonne to the Count Palatine of the

That is, Hound.

which is met.

Fought with.

Bergen op Zoom.

And defeated.

Middleburg *rendered.*

Feb. 18.

The Fame of Mondragonio.

What ſtrange confidence the enemy repoſed in him.

Aldegund *and three more exchanged for* Mondragonio Jacob Simon John Pettin Franciſo Citadella.

1430.

Largil. to Marg. of Parma.

March 5.

What the Prince of Orange *made of* Middelburg

Largil. to Margaret of Parma.

March 5.

The Forces and deſign of Lewis *of* Naſſau.



Sancho Avila Governour of the Fort at Antwerp General at ye Battaile of Mooch.

1574.

the *Rhine*, brought out of *Germany* ſeven thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, and having attempted, in vain, to paſſe the *Moſe*, made a halt in *Gelderland*, as if they looked back towards *Germany*: but indeed, waiting an opportunitie for the taking of *Nimmeghen*, that they might in that Citie receive the Prince of *Orange* coming from the Iſle of *Bomell*. The *Spaniſh* armie followed him on the other ſide the *Moſe*, commanded by *Sanchio Avila*, an old Souldier, trained up in *Alva's* diſcipline: who thinking it opportune, before thoſe ſuccours came that were exſpected from the Prince of *Orange*, to fight with the *Naſſavians* (quartered in the village of *Mooch* between the *Vahal* and the *Moſe*, intrenched onely with a ſlight line) paſſing his armie over on a ſudden, and putting them in rank and file preſented the ennemie at once with warre, and ſlaughter. Which was indeed continued, (by reaſon of the Royalliſts anger for the late execution done upon their men) during the ſpace of two hours, with ſo much fury, that almoſt their whole army, part killed, part taken priſoners, were deſtroyed: and their three Generalls *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, his Brother *Grave Henrick*, and *Prince Chriſtopher*, either ſlain fighting, or trod under the horſes feet, or ſtifled in the Fens (for their bodies never could be found) miſerably periſhed altogether. I find in ſome Hiſtories, that *Lewis*, after he had lyen a while among the dead bodies, crept out as farre as the *Moſe*, and there unknown as he waſht his wounds, the Countreymen looking for bootie, barbarouſly killed and ſtript him. He was a man addicted to warre, endowed with a military eloquution, but of a turbulent ſpirit: And as his brother the Prince of *Orange* and he were twins in affection, ſo in prudence they ſeemed utter ſtrangers: this being inconſiderately violent, and making warre rather in hot bloud, then with advice, had often (and deſervingly) the experience of ill fortune. The *Spaniard* took all their Colours, Artillery, Tents and Carriages, with little or no loſſe to themſelves. Now the honour of this victory (as it is common in all good ſucceſſes) was by many challenged: the Souldiers preferring their Commanders with great conteſt of ſeverall nations. The *Spaniards* attributed the glory of the day, ſolely to their Generall *Avila*, who as wiſely as expeditiouſly gave battell. The *Low-countreymen* to *Ægidius* Sonne to Count *Barlamont* and Lord of *Hierg*, who with his Reſerve of horſe, when a Squadron of their men gave ground, fell in, and reſtored the battle. The *Italians* to *Giovanni Raptiſta Marchioni*, who dividing his Lanceirs into many little Troops, galled the enemy ſo ſubtilly, and ſo often, in the Flank, that he overcame by art the farre greater number. For my own part, as I doubt not but every battell is wonne by many mens valours, ſo I am confident this was chiefly gained by *Montius*, becauſe King *Philip* for this very ſervice aſſigned him a yearly penſion of five hundred crowns. Though poor ſouldiers are but hardly uſed, when all muſt be aſcribed to their Commanders: as if in a fight, the eyes were onely to be praiſed becauſe they firſt mark out a place wherein to wound the foe: and that nothing were due to the hands, that diſpute and determine the Victorie. I am well aſſured, that *Pedro Antonio Perotti* of *Saſſo Ferrato*, a man no leſſe noble by deſcent, then worth, very much contributed to that overthrow, which I find certified to the King both in publick and private letters by *Franciſco Valdez* a *Spaniſh* Colonell of foot, highly commending the Gentleman, becauſe valiantly and no leſſe fortunately he began the fight. He commanded that day the company of *Comillo à Monte*, who had another charge. In the front of *Naſſaus* armie there fought a Regiment of five hundred horſe, whereof three hundred were of that kind of *Raiters*,

The Battell of Mooch or Monich, *how ſuddenly* Avila *fought him.*

The execution done upon the Naſſavians.

The death of the three Generals.

Lewis *of* Naſſau's *death otherwiſe related.* Franc. Haræus in his Belgick Annals.

His Character.

To whom this victory is to be aſcribed.

The common ſouldiers valour not to be excluded from their ſhare of praiſe.

The beginning of the battell Petr. Ant. Perotti.

Lud. & Melz. lib.4. c.2.

The Raiters *diſordered.*

1575. which from their many piſtols and other iron weapons are called *Ironiſts*. *Giovanni Baptiſta à Monte* being to encounter this partie, commanded *Perrott* with one of thoſe Troops to begin the battell, who chuſing out ſixſcore Lanceirs charged them with ſo much violence and judgement, that the *Raiters* being diſordered in the Front (an accident which hath loſt many Fields) ſixty of them were ſevered from the reſt, which he (aſſiſted by a freſh Troop) eaſily maſtered, though they in a ſtrong body recharged and fired, in hope to recover their Poſte; but their Retreat was obſtructed by his pikes, and they to a man all ſlain. Whereupon the whole Régiment growing into extreme trouble and diſoder, it was, no doubt, the firſt ſtep to the victorie. For Cornet after Cornet falling in, they were routed, and upon the point of flying, when *Lewis* of *Naſſau* with a ſelected Troop came upon the ſpurre to relieve them; but he being intercepted by *Bernardino Mendoza*, and *Anthonio Olivera*, that joyned their Troops to receive his charge, he not onely not repreſſed the fear of his men, but flying with them, was forced to yield to the impreſſion of the enemie. Some Writers ſay, this was the firſt battell, wherein the Lanceirs routed the Carabines. But I obſerve, that in the battell near *Renty*-Caſtle in *Artois*, the Emperours *Raiters* were worſted by the *French* Lanceirs. But *Perrotti* in this likewiſe had the greateſt honour of the Field, becauſe when he had broke his Lance, going to draw his ſword; and perceiving that it was ſhot from his ſide, he catched a Raiter in his Arms, wreſted his ſword out of his hand, and killing him with his own weapon, made his way through the thickeſt of the enemie; where being ſhot through the reins, he would not yet leave the field, whilſt the victory continued doubtfull, but when it was abſolutely wonne, almoſt dead, he was carried off the Field. Yet within a while he recovered, with ſo much the greater joy to his fellow-ſouldiers, becauſe moſt of them had ſpoken his funerall praiſe. To the fame whereof, he added ſo much by his valiant actions under the Command of *Alexander Farneze*, that from his exceſſive ſtrength and courage he was ſirnamed the *Palladine* of *Italy*.

> Lewis *of* Naſſau *falls in with his horſe. But is routed (which ſeldome happens) by the Lanciers.*
>
> Benard. Mendoza. l. 2.
>
> Perotti's *valour.*

The fruit of ſo great a day was almoſt loſt by a furious mutiny of the *Spaniards*. A great part of the Army had much Arrears due to them, ſome full three years pay; which *Sanchio Avila*, before the battell, freely promiſed; but when the buſineſs was done, put them off; not having ſo much money, and being naturally ſevere. For the Souldiers, whoſe animoſitie was raiſed both by their Victory and Cauſe, the readier they were before in running the hazzard of a battel, the more implacable they were after in demanding of their pay. Wherefore they threatning their Commanders, joyned in a body; and when *Avila* came and began to rate them, they fiercely asked him, *Where the faith of his promiſes was? where the care of a Generall? that not onely not regarded the benefit of his Souldiers, but likewiſe ſlighted their Requeſts. But Generalls and Colonels never fail to* preach *military obedience. When they command, poore ſouldiers muſt run upon the mouth of the Canon, ſuffer wounds and death, commonly for no other end, but to blunt the enemies ſwords: many times if fagots be wanting to fill up ditches, they muſt do it with their bodies. Nothing it ſeems is more inconſiderable then Souldiers lives. And is it lawfull for a Generall, every houre to require the ſouldiers lives, but not lawfull for them to challenge their livelihood, and many moneths Debentures of the Generall? is there any kind of workmen that may juſtlier demand their wages then they, that ſerve not under anothers command with ordinary labour and ſweat, but with the expence of their bloods and lives?* They objecting this againſt their Generall, with their ſwords in their hands, *Avila* not able to withſtand the multitude, when by no

> *The firſt Mutiny of the* Spaniards. Out of the Biſhop of Namure's letter to Marg. of Parma.
>
> *July* 24. *Againſt* Avila *who detained their Pay.*
>
> *The expoſtulation of the Mutineers.*
>
> Avila *flies.*

1 5 7.

no promiſes he could appeaſe the once deceived *Spaniards*, was inforced to flie. Then laying their heads together, almoſt three thouſand of the old ſouldiers, after the manner of ſeditions, created them a Generall, whom they called the *Electo*, caſting their *Militia* into a new model; and dividing the Offices of Warre among themſelves, in order of battell marched to *Antwerp*; the better ſort in vain oppoſing them. Nay, they deſpiſed the Meſſengers, which upon the news of their mutiny, were ſent by *Requiſenes*, to aſſure their Arrears, one of which Meſſengers being a Jeſuite (his name was *Pedro Trigoſio*, a very eloquent *Spaniard*, and in great eſteem among the ſouldiers) when he had made a very ſad and long ſpeech to them, they anſwered him in ſhort, *Firſt tender the money, and then we will hear you preach: we have had Words enough, we require money. And if the* Bloud *we have ſpent for the King were in one ſcale, it would eaſily weigh down our* Pay *put into the other.* When the Jeſuite would have proceeded, they beat up their Drumms, and with Colours flying, entred *Antwerp*, the ſouldiers that were in the Fort not ſticking to admit them: and quartering themſelves in the richeſt Citizens houſes, they peremptorily threatned *Requiſenes*, who upon their requeſts and menaces had now ſent out of the Town the Garriſon of *Walloons*, that if he would not pay their arrears, they would be their own Pay-maſters. And when he had appointed a certain day, yet failed; with new fury, as if they had been deluded, they ran armed to the Court of Juſtice, where their *Electo* was hearing cauſes, and there preſently ſetting up an Altar, when Maſſe was done, they all bound themſelves by oath to obey the *Electo*, and not to lay down arms till they had their pay to a *Maravedi*. Which very Act paſſed not tumultuouſly in that tumult, but orderly and gravely, as if there had been no ſedition. So muſt armed rage be ordered, leſt it rage in vain. Nay, they ſet up a Gallows on the place, and made Proclamation in the *Electo's* name, That whoſoever for the future ſtole or plundred, ſhould be immediately hanged: which was ſo punctually obſerved by the ſouldiers, two of them being inſtantly truſſed up, that *Antwerp* heard of no more ſuch offences. This preſent form of modeſty, and their paſt moderations ſo won upon mens affections, that partly the *Antwerpers* aſſeſſing themſelves at certain rates, partly *Requiſenes* out of the Kings Treaſury, with the pawning of his own Plate and Hangings; the Merchants likewiſe making up their Pay (for yet there was not money enough) with pieces of Silk and Cloth, after 47 dayes abundantly ſatisfied the ſouldiers. One memorable Accident I cannot here omit, eſpecially coming to my knowledge from the perſons by whom it was occaſioned. When *Requeſenes* had paid the Army, they being fluſh of money, were followed, as the cuſtome is, by many poor people for their alms, particularly by the begging Fryers. And moſt of the ſouldiers then full of gold (for ſome had got three years Debentures, ſome four) either out of that Nations inbred pietie towards Religious Orders, or that when wealth comes on the ſudden it is leſſe regarded, were ſo liberall, that the *Franciſcans* for their part got four thouſand Florens. But when the ſouldiers took notice, that among all the Religious which had taſted of their bounty, no one of the Society of *Jeſus* came unto them, to which Order, for their conſtant pains in the Camp, and their extraordinary care of the ſick ſouldiers, they acknowledged themſelves chiefly obliged: they ſent one of the Army to encourage the Fathers, in that publick Donation, not to let themſelves onely be pretermitted. But the Fathers giving thanks to the Meſſenger, when they could not otherwayes put him off, at laſt abſolutely denied to take any thing of thoſe men, till they had reſtored all

They march to Antwerp *in hoſtile manner.*

Deſpiſe Requeſenes *his meſſengers.*

And onely demand money.

They enter Antwerp.

Their threats.

Their ſolemn Oath.

Their Edict againſt plunder.

They are paid.

And quieted.

The pious liberality of the mutineers.

How much the Franciſcans *had of them.*

They invite the Jeſuits.

Who refuſe to come at them.

1575. their plunder to the true owners. The Armie nothing at all offended, or retarded, chooſing two of their number for Collectours, gathered a very great ſumme, and ſent it to their Colledge, aſſuring themſelves *ready* mo-ney would not be ſo refuſed, as when it was onely *promiſed*. The Fathers admired the ſouldiers conſtancie, whom they imagined to have been diſ-pleaſed with their former Anſwer: and Ceremonies having paſſed on both ſides, held it their dutie to inſtruct thoſe prepoſterouſly pious men, and in a friendly manner to rectifie either their errour, or their contumacie. There-fore one of the Societie, in great credit with the Armie, went to them, and ſpeaking freely, made them underſtand, *That his Order refuſed not their Libe-rality, as if it would not come ſeaſonably to ſupply their neceſſities; but God Al-mighty was not pleaſed with thoſe that give out of other mens fortunes. They ſhould remember themſelves how long, and how profuſely they had lived in* Ant-werp, *keeping poſſeſſion of the Townſmens houſes; how threatningly and licenti-ouſly in the beginning of the mutiny, ſome of them had ſeized upon the citizens Eſtates. Why then ſhould they ſeek out perſons profuſely to beſtow their money on, and in the mean time injuriouſly paſſe by thoſe to whom it was juſtly due? Rather in that diſtribution, they ſhould uſe care and method, and relieving the wants of the poor Townſmen, recover the good opinion of the City, and ſave their own ſouls, and reputations.* This was not ſpoke in vain to the ſouldiers, that likewiſe by this Argument of Bounty, endeavoured to excuſe the neceſſitie of their paſt a-ctions. Wherefore ſome of the chief among them, either touched with Religion, or to cancell the Ignominy of Sedition, by a new example, gave largely to the Citizens, and began to reſtore many things got by violence: with ſo great admiration and applauſe of the Magiſtrates, that they ordered a Publick Speech ſhould be made to the People, wherein the Army ſhould be praiſed, and the pains taken and moderation uſed by the Fathers of the Societie, ſpecified and commended. But *Requeſenes* not yet confiding in the Army, having pardoned and buried the memory of their fault, ſent them back to the ſiege of *Leyden*, which the year before was begun by the Duke of *Alva:* the Governour being now diſ-engaged from much fear and care, which out of a vain preſumption of the Armies obedience, he had impru-dently brought upon himſelf, and all the Royall party. Unleſs perhaps it was done by confederacy, to ſupply the preſent wants of the Exchequer, as ſome then ſuſpected, ſaith the Biſhop of *Namure*, in his Letters to the Dut-cheſs of *Parma*. *Requeſenes* therefore detaining the *Spaniards* a while at *Bruxels*, till he in the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, had publiſhed an Act of In-demnity ſent them by the King: with leſſe preparation then was made by *Alva*, but with more Liberality, though for the unſeaſonableneſs, not much greater fruit; they commanded by *Franceſco Valdez* returned to *Ley-den*, with more Reſolution then Succeſs.

They ſend mony to the Jeſuites *Colledge.*

An exhortation made them by one of the Socie-tie.

The fruits of it.

They give and reſtore very much to the Ci-tizens.

Leyden.

A ſuſpition that the ſouldiers plunder was Requeſenes *his deſigne.*

July 14.

March 8.

April 6.

July 24.

A generall par-don proclaimed.

Of the ſiege of Leyden.

And *Valdez* at firſt taking their Out-works, and ſome Forts near the Town, and cutting off Proviſion of Victuall, had almoſt brought the City, full of Inhabitants, to extream neceſſity. Notwithſtanding, he wrote a kind Letter to the Citizens, ſhewing, that he underſtood their wants, yet of-fering them very fair conditions. But they proudly and barbarouſly an-ſwering, that *They would not want ſuſtenance whileſt they had their left Arms, for thoſe they would eat, and uſe their right arms to defend their Liberties.* *Valdez* haſtening his approaches, daily ſtraitned them ſo much, that at length it cau-ſed a great tumult in the City, the Townſmen in every ſtreet dying for hun-ger; inſomuch as the people having loſt their patience, threatned the Con-ſuls, that unleſs they rendred the Town, they themſelves would open the

Valdez *invites the Town to a Rendition.*

They barbarouſly refuſe.

He draws his line nearer.

gates to the enemie. *Valdez*, upon notice hereof, that he might fall upon them whileſt they wavered in that diſcord, reſolved, upon the third day, to give a generall aſſault. In the mean time he failed not to go to the *Hague*, a neighbouring city, where his Miſtreſſe lived, a noble Ladie of that Countrey (married to him not long after) whom he was then a ſuiter to, often waiting upon, and courting her, according to the freedome uſed in the *Low-countreys*. By chance, the day before he was to ſtorm the Town, *Valdez* feaſted his Miſtreſſe at the *Hague:* and obſerving her to look ſad, importuned her to acquaint him with the cauſe; She ſaid, It was not poſſible but ſhe muſt be in great anxiety, having before her eies the image of *Leyden*, deſigned to ſpoil and plunder the next day. For ſo many funeralls of her friends and acquaintance, as muſt neceſſarily be involved in the publick ruine, were they not ſufficient at the preſent, with onely Fear and Imagination, to baniſh all joy from her mind; and afterwards when ſhe had news of the ſucceſs, to give her heart a wound incurable? *Valdez*, leſt he ſhould looſe the hope of his marriage, beſeeched her to be more chearfull, and made her a ſecret promiſe to recall his orders for ſtorming, and for her love to ſpare the lives of that obſtinate Citie. Which he promiſed the more freely, in regard he knew the Town would fall of it ſelf, though he held his hand, and ſaved his ſouldiers bloud. For very hunger would make them yield, and the thought of it would be taken as a favour from him; though he did it upon his particular deſigne. Indeed the day after he had omitted the aſſault, the difference increaſing between the People and the Citizens, they conſulted about ſending Commiſſioners to *Valdez*. When the Countrey-people that had long watcht to help the *Leydeners*, hearing of their danger and diſagreement, finding all attempts to free the Town fruitleſs, reſolved to follow the counſell of deſpair. Through the Liberties of *Leyden*, and the adjacent countrey, many Rivers flow, with various windings and turnings, the *Rhine* it ſelf divides and waſhes the ſtreets, the *Yſel* and the *Moſe*, this runs as far as *Rotterdam*, that to *Goud*, and from thence to *Leyden*, with ſwift currents: which with the confluence of thoſe greater chanels, leſt at a high tide they ſhould pour the mixture of their own & the ſeas fury upon the land, are banked in, as if a line were drawn before them, by the induſtry of men. The *Hollanders* therefore writing to their friends at *Leyden*, by Carrier-pidgeons, what they intended, made holes through the bank, and ſlighted that Bulwark of the Continent, raiſed againſt the ſalt and freſh-water tides, by the labour of ſo many yeares; and with the *Moſe*, the *Yſell*, and the Sea it ſelf, ruſhing as from an ambuſh on the level, they covered their native countrey with a deluge: So as the ruine (eſtimated at ſeven hundred thouſand Florens) made way for ſhips to ſail the meadows; overflowed the Leaguer of the *Spaniard:* and they which dwelt fourtie miles off, (a thing hardly credible) brought ſupplies of men and victuall to *Leyden*. And truly that new face of the Sea, ſpread among Groves & Villages, and Fleets ſailing through woods, as if trees had grown into ſhips, might have been delightſome to the *Spaniards*, like a Show in a *Romane* Theatre, where the Scene was miraculouſly changed, and Ships fought to make them ſport; if they had not likewiſe beheld their danger, from that unwonted ſpectacle, and the Auxiliarie forces of that confederated element, had not been directed againſt themſelves: ſo that all hope was cut off for taking the Town, now victualled by ſo many Ship-ladings of Proviſion. For to bring relief, it was wonderfull to ſee how many ſail appeared, furniſhed with men and ordnance, from the neighbouring Ports and Iſlands, by a generall confederacie; and with no leſs hatred to the

1575. *Reſolves upon a generall aſſault. Why he puts off the day appointed.*

The ſite of Leyden.

The fearfull deſigne of the neighbours to Leyden. *Who breaking down the banks, let in the ſea.*

They ſail over the woods,

And over the fields to Leyden

1575.
How great a Navy came.
The beſiegers beſieged.
Their conſtancy.
Bern. Mend. l.12.
The like wonder of old.
Cæſar. lib.5. de bell. Gall.
Paul. Oroſ.l.6.
Sprink. Uloct.
The Spaniards *retreat.*

the *Romane* Religion: which many publickly gloried in, wearing *half-moons* in their hats, with this motto, *Rather the* Turk *then the* Pope. The Fleet that came in to them, was no fewer then a hundred and fifty ſail, well appointed for the war, manned with at leaſt twelve hundred, beſides Seamen. Yet the *Spaniards* wear not at all diſmaied; and though the ſea beat them out of their lower Forts, they held the reſt ſo obſtinately, and wrought ſo hard, that in ſome places, when they wanted ſpades to caſt up earth againſt the water and the enemie, they digged with their ſwords, and carried the mould in their breaſt-plates, and helmets. The like, upon the ſame neceſſitie, was done of old in the ſame Countrey, by the *Nervians*, when they beſieged the winter-quarters of *Quintus Cicero*, uſing for want of other inſtruments their weapons inſtead of ſpades, and their caſſocks for wheel-barrows. But their danger hourly increaſing with the water, which roſe to a great height, at the full Moon eſpecially, blown up by a ſtorm, the *Spaniards* that were rather now the beſieged, then the beſiegers, upon a ſudden fear, apprehended by *Valdez*, who too late repented the loſt opportunitie of taking the Town, about midnight, having nailed their great Canon, and ſunk them in the ditches, after four moneths raiſed the ſiege. Nor did he flie without loſs, the enemie chaſing him with *Grapples* in their hands, that is, long poles headed with iron hooks, or hooks at the end of long ropes, wherewith they angled for the *Spaniards*, grievouſly wounding them, and drawing up many of them priſoners to the Ships. At which time, it was an admirable paſſage, that of *Pedro Ciaconio*, *Borgia's* Lieutenant. This man running before his fellows to defend a Bridge, was ſtruck at from one of their boats with four grapples, which catching hold, drew him up dead to all appearance. But when they had him aboard, and that he ſaw them (being ſix or ſeven) buſie fiſhing for others, he roſe at their backs, and taking a hatchet that by chance lay before his feet, with his full ſtrength (for he was onely dragged by his clothes, his fleſh being ſcarce touched) knocked down one, then another, ſo a third; the reſt aſtoniſhed at the fury of the revived man, leaped into the water, *Ciaconio* left alone in the Hoigh, as it was laded with corn provided for the diſtreſſed Town, brought it in for ſome kind of comfort to his vanquiſhed fellow-ſouldiers.

Not without loſſe.
Bern. Mend. l.12.
The exploit of Pedro Ciaconio.

A ſecond mutiny of the Spaniards.
Againſt Valdez, *as if he had betrayed them at the ſiege.*

The misfortune of the ſiege was augmented by a freſh mutinie of the *Spaniards*; for having loſt their hopes of the Sack of *Leyden*, promiſed them, inſtead of Pay. And their ſedition was increaſed by a report, that *Valdez* their Generall bribed by the citie of *Leyden*, forbore to ſtorm it. And though *Valdez* was not guilty of that crime, for Avarice never had power over him; and the *Hollanders* then were ſimple, and knew not how to treat with bribes; notwithſtanding the rumour was believed, or rather forged by ſuch as were ignorant of the true cauſe, but would not have the improſperous ſucceſſe imputed unto themſelves. And they were glad of ſuch an occaſion to demand pay of their Generall, full of money as they thought. The flame of this tumult brake forth on a ſudden from the breaſts of very near four thouſand, who ſeizing upon and impriſoning *Valdez*, ſubſtituted in his place another *Electo:* and though the news of his bribery forthwith vaniſhed, yet they, marching towards *Utrecht*, entred the Town; nor, till by *Valdez* his means their pay was ſent from *Requeſenes*, would they be quieted. But the *Spaniards* not long after redeemed their honour, loſt by this ſecond Mutinie and their flight from *Leyden*, with taking (near the *Iſell*, and in the borders of *Gelderland*) under command of *Hierg*, *Governour* of that Province, the towns of *Bura*, *Montford*, *Oudewater*, and *Schounhoven:* and a little before

They take him priſoner.
Utrecht.
He procures money, and therewith pacifies them.
The Spaniards *proſperous fortune.*
Mich. abIſſelt. Hiſt. of his Times.

fore that in *Holland* under the command of *Vitelli*, between the Rivers of *Ukall* and the *Leck*, *Lerodam*, and the neighbour Towns, *Aſper*, *Huchel*, and *Worcom* over againſt *Gorcom*, with other Towns and Forts round about: to the great benefit of the Royall partie; increaſed at the ſame time by the coming of *Hanniball* Count *Altempſe*, with a Regiment of four thouſand foot, raiſed in *Germany* by order from *Requeſenes*, who attributed much to the known virtues and warlike abilities of *Altempſe*. He was ſiſters ſonne to *Pope Pius* the fourth, bred up in the warres from nine years old by his uncle the Marqueſſe of *Melena:* in the prime of his youth he ſerved the houſe of *Auſtria*; and was afterwards in many expeditions under the Emperours *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, and *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*, in *Germany*, *Italy*, the *Low-countreys*, and *Africa*. But he was the more welcome to *Requeſenes*, becauſe Fame had reported him ſlain by the way, and his Regiment diſperſed: and there was ſomething in it. For whilſt he rode before his men, onely with two or three in his Companie, juſt as he entered the *Low-countreys*, he was ſet upon, by almoſt 600 ſouldiers, which had run away from the battell of *Mooch:* and being wounded in two places, valiantly charged through, & got clear off. *Requeſenes* therefore opportunely leaving theſe forces to guard *Brabant* (when the Treatie of Peace was come to nothing, that had been agitated by the Royalliſts and *Naſſavians* at *Breda*, & on the Emperours part by *Gunter* Count of *Suartzemburg*, the Prince of *Orange* his ſiſters ſon) bent his whole care immediately to make his fleet ready for a voyage long ſince deſigned.

1575.

Supplies brought by Altempſe.

An old ſouldier of great abilities

Clara Medices. Jacob Medices.

His danger in his march.

For when *Requeſenes* took notice, that the Rebells (almoſt quite excluded from the Continent) ſheltered themſelves in the Iſles of *Zeland*, he reſolved to carry the warre as farre as *Schelt*, not through the open Sea (for in number of ſhips he was inferiour to the Enemy) but by the Straits lying between the *Low-countreys* and thoſe Iſlands, where he was told in ſome places men might wade over. For *Zeland* being cut into Iſles by the *Schelt* and *Moſe*, the Rivers that divide them are not very deep, and the Sea that mixes with thoſe Rivers ebbes in ſome parts ſo low, that they often ſee a miſerable proſpect the tops of villages long ſince drowned and raviſhed from the Earth, and conſequently at ſuch times no ſhips can paſſe. The Land ſervice therefore he aſſigned to *Sanchia Avila*, and that by Sea to *Chriſtophero Mondragonio*, the *Marqueſſe Vitelli*, Camp-maſter, commanding in chief. *Requeſenes* by their advice, incouraged likewiſe by the example of thoſe that foarded the Sea to the relief of *Goes*, appointed Guides for the armie conſiſting of four thouſand and the way they ſhould march, that is, firſt to *Bergen*, then to *Tole*, next to the Iſle of *Philipland*, from thence to *Duveland*; and ſo to *Schelt*, the head of *Zeland*, and of that expedition. And becauſe they were to have certain knowledge which places would bear ſhipping, and which might be waded, that charge was given to *John Arand*, an Enſign of undaunted courage, to get able and honeſt men to try the Foards: and *Raphaell Barberino* a ſtrong and active Gentleman, was commanded to take the depth of the Seas and Lakes, and to provide Ships that ſhould draw water anſwerable to the deep and ſhallower parts. Now *Arand* (learning of the Skippers and Fiſher-men, that under the waters were hills of gravell, on the ridge whereof, thoſe Seas, ſeeming inacceſſible, might be paſſed on foot) brought a good account of the way to *Requeſenes*, and gave him aſſurance that it might be done ſecurely; and *Barberino* not onely built ſhips for tranſportation of the ſouldiers, flat bottomed Boats, Wherryes, and cloſe deckt veſſels, all accommodated to the ſeverall fathomes of the water: but likewiſe by *Vitelli's* Command, who for a few

The expedition into Zeland, *why undertaken by* Requeſenes.

The ſite of Zeland.

The chief Officers imployed Avila. Mondragonio, Vitelli under Alva.

1572.

Scouwemburg's *men.* *The ſouldiers.* *The way.* Arand *commanded to ſound the ſea.*

Barberino *to provide ſhipping.*

Arand's *Accompt of the paſſage.*

Barberino's *inventions.*

1575. *Who for a while ſupplies* Vitelli's *place. Commended by* Vetelli.

dayes had ſome fits of an ague, raiſed for preſent Service Works and Fortreſſes at the entrance of *Zeland*, in the mouths of the great Rivers, ſecured the carriage of victuall to the Camp, and did much beſides that concerned *Vitelli's* Office, ſo opportunely and expeditiouſly; as *Vitelli* gave him at once both Orders and Thanks for it: and after the buſineſſe was diſpatched, writing to a friend, he denied not, but that many things were attributed to himſelf, which were due to the wit and induſtrie of *Barberino*. In this manner the deſign being dexterouſly carried, the ſouldiers weighed Anchors from *Antwerp*, and paſſed with the ſtream down the *Schelt* to *Bergen ap Zoom*, thence to the Iſle of *Thol* upon the edge of *Brabant*, and there went aboard other veſſels that conveighed them into *Philipland*, a deſert Iſland. But how they ſhould get from thence into *Duveland*, where the enemie had a ſtrong Garriſon, was a matter of great conſideration. This Iſle of *Duveland* (which forty years before was overflowed by the Sea, and not long after drained by the induſtrious inhabitants) is diſtant from *Philipland* four miles by Sea; which, becauſe at low water it carries no ſhips, and therefore was not paſſable to the enemies fleet, the *Spaniards* were to wade over by the direction of ſuch Guides as knew the Foard. For though in ſome places certain parcels of firm land appeared among the waves, yet the way was not altogether firm, but undiſcernable hollows, and blind confluences of Rivers were ſaid to be interpoſed. Many ſouldiers of the Army therefore in a warlike gallantrie offered themſelves to undergo the hazzard, ſeeking glory in the danger. But the principall Captains and oldeſt ſouldiers were for the moſt part choſen, eſpecially, as the cuſtome is, thoſe that were forwardeſt to advance the expedition; *Iſidoro Pacecho, Hieronimo Seroſquequio*, this Governour of *Bergen*, he of *Goes*: *Oſorius Ulloa* an old Commander of Foot. *Barberino, Aranda, Guiralto*, and others, to the number of 1750, moſt of them *Spaniards*, ſome *Low-countreymen*, the reſt *Italians*, and *Germans* (beſides pioners and Smiths almoſt two hundred) all men of undaunted Reſolutions, ſuch as preferred Honour before Life. Nor was the *Prince* of *Orange*, (who had intelligence of *Requeſenes* his deſign) leſſe active; but ſending for *Boiſot* Governour of *Zeland*, furniſhed him with men, part whereof were to keep *Duveland*, and part *Zericzee*, againſt which, the warre was intended. And near to *Duveland*, where the Sea is narroweſt, he placed certain ſhips to gall the Royalliſts in their paſſage. Finally, he contrived a Fort in the midſt of the Sea to oppoſe their going over. For ſome flat bottomed Boats were ſet forth, which at a high tide might come up to the Foard where the Kings men were to paſſe, and running aground upon the ridge of earth the veſſels themſelves might block up the paſſage whilſt the men in them preſented the *Spaniard* from the Cannons mouth with death inevitable. Yet the ſelected ſouldiers not knowing the danger, or deliberately contemning it, when the hour of low water approached, put off their armour and clothes, contenting themſelves onely with ſhoes and trouſes, hanging their knapſacks about their necks, or ſticking them upon their pikes to keep them from the wet: one end being full of cheeſe and ſhipbisket, the other of gunpowder: ſome beſides their ſwords carrying pikes, others long hatchets, ſome muskets, ſome ſpades or pickaxes. Thus furniſhed, they were brought to the place by the reſt of the Army, that openly incouraged them, but privately commiſerated the Regiment devoted unto death. And indeed how could they but be ſacrificed, that were in the firſt place expoſed to the crueltie of that mercileſſe element; and in caſe it ſpared them, yet muſt be marks for the enemie to ſhoot at, through whoſe fleet

The Army paſſes to Philipland.

From thence to Duveland. *What and how great the paſſage is between theſe two Iſlands.*

How dangerous for the foot.

Yet great ſouldiers make ſuit for the imployment. Who were choſen.

Their number.

The Prince of Orange *waylays them. With men And ſhips.*

And a fort raiſed in the water. With new and wonderfull invention.

The Kings men not at all diſmayed. Their habit.

Their proviſion of victuall and arms.

Alabard. *They make ready for the work of danger and death.*

1575.

Fleet they were to paſſe, with no other Gabeons to defend them, but their bodies; and if they eſcaped both theſe dangers, yet a third remained from the Iſland-garriſon, that looked for them ſtanding ſafely on the Banks and Rocks; a very unequall encounter, wherein if they preſently prevailed not, when the tide came they ſhould be drowned, the enemie in the mean time ſitting at his eaſe, and laughing at them. So as this adventure may not onely be compared with that of *Ceſars* ſouldiers; when they, with their heads onely above water, waded the *Thames*, with ſuch violence, as the enemie not able to reſiſt the force of his Legionaries, and Horſe, forſook the banks and fled. But theſe mens courage is ſo much to be preferred before the *Ceſarians*, by how much fewer the *Spaniards* were, and had no Horſe to flank them, nor the water free; but ventured on the ſea poſſeſſed and maintained againſt them by the enemie; and likewiſe in that they went on ſo, as in caſe, they ſhould be routed, there was leſſe hope of coming off, the way being impaſſable, ſave by boat: and laſtly, by how much ſurer they were (having the enemy on the front, and the ſea (a crueller enemie) in the rere) that if they did not forthwith conquer, they muſt certainly be conquered. And now the magnanimous Battalion, when it was low water about midnight, entred the dreadfull chanel. *John Oſorius Ulloa* led the Van, the greatneſſe of whoſe mind equalled the valour of his followers. *Gabriel Peralta*, brother to the Marqueſs of *Falceſio*, an ingenious and dexterous Commander, brought up the Rere; that conſiſting of twelve hundred, this of five hundred men; the Pioners with one hundred Musketeers marched incloſed between them both. And becauſe ſuch as knew the foard, betwixt the quickſands and whirlpits, ſhewed them certain little ſpots of ſolid earth, whereon but a few could reſt at once, therefore they went two or three a breaſt, with incredible confidence, wreſtling with the waves up to the armpits. *Requeſenes* ſtood upon the ſhore, and with him a Prieſt, praying for theſe poor ſouls to the Prince of the Celeſtiall Militia, *Chriſt Jeſus*, that being the night to his own day. Nor prayed he in vain: For the blind and darkſome night was on a ſudden illuminated with clouds kindled in the Air, burning Meteors, and all the other fiery prodigies of heaven. Eſpecially a flame in the form of a Crown, inclining towards *Requeſenes*, attracted the greedy eyes of the ſouldiours, ignorant of the cauſe of ſuch Meteors, and raiſed their ſpirits with aſſurance of ſucceſs. *Oſorius* taking occaſion thereupon, turned to his men and ſaid, *Do you not ſee, my fellow-ſouldiers, how the Army of Heaven goes along, how they joyn forces with us, how they guide us to Victorie, and boad revenge upon our foes. Indeed before I embarqued upon this Adventure, weighing in my mind the immenſneſs of the danger, I prayed with much anxietie, and was not (I muſt confeſs) ſo ambitious of a conqueſt, as an honeſt and not an unrevenged death. But now fully encouraged, I correct and enlarge my wiſhes, confident we can meet nothing impervious to us, or inſuperable. Though our attempt be great, my mates, yea ſo great as almoſt exceeds belief, that we ſhould paſs a foot to an enemies Iſland, through ſeas where Ships hardly dare adventure, and have no other Oars to land us, but our hands. Nor can we be cenſured as deſperate, or unadviſed, if every one conſider not his own ſtrength, nor the preſent danger of the Ebbs and Flows; but lifting up his eyes to heaven, take the number of our Auxiliaries, and their confederate colours flying in the air. Let him look how the Element fires upon the enemy: nor can all the water of the Sea extinguiſh thoſe Granadoes. We have the day, my mates, wherein the heavens are concerned, as much as we. God is well pleaſed with our labour: and whileſt we have ſo glorious a Generall yonder, we carrie Victorie with us, and the cauſe of Victory.* Cheared with this

This adventure and Ceſars *of foarding the* Thames *paralelled.* Cæſ. lib.5.Bel. Gal.

The Kings men wade the ſea Ulloa *leads the Van.* Peralta *the Rere. The Pioners in the middle. The order of the march.*

Requeſenes *on the ſhore, and by him a Prieſt praying for them.* Mich. Hernandes a Jeſuite. *Proſperous oſtents from heaven.* Iſſeſt. in Hiſt. Belg. Thuan. l.60 Met. l.5. Meurſ. in Orang.l.10. M. Hernandes told that of the Crown. *Whence* Ulloa *takes a hint to encourage his men.*

1575\. this Oration, the ſouldiers, who had conceived the ſame hope of celeſtiall Aſſiſtance, animated likewiſe with the unwonted aſpect and invitation of the heavenly bodies, thought they might ſafely follow where the elementall torches guided; and with great expedition, leſt the tide ſhould encreaſe, haſtened toward *Duveland*. But what haſte could be made by almoſt two thouſand men, through thoſe ſtraits that would ſcarce hold four a breaſt. Nor was it a little diſcouragement to behold the enemies ſhips appear againſt them, which though they ſhot a far off, and therefore ſeldome hit; yet the boldeſt of their Seamen ſallying out by the foards which they exactly knew, encountred the Royalliſts with a new and a mad kind of fight; for both parties that hardly ſaw each other for the waves, now dicharged their Muskets a farr off, the fire flaſhing through the water; now hand to hand with their ſpears and ſtaves beat one another from the higher ground, and were tumbled down into the next Gulfs and Whirlpits. But the deſtruction was greater and more unavoidable from the Ships, that lay croſſe the foard, againſt whoſe ſouldiers armed with muskets and long hooks, whileſt ſome of the Royalliſts skirmiſhed in their paſſage, others in the mean time got by. But not without much delay. And with no ſmall loſs of the Kings men, could theſe rocks of the Enemy, and this dreadfull tempeſt be avoided: Wherefore the tide riſing and raging, *Peralta* with the Rere had gone but a little way, when the ſwelling water, now up to their necks, forced them to return, and the Pioners and Low-countrey-musketeers, marching between them and the Van, in deſpair to get back, and endeavouring to follow the foremoſt, were partly drowned, partly ſlain by thoſe we mentioned in the ſhips. Nay, the enemies whole Fleet now coming on with the tide, ſhot them ſo ſecurely, that the very murderers (ſenſible of their own frailty ſubject to the like diſaſters) commiſerated them, as unfortunately and inconſiderately caſt away; and reproving them, called out, *Whither do you go, you wretches? Why are your undefended bodies ſo frantickly expoſed to wounds? What madneſſe, or what hope of gain could hire out your lives to the* Spaniards, *that they ſhould turn you like water-dogs into the Sea, to make ſport for your enemies?* Thus at once they both killed and pitied them. Of all the two hundred and fifty in the middle, onely nine eſcaped. Among the reſt that were loſt of the firſt company (being twelve or thirteen) *Iſidor Pacecho* died moſt gallantly: For ſhot through the body, his ſouldiers running to take up their Captain on their ſhoulders, he coming to himſelf again, ſaid, *Go, fellow Souldiers, go, and do not out of your care of me, that am now but a dead man, hinder the march of your fellows, with theſe untimely Ceremonies. I die in a brave attempt, not unhandſomely, nor unhappily, as I hope and pray that you may make it.* So this ſtout man, when his life failed him, yet retained ſo much ſpirit, that even dying he encouraged others. Truly, I am not ſo much affected to the ancient, and regardleſs of our modern men, that I can eaſily preferre before this Captain, that of *Ceſars Petreius*, who in the ſiege of *Gergovia* wounded to death, falling refuſed the help of his company, and told them, *They laboured but in vain to put life into him, that had now loſt all his bloud and ſtrength: they ſhould rather go to their Countrey-men, and whileſt they themſelves were yet ſafe and had time, joyn with the reſt of their Legion.* For, as the like contempt of Life, and care of the Publick ſafety was in both, and their laſt words the ſame; undoubtedly the *Spaniards* act was greater then the *Romanes*, ſince this; when they were beaten from a ſiege, onely taught them how to flie; he, when his followers were fighting with the Sea, perſwaded them to the conqueſt of a Province. But *Oſorius* with the reſt of the forces, nothing diſmay-

The ſouldiers animated, haſten their march.

But are retarded by the ſtraits.

And by the enemie ſallying from their ſhips.

And by the ſhips themſelves.

The Rere forced to return.

The Pioners drowned or ſhot.

The enemie reproves them in this manner.

The number of thoſe that periſht

The virtue of Pacecho. *His laſt words.*

Pacecho *compared with* Ceſars *Centurion.* Cæſar. l.7.Bel. Gal. Petreius. Pacecho.

The Van lands in Duveland.



Chiapino Vitelli Marqueſs of Cetona
Campe-master generall

1575.

diſmayed at the loſſe, arrived about the break of day in *Duveland.* Where inſtantly putting his men in order for an Aſſault, with the ſame courage, encreaſed by the late danger, when he had in few words animated his men (for it was not difficult to put them upon any reſolutions whatſoever, that were reſolved to die) he gave them both the Word, and his Example to fall upon the enemie ſtruck with admiration of their bold adventure, though he was freſh and had the advantage of his works, the Royalliſts weary, and their heads giddy with the Sea: yet with incredible valour quickened by the very deſpair of hope (for the water and the enemies ſhips had ſtopt their paſſage back) they did not onely beat them from their works, and ſcatter them, but at the firſt onſet killing *Charles Boiſott* Governour of *Zeland,* the reſt loſing their ſpirits when they ſaw their Generall fall, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole Iſland. By which it appears, there is no ſuch conquering weapon as the neceſſitie of conquering. When the enemies fleet, that rode cloſe by, ſaw this; for fear of *Schelt,* which they knew the *Spaniard* ſo much laboured to reduce, and had from *Duveland* but a ſhort cut thither: preſently ſailing to *Schelt,* they left the way free for the Commanders that ſtaid in *Philipland, Avila, Mondragonio,* and *Peralta*; who immediately landed the reſt of the armie in *Duveland.* So ſoon as they arrived, with great joy imbracing their fellows, and as it were welcoming them to life: firſt they took care for the wounded, moſt of which were Gentlemen: And after *Vitelli* had ordered them to be ſent by Boat and Waggon to *Amſterdam,* preſently others, inſtead of the hurt and ſlain, offered themſelves to wade the Sea the ſecond time, with greater alacritie then before, becauſe the firſt voyage had ſo well ſucceeded. And *Mondragonio* (who formerly marched through the Sea to *Goes*) leading them, and with his old reſolute courage conquering the gulfs and quickſands, in the ſight of the enemies (that admired him, and called his men Sea-monſters) arrived in *Schelt,* the principall Iſle of *Zeland.* But the *Spaniards* having with ſome difficultie beaten the Garriſon at their landing in the Iſland, and with the ſame violence taken certain Fortreſſes (with the loſſe of *Gabriell Peralta,* whoſe too great ſpirit more ſtoutly then cautiouſly ingaged him) they found a little ſtop at *Bommen*; ſtrong both in ſituation, and defendants: yet taking it at laſt, they marched with all their forces in a body to *Zericzee,* the chief citie of the Iſland, and head of the warre. Where being often repulſed (for the Town was exceeding well fortified both by the nature of the place, and the late ſupplies which they had from the fleet) by *Vitelli's* advice, and *Requeſenes* his command (who were now come in perſon to the Leaguer) they drew a line about the Town, and chained up the ports, that no carriages ſhould paſſe. Laſtly, after the grievous incommodities of winter (ſometimes being almoſt drowned with the ſluces let out by the enemie) when they had foiled the Prince of *Orange,* who from the ſiege of *Crimpen,* now rendred to him, brought his victorious armie thither out of *Holland,* mending with maſſyer links the chains which the enemies ſhips with their iron beaks had broke aſunder, having likewiſe ſunk their Generall *Lodwick Boiſot,* after nine moneths ſiege, *Zericze,* conquered firſt by famine, yeilded to *Mondragonio,* affording him more Fame, then Benefit. But *Requeſenes* and *Vitelli,* ſo deſirous of that day, lived not to ſee it. *Vitelli* whilſt he was buſied at the ſiege of *Schelt* newly recovered of a ſickneſſe, and going from one place to another in his Sedan, by chance or on purpoſe was overthrown; and falling from the works, the weight of his fleſh and years ſtruck the breath out of his body: preſently he was carryed to his tent, and growing worſe

The Spaniards fight

And conquer.

The enemies fleet put men into Sceldt.

The mutuall gratulation of the Victors.

The wounded ſouldiers provided for.

The Kings men wade the Sea again into Sceldt.

Fight the Iſlanders.

Take a great part of the Iſle.

The death of Peralta.

Beſiege Zericzee.

At laſt take it.

Feb. 1.

Crimpen.

The death of Chiapinio Vitelli.

July 1.

1575.

Why the ſouldiers were not much troubled for the loſſe of him.

Requeſenes *grieved exceedingly.*

And much more the City of Antwerp. *that ordered his Funerall to be at the publick charge of the Town.*

His body was carried to his Countrey.

His Parents.

His firſt ſervice Harieden Barbaroſſa King of Algier.

which ſtyled him the Preſerver of Thuſcany againſt the Strozzis and the French.

1554.

He was the firſt that entered Florence *in a Coach.*

His ſeverall military offices.

The Honours conferred upon him by Coſmo *Duke of* Florence.

1556.

1561.

His Vow.

He is made Camp-Maſter to the Duke of Alva *and marches with him into the* Netherlands.

His nimble ſpirits notwithſtanding his groſſe body.

and worſe, they conveighed him to the next Fort, where providing, like a Chriſtian, for the health of his ſoul, which was all that could be done for him, in the fifty ſixth year of his age he died: but was not greatly mourned for in the armie, the ſouldiers being weary of the long and tedious ſiege, and therefore out of charitie with *Vitelli* as Authour of it. Yet his corpſe brought into the Leaguer was honoured (as the cuſtome is) with military pomp, and afterwards laid in the ground at *Antwerp* by *Requeſenes*, with great ſorrow, as more ſenſible of his loſſe. But the Senate and People of *Antwerp* expreſſed the greateſt love to him, decreeing his funeralls to be at the publick charge, and extolling him in an Oration as farre from flatterie, as the neceſſitie of flattering him. Laſtly, his body was carried into his own Countrey, and there by his Countreymen magnificently intombed, in a Chappel of the *Franciſcans* founded by his Anceſtours. *Cliapinio Vitelli* was born at *Citta* di *Caſtello* in the Dutchy of *Spalato*, his Father, *Nicolao Vitelli*, his Mother, *Gentilina* a *Staffa* of *Perugia*; his houſe it ſelf, a Family of ſouldiers. For they were his Progenitours that firſt taught the *Italian* horſe the uſe of Carabines, and their foot the diſcipline of marching in the form of a Cockle. And he himſelf gave the firſt proof of a ſpirit equall to his forefathers, encountering *Harieden Barbaroſſa* Admirall of the *Turkiſh* fleet, when he hareſſed the Sea-coaſt of *Siena*, filling *Italy* with Bloud and Rapine. To oppoſe him, *Coſmo* Duke of *Florence* ſent *Vitelli* Generall of his horſe, who not onely defended the town of *Orbatello*, which others thought untenable, when *Harieden* having burnt Porte *Hercole*, was come cloſe to it: but likewiſe beat the *Turks* from the maritine parts, and forced them to quit *Thuſcany*. For which ſervice he being cried up by the inhabitants as the deliverer of *Thuſcany*, was with all military applauſe entertained at *Florence*: The Duke himſelf allowing him to ride through the citie in a Coach drawn with four horſes, (the firſt they ſay that was ever ſeen in *Florence*) in manner of a triumph. Anſwerable to this noble beginning he proceeded in the *Florentine* warre, ſometimes commanding the foot, ſometimes the horſe, ſometimes being at once Generall of the *Spaniards* and *Germans*. Eſpecially at the taking of Porte *Hercole*, and fortifying the town. Which laſt victory, being the abſolute conqueſt of *Siena*, as Duke *Coſmo* aſcribed it ſolely to *Vitelli's* Conduct, ſo that magnanimous and munificent Prince, beſtowed upon him *Cetona*, a town belonging to *Siena*, of which place he created him Marqueſſe; and a few years after when his Excellence inſtituted an Order of Knights dedicated to Saint *Stephen* the Biſhop, becauſe upon his day the victorie was obtained, the Duke himſelf, maſter of that fraternitie, choſe *Vitelli* among the firſt Knights, and made him the great *Commendatore* of the Order. Whence his fame ſpreading through *Europe*, great propoſalls were made him by many Princes. Inſomuch as the Duke of *Alva*, when he marched againſt *Pope Paul* the fourth, offered to make *Vitelli* Generall of his horſe, but he refuſed the place, becauſe he ſaid, he had bound himſelf by vow, when he firſt reſolved to be a ſouldier, *never to bear arms againſt the Sea Apoſtolick*. And returning from the warre of *Malta*, for defence of which Iſland he was, by *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*, ſent with 2500 voluntiers; he was by the ſame King invited to ſerve the Duke of *Alva*, then upon his march for the Low-countreys, and made Camp-maſter to his armie, ſo happily, that among all the Kings Low-countrey-forces, in that field of *Mars* either at a Councell of warre, or in a battell no man laid or expedited a ſtratagem comparable to *Vitelli*. And truly it was a kind of miracle to ſee a man of that corpulency, not only active in mind, but likewiſe induced

dued with great agility of body: ſo as in the field you could not ſay, that to the prudence of a great Commander there wanted the dexterity of a common ſouldier. But becauſe he found himſelf grow ſo fat in his middle age, that he was glad to have his huge belly tyed up in a ſcarf faſtned about his neck, the man that would looſe no part of a ſouldier, of his own accord gave over wine, and drank vineger all his life time after, which ſo exceedingly brought down his belly, that he folded the looſe skin in form of a breaſtplate, and was found to weigh leſſe by eighty ſeven pound: but as much as he advanced the glory of his Nations diſcipline of warre in the Low-countreys; ſo much he detracted from the fame of the *Italian* modeſtie, and pietie. 1576. *How he took down his belly.* *His onely fault.*

The Marqueſſe *Vitelli's* funerall was within a few dayes followed by the death of *Ludovico Requeſenes*; a man in whom concurred the honours of the Houſe of *Zunica* by his father, and of *Requeſenes* by his Mother. For from his father *Juan Zunica*, great *Commendador* of the Knights of *Saint Iago* in the Province of *Caſtile*, deſcended upon him that honourable Office. And from his mother *Stephania Requeſenes*, he had his name and Barony, ſhe being the onely daughter of the houſe of *Requeſenes*, that had inheritance in *Catalonia*. For *Bernardo Requeſenes* took his other daughter by the ſame wife along with him, when he went Vice-Roy into *Sicily*, and ſhe ſtill continues in the ancient and illuſtrious family of *Anthonio Requeſenes* Prince of *Pantellana*. But *Ludovico* from his mothers ſide, derived not onely his ſirname, but his skill in Sea-fights proper to the name of the *Requeſenes*: For his Great-grandfather *Galcerano Requeſenes* Governour of *Catalonia*, King *Ferdinand's* Admirall, ended the War of *Ænare*, having in a ſea-fight utterly defeated the *Torellio's* Lords of the Iſland. Another *Galcerano* ſonne to the former, Count *De Trivento* and *Avilino*, and his brother *Berlinguerio*, he in *Naples*, this in *Sicily*, ſucceeded in their Fathers fame and Office of High Admirall to the Catholick King. And *Berlinguerio's* ſonne inheriting both his Fathers Place and Virtue, overthrew *Arais Soliman's* Fleet at *Pantellana*; and ſent back to *Pope Leo* the tenth, the ſtreamers which *Arais* had taken out of the Galley of *Pope Julius* the ſecond. *Ludovico Requeſenes* furniſhed with theſe great domeſtick examples, when *Don John* of *Auſtria* had his Patent for High Admirall, was by the King choſen under the name of his Vice-Admirall, to be the young mans Superintendent. Soon after, by the ſame King, in the War of *Granado*, he was appointed to defend the Sea-coaſt of *Spain*, with ſouldiers brought out of *Italy*, againſt the Incurſions of the *Moors* aſſiſted by the *Turkiſh* Emperour, *Selimus*. And in the battell of *Lepanto* he was by the King made Vice-Amirall to *Don John* of *Auſtria*; but with ſuch authority, as *Don John* was commanded to hear eſpecially and follow his advice. But though *Requeſenes* was active, and a fortunate Souldier; yet I know he was vulgarly accounted a better Gownman, and more skilfull in the arts of Peace. Which opinion he gained as well by his gentle and modeſt nature, as by his great Offices of State, Embaſſages, and the Government of *Millain*, wherewith he was intruſted by the King. Though ſome differences betwixt him and S^r. *Charles Boromeo* Biſhop of the Citie, much blemiſhed his name; and ſome thought that the cauſe both of his unfortunate adminiſtration of the Low-countreys, and of his untimely death. They ſay, *Requeſenes* in his ſickneſs, ſent to the Biſhop, earneſtly beſeeching him (whom he called the holy man) to vouchſafe him the expiation of the ſacred Croſſe; a paſſage, which becauſe I do not certainly know, I mean not to affirm. This I am aſſured of, when *Requeſenes* went from *Millain* into the *Low-*

The Elogie of Requeſenes, ex Annal. Arag. Hier. Zuri.
His progenitour.
1440.
His maternall Anceſtours famous Sea-Commanders.
1480.
His own Sea-ſervices.
1569.
1571.
Ant. Maria Gratia. de Bel. Cypr. l. 4. & Thuan. l. 48. Hiſt.
His Civill Offices.
1564.
1573.
His difference with St. Charls Boromæo.
Carol. a Baſil. S. Pet. l. 3. c. 2. Joan. Petr. Guſſan. l. 3. c. 3.
Of whom he asks forgiveneſſe by his ſervant.

1575.

Low-countreys, without any publick reconcilement with the Biſhop, (for to the Church he was reconciled by the Breve of *Gregory* the thirteenth) upon the way, touched with Religion, he ſent one of the principall Gentlemen of his Train, piouſly and humbly to crave pardon of the Biſhop (then Cardinall) for what was paſt. The good man willingly embraced his deſire, and promiſed he would earneſtly pray God to grant it. But among *Requeſenes* his diſaſters, I cannot juſtly reckon his Government, wherein he was often Conquerour, and (which was beyond any former victorie) after a memorable foarding of the Sea, took *Zericzee*, thereby ſeparating *Holland* and *Zeland*, ſo facilitating the recovery of both thoſe Countreys to the Royaliſts; and finally, left the enemies forces fewer and weaker then he found them. I cannot excuſe him of one fault, that to aw the mutinous ſouldiers, he gave way to the *Low-countrey men* for taking up Arms, which afterwards they were unwilling to lay down. But nothing more obſtructed *Requeſenes* his ſucceſſe, then his own ſouldiers, who demanding their pay, not ſo unjuſtly, as importunely, in two years mutinied three or four times, corrupting their own victories, and occaſioning *Requeſenes* his fate. For when *Requeſenes* heard how the horſe in *Brabant* mutinied, whileſt he lay before *Zericzee*, fearing leſt ſome of the foot ſhould make the like attempt, which might be the beginning of ſome great Commotion, riding thither poſt, the next day after he came to *Bruxells*, he was paſt all hope of life. Inſtantly therefore, leſt the Provinces might ſuffer by the intervall of Government, he named *Philip* Count *Barlamont* Governour of the *Low-countreys*; and *Peter Erneſt* Count *Mansfeldt* Generall of the Army; commanding his Secretary to draw up and bring him their Commiſſions, which though preſented to him, yet becauſe he died before they were read and ſigned, were held of no validitie. And the Government of the *Low-countreys*, according to their ancient cuſtome, remained in the power of thoſe Lords, they call the States, till it ſhould be otherwiſe ordered by the King: who for ſome time, doubted whether he ſhould allow that form of Goverment or no. For *Gregory* the thirteenth (who had mutually agreed with King *Philip* to aſſiſt the Queen of *Scots*, then a Priſoner) being to nominate a Generall for that expedition (for it was undertaken in the *Popes*, not the Kings name, leſt it might diſtaſt the Rivalls of the *Spaniſh* Greatneſſe) his *Holineſſe* made choice of *Don John* of *Auſtria*, famous for Sea victories: And therefore adviſed the King, by *Ormanetti*, who was truſted in the tranſaction of that buſineſſe, to ſend his Brother into the *Low-countreys*, wanting at that time a Governour: who would be in great eſteem with the *Low-countrey men*, that honoured the memory of his Father *Charles* the fifth; and might from thence paſſe with a Fleet into *England*, where he, if any man, might exſpect ſucceſs. He likewiſe articled with King *Philip*, that the Queen of *Scots* (if it pleaſed God they freed her from captivity) ſhould be married to *Don John*, with the Kingdome of *England* for her dowry, which would be a fair title to the Iſland for the Houſe of *Auſtria* to ground a Warre upon. The King diſliked it not (though he more approved of the Expedition, then of the Generall) but inſtantly reſolved and promiſed the *Nuncio* to ſend his brother into the *Low-countreys*. But his Majeſtie thought it not amiſſe to protract his Brothers going for a while, that he might ſee how the *Low-countrey men* would govern the *Low-countreys*: moved hereunto by *Joachim Opper* a *Low-countrey* man, his Secretary for the *Netherlands*: who delivered his opinion, that the *Low-countrey* Lords would no doubt be infinitely carefull of the Common-wealth, and would now themſelves apply to the evill, that remedie

His Government of the Low-countreys *not ſo unfortunate as many think.*

His great Errour.

His ſouldiers much more to blame that mutined ſo often.

Their third ſedition was the occaſion of his death.

Out of the relation of Chriſtop Aſſonvil.

Being near his end he names a ſucceſſour for the Civil Government.

And a Generall for the Army.

But dying ere he had ſigned their Commiſſions, March 5. *of his Age fifty yeare.*

The Government reſted in the great Councell.

Which the King doubts to confirm.

The Pope propoſing Don John *of* Auſtra.

Mary Queen *of* Scots.

Nicholao Ormanetti Biſhop of Padua.

For theſe reaſons.

Notwithſtanding the King lets the Senate *govern.*

Perſwaded thereunto by Opper *upon theſe grounds.*

1576.

die for which they had ſo often ſolicited the King: Who by confiding in them, would for ever oblige the hearts of the *Low-countrey men*. Eſpecially, in that his Majeſtie well knew the Principall Senatours, Duke *Areſchot*, the Counts *Mansfeldt* and *Barlamont*, and the Preſident of the Senate himſelf *Viglius Zuichem*, were men of moſt undoubted Religion and Loyaltie. But to govern by a Committee (that I may not accuſe the Kings prudence from the event) was then unſeaſonable. For in the moſt troubled State, the moſt preſent remedy is for one man to rule. Truly this indulgence of the Prince, did more hurt to the *Low-countreys*, then all his ſeverity, as appeared by the immediate ruine of the Provinces.

An unſeaſonable reſolution deſtructive to the Lowcountreys

For the people freed from a *Spaniſh* Governour, would not acknowledge a new one in the Senate; or rather greatly feared not a power divided and diminiſhed among many. And the Lords deſpiſed the government of their Peers, and eaſily deluded their diſcordant Votes and Orders. Some enemies to the *Spaniard*, deſirous of revenge, fomented this difference of the Lords; eſpecially the Burgeſſes for *Brabant* and *Haynolt*, whom *Requeſenes* had lately called to *Bruxells*: For theſe, as they were choſen under-hand by means of the Prince of *Orange*, in regard of the Authority wherewith thoſe Provinces intruſted them, hugely diſtracted the Senate. And though both parties pretended the Kings name and cauſe, yet their Deſignes and Counſels were ſo different, that ſome of them were vulgarly called *Spaniards*, others *Patriots* or Protectours of their Countrey. And as the word *Countrey* infinitely takes the People, with a counterfeit and deceiving image of Libertie, it was not to be doubted but in caſe of a Warre, the major part of the *Low-countrey-men* would adhere unto this party. Nor was occaſion long wanting to mature the miſchief. For when they had taken *Ziriczee*, after *Requeſenes* his death; the *Germans* and *Spaniards* clamouring for their pay (for that Iſland had afforded very little money) it was reſolved on by the Senate for eaſing the *Low-countreys* of the burden of forrein Souldiers, to pay and caſhiere the regiment of *Hannibal* Count *de Altempſe*; becauſe there having lately been a breach between him and the Governour of *Antwerp*, *Frederick Perenot* Lord of *Campin*, about the Garriſon, it was feared leſt publick miſchief might enſue. In the mean time, the *Spaniards*, that took *Ziriczee* under Colonell *Mondragonio*, when they ſaw themſelves paſſed by, and the many moneths pay which was promiſed them, iſſued out to others, interpreting (not falſely, as ſome ſaid) that it was done out of malice to their Nation, and they thereby neceſſitated to an Inſurrection; Firſt, as if he looked not into their buſineſs, they threatned *Mondragonio*: then hearing of the complaints made in the Senate of *Bruxels*, by Count *Altempſe*, who publickly affirmed, that he was caſheired, not for any danger to the Town of *Antwerp*, nor with relation to his ſouldiers importunity for pay, wch he himſelf, a fortnight longer was able to have ſatisfied: but only by the ſubtilty & ſpleen of the Lord *Campin* that excluded ſouldiers faithfull to the King, and ſo weakning the *Spaniſh* partie, intended to betray the citie to the Prince of *Orange*. Whereupon the *Spaniards*, troubled at the publick danger, and the more exaſperated, by their private injury, in regard they demanded but what was due to their extraordinary labours, and unpreſidented courage in wading through the ſea, ſeized upon their Captains, and choſe themſelves a Generall in *Mondragonio's* place. Whereto they were animated by the example of the horſe, and recruited by the acceſſion of *Valdez* his Regiment. They ſent letters therefore to the Senate at *Bruxels*, threatningly petitioning for their money. Nor did the Senate deny it, the major part be-

The Belgick *warre occaſioned by the Peoples contempt of the Senate. And their private differences.*

As alſo by another mutinie of the Spaniards, from the Relation of Chriſt. Aſſonvil. *Becauſe the* Germans *were payed, and not they.*

An injury they very much reſent. Mart. Delr. l. 1. Turb. Belg. and others.

And are exaſperated by the complaint of Count Altempſe

They demand their Pay of the Senate.

1576.
Which being craftily denied.
They march in hoſtile manner into Brabant.
They refuſe conditions offered.
They take Aelſt.
A tumult in in Bruxels.
Called Scriban by Francis Harve in his Annal.Belg.
A Spaniſh Senatours ſervant ſlain.
The Senate declares the Spaniards *Enemies to the State.*
The Low-countreymen permitted to take arms againſt them.
Avila *complains of the Senate.*
The Senate laies the fault upon Avila,out of Chriſt. Aſſonvill.
An Edict publiſhed by the Senate againſt the ſouldiers in Aelſt.
Avila *ſends ammunition to his Countreymen in* Aelſt.

ing Royalliſts. But the Burgeſſes of *Haynolt* and *Brabant*, long ſince bought (as I ſaid) with the Prince of *Oranges* money, interceded in the name of their Provinces, pretending publick neceſſitie. And whilſt the Senate, partly affrighted with their proteſtations, partly intangled in croſſe votes, deferred their payment; the *Spaniards* thinking their menaces contemned, took up their Colours in furie, crying, Away for *Brabant*. And having left *Ziricze* guarded with a few Wallons, quitting *Schelt* and *Duveland*, (Iſlands they had conquered, with ſo much glory to their Nation) they ran up and down *Brabant* threatning, but not reſolved upon any determinate deſign, the Cities generally trembling and in amazement, exſpecting where that ſtorm would fall. But having firſt rejected the conditions, which Count *Mansfeldt*, meeting them near *Aſc*, brought from the Senate: then, ſending away *Juliano Romero*, who for the ſame cauſe came from the *Spaniards*, without ſo much as hearing him ſpeak: afterward ſhaking their ſwords and preſenting their muskets againſt *Franciſco Monteſdocha*, they commanded him to come no nearer: and laſtly on a ſudden poſſeſſed themſelves of *Aelſt*, a town in *Flanders* not farre from *Bruxels*, hanging the Kings Officer that oppoſed them, before the Gates: openly profeſſing they meant to keep *Aelſt* as a pledge, till their Arrears were paid. When this news came to *Bruxels*, with addition, but falſe, that they had plundered the Town, and put the People to the ſword; the minds of the citizens were ſo incenſed, as that ſearching the Town for *Spaniards*, by chance they met a ſervant of *Hieronimo Boda*, a *Spaniſh* Senatour, whom the *Low-countreymen* hated above all the reſt, becauſe he had in many things been the Governour *Requeſenes* his inſtrument; and at that time ſtoutly ſpake for the King in Senate; this poor Servingman they ſlew, fouly mangling his body, and would have fallen upon *Roda* himſelf, *Alphonſo Vargas*, and *Juliano Romero*, if they had not preſently (inſtructed by the danger) retired to Court. In like manner it being reported, that the *Spaniards* bragged they would march from *Aelſt*, and ſtorm *Bruxels*, unleſſe they were paid, by order of the Senate; the Lords (for they ſaid the multitude would not otherwiſe be appeaſed) declared the *Spaniards* that kept *Aelſt*, Rebells and enemies to the King and State, permitting the people of *Bruxels* to take up arms in defence of their City. By which example many Cities of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, becauſe they pretended to be in like fear of the *Wallons*, and *Germans*, in Garriſon among them, by like indulgence of the Senate, and incouragement from the Burgeſſes, took arms. But the *Spaniſh* Commanders fearing this to a generall conſpiracie of the Provinces againſt their Nation, whilſt they buſied themſelves in preparing for a warre, ſuſpected and no leſſe ſuſpecting, on both ſides the cauſes of mutuall hatred were increaſed; and each party looking upon the other as an enemie, they became enemies indeed. For when *Sancho Avila*, who was the ableſt ſouldier and greateſt man among them, being Governour of the Fort at *Antwerp*, by letters directed to the Senate, complained, that the Cities were in arms; and tumults, under the colour of remedie, fomented: and the Senate in like manner returned anſwer, that *Avila*, without making his addreſſes unto them, had increaſed his Garriſons, and therefore Required him to ſlight them: in a ſhort time they broke out into open hoſtilitie. For it was by a new Edict of Senate decreed, that no man ſhould preſume to aſſiſt the ſeditious *Spaniards* at *Aelſt*, with any kind of help or councell: notwithſtanding *Avila*, though he was offended with their mutinie, yet for fear they might be circumvented by the *Low-countreymen*, furniſhed them with powder and three field-pieces. But very opportunely

tunely at the ſame time, *Charles Croi* Marqueſſe of *Havre*, Brother to Duke *Areſchot*, returned from *Spain*, with the Kings letters to the Senate, wherein he promiſed very ſuddenly to ſend them Don *John* of *Auſtria*, their Governour. Which not a little retarded the beginning of the civill Warre; eſpecially, ſince both the parties laboured to avoid that imputation, and therefore ſeverally ſtrove by ſpeedy meſſengers to prepoſſeſſe the mind of their new Governour. Yet, foraſmuch as the Royal party in the Senate, knew this truce could not long continue, being oppoſed by the Burgeſſes; after *John Baptiſta a Boſcho*, whom they had ſent poſt into *Spain*, they carefully diſpatched away, *Maximilian Raſsinghem*, and *Francis Vaſſeur*, proteſting to his Majeſtie, *That the Authoritie of Senate could not bridle the hatred of the people, ſo much inraged, that ſcarce a Tradeſman in the Town, or a Ploughman in the Countrey, but ſpent his time in buying armour, and muskets. Nor was the multitude kept in order by the Garriſon-ſouldiers, who wanting pay, and allured with hope of plunder, by pillaging Towns through the whole Countrey, and threatning all the Provinces, unmeaſurably increaſed the Tumults. That in the Treaſury was not money enough to pay them. That they themſelves had received from his Majeſtie, by the hand of the Marqueſſe of* Havre, *ſeventy thouſand crowns: and a little while before, as many: but this ſum, which was all that in ſix moneths could be got from* Spain *to ſupply the Low-countreys, would not ſerve for one moneths pay. Howſoever they themſelves had to that day, as well as they could, maintained the Commonwealth, relying upon his Majeſties promiſes, and the late hope of* Don John's *coming. Who, if he ſtaid a while longer, no doubt the miſchief would break forth into a publick and irrevocable ruine. For hitherto, they had governed the weather-beaten State, and ſtopt the leaks whilſt they were but one or two. Now, if whole planks were ſprung, it was to be feared, that the Ship ſplitting, all the Maſters care will come too late.* This free expreſſion of the Senate, though it moved the King to ſend Don *John* poſt into the *Netherlands*; yet as it is commonly the fortune of all *Spaniſh* haſt, he arrived too late, to the deſtruction of the Publick. For in a violent ſickneſſe, there is not a more certain ſign of death, then if remedies be applyed ſparingly, and out of time; eſpecially if there be ſomewhat from without, which by fanning the inward humours poiſoned with immoderate heat, inſtead of cooling, more inflames them. For the Prince of *Orange*, who conceived there could not be a happier opportunitie for him, then the preſent diſcord of the Kings Governours, uſed all his induſtrie; and by frequent letters and meſſengers from *Holland*, he, that was ambitious to govern, courted the Senatours and Governours of Provinces, with the uſuall word, that ſignifies nothing, Libertie. They ſay his Emiſſaries moved Duke *Areſchot*, that he being the greateſt perſon in the Senate (for when the King gave the Senatours their Commiſſion for the Government of the *Low-countreys*, *Areſchot* was firſt named, as Prince of the Senate) would uſe that greatneſſe for the benefit of his Nation, and opportunely lay hold of the honourable Title of his Countreys *Deliverer*. Nor would there be any great difficulty in the enterpriſe, if they two united themſelves, and to ſtrengthen the tie of friendſhip ſhould confirm it with a double marriage, Count *Buron* eldeſt ſonne to the Prince of *Orange* marrying the daughter of Duke *Areſchot*, and his eldeſt ſon the Prince of *Cimace*, the eldeſt daughter to the Prince of *Orange*. It was likewiſe conceived, that *Areſchot*, from that time, deſerted the *Spaniſh* partie. But howſoever, it is evident, that diverſe Noblemen, and many Senatours, that were formerly Neuters, moved by the late proceedings of the *Spaniards* at *Aelſt* (for they had taken the Fort of *Likerch*, near to *Bruxels*) entered

1576. *The civill warre for a while put off by the Marqueſſe of* Havres *arrivall.* *In the end of Auguſt.*

Vaſſeur Lord of Moriemſart. *The Senates Letter to the King* out of Chriſt. Aſſonvill.

The King commands Don John *to take poſt for the* Low-countreys.

In the interim the Prince of Orange *makes uſe of the differences among the Royaliſts. Solicits the Governours of Provinces. Particularly Duke* Areſchot.

Matt. Delv. 1.Turb.Belg. *The Senatours opinions touching thoſe of* Aelſt.

1576.

tered into a league with the Prince of *Orange*, which preſently appeared in Senate, that upon news of the *Spaniards* threats and approaches united themſelves with the Burgeſſes of *Brabant* and *Haynolt*. For when ſome delivered their opinions, that ſuch frequent mutinies of the *Spaniards* and their late menaces againſt the Royall Senate, ſhould be chaſtiſed with arms; and others voted on the contrary, that they ſhould rather be appeaſed with the money due unto them; that there was no fighting with ſuch men, as would ſell their skins at a dear rate; that the *Spaniſh* Commanders, which held moſt of their Forts, would not ſuffer their Countreymen to be cut off by ſuch a combination, nor themſelves and the King to looſe the ſtrength of ſo many old ſouldiers; nay, that the King would be offended, if a warre, without his knowledge, ſhould be raiſed againſt his men. It is not to be imagined, with what animoſitie, and almoſt down-right railing, this ſuffrage was reſented by the people of *Bruxels*. And being likewiſe by the Senate cunningly made believe, that ſome of the houſe conſpired with the *Spaniards*, and treated about the Surrender of the town; they all cryed, to Arms, with ſuch fury, as they inſtantly required to have William *Hern* Lord of *Heſe*, that mortally hated a *Spaniard*, declared Governour of *Bruxels*, and Commander in chief of the Militia. And he, under colour of pacifying the multitude, but indeed to ſtrengthen his partie, commanded *Glimè* Governour of the *Wallon-Brabant*, with a band of ſouldiers to ſeiz upon the Court; who breaking open the gates, took out of the Senate the Counts of *Mansfeldt* and *Barlamont*, the Preſident *Viglius*, *John Baptiſta Boiſchot*, *Chriſtopher Aſſonvill*, *Aloyſio Delrio*, and many other Senatours which they commonly called *Spaniards*, and committed them all priſoners; leſt they ſhould (as he ſaid) promote Councels pernitious to the publick Peace. Which being injuriouſly and imperiouſly acted, not onely againſt the greateſt perſons, but even againſt the Senate it ſelf, and conſequently againſt the Prince, whoſe Perſon that Order repreſented: the authoritie of Senate abſolutely fell, and that day was the laſt wherein the Royall Senate governed; the foundation of that power being then firſt laid, which ever ſince hath remained in the *States* of the *Low-countreys*, revolted from the King. For though others, choſen in their places that were removed, ſeemed to carry the face of a Senate, yet all the power was in the Burgeſſes, at whoſe pleaſure they were nominated and moved, like wooden Puppets with a Vice. Henceforth, moſt matters were ordered in a hoſtile manner; the decree of Senate furiouſly paſſed for turning the *Spaniards* out of the *Low-countreys*; the Eſtates Generall ſummoned; the People commanded to take arms, and every one taxed at a Crown, that ſhould refuſe.

Some would have them deſtroyed by arms.

Others, not to be provoked, and theſe ſpake prophetically.

But their ſenſe was rejected.

The People create a new Governour of Bruxels.

By his Orders, the Senators that were held to be of the Spaniſh *Faction were taken into Cuſtody.*

The authority of the Senate falls to nothing.

A new form of Government to Deputies of the Eſtates.

But though all this was done, not onely without conſulting his Majeſtie, but likewiſe (as they well knew) againſt his will (for he had often forbid the ſummoning of the Eſtates) and therefore ſeemed to be no obſcure beginning of Rebellion. Yet it was concluded with ſo univerſall a conſent of the Provinces, that within a few dayes, *Brabant*, *Haynolt*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, ſending their Commiſſioners about it to *Bruxels*, agreed among themſelves, and took an oath mutually to aſſiſt each other againſt the *Spaniards*. That done, they ſent divers noble Perſons to entreat aſſiſtance of the neighbour-Princes, againſt the tyrannie (as they called it) of the *Spaniards*; in the firſt place to the King of *France*, and the Queen of *England*; then to *Cleveland*, laſtly, to the Prince of *Orange* in *Holland*, with whom they were to make a League, if he would joyn his forces with theirs, to beſiege the Caſtle of *Gant* held by the *Spaniards*. The Prince without delay furniſhing them to their

The beginning of the Aſſociation of Gant.

Four Provinces offer aſſiſtance againſt the Spaniards.

They crave ſuccours from their neighbours in order to the Spaniards *expulſion.*

Their Agreement with the Prince of Orange.

Who aſſiſts them in the recovery of Gant.

their deſires, the Caſtle was taken, for which they delivered into his hands the Town of *Newport*, lying upon the Sea-coaſt of *Flanders*. With the ſaid Catholick Provinces, *Holland* and *Zeland*, that were of the Hereticall faction, aſſociated, and in all the ſeverall Articles of their *League* begun at *Gant*, there was not the leaſt mention of their Sovereign. Into this City invited by the Royall Senate, came not onely Embaſſadours from the Princes their neighbours, and *Commiſsioners* for the Provinces, but the Deputies of the *Low-countrey* Prelates. Who, though of divers factions and Religions, but a while ſince at deadly feud among themſelves, and beſprinkled with the yet freſh bloud drawn in the warres of *Holland* and *Zeland*; all this notwithſtanding, to that Head, which of twenty five was the principall, *That the* Spaniſh *Souldiers, and all forreiners ſhould be forthwith expelled from the reſt of the Provinces, for ever confederated with* Holland *and* Zeland; they ſo unanimouſly conſented, and ſo much the deſire of Liberty, thereby hoped for, prevailed; that all of them, among whom were diverſe Royalliſts, and many Clergy-men, more eagerly then adviſedly ſwore and ſigned this agreement. So as one would think the *Low-countrey men* at this day to be the ſame that inhabited the place in *Ceſars* time, which calling a Councel about ejecting the *Romanes*, the conſent of the Provinces was ſo univerſall to vindicate their Libertie, as they were neither moved with the remembrance of Benefits nor Friendſhip, but every man followed the war with the utmoſt abilities of his purſe and courage. The Conſpiratours were much daunted at the event of the firſt battel, wherein *Glimè*, Generall for the States, boldly encountring the *Spaniards*, betwixt *Lovain* and *Tienen*, was routed by *Alphonſo Vargah's* horſe, with ſo much greater diſgrace then loſſe (for not above three hundred of the *Glimeians* were ſlain) by how much they had confidently promiſed themſelves victorie, inviting their neighbours, no doubt to ſee the ſhow. But they were yet more aſtoniſhed at the news which a while after came to *Gant*, That the *Spaniards* had recovered *Maeſtriecht*, put the citizens to the ſword, and plundred the Town: For they of *Maeſtriecht* had no ſooner corrupted and drawn to their party the *Germane* Garriſon, turning out the *Spaniſh*, having by a trick ſeized and impriſoned their Colonell, *Franciſco Monteſdocha*; but *Martin Ayala*, *Monteſdocha's* Lieutenant-Colonell, Governour of *Wiccha* (which is the other part of the Town beyond the *Moſe*, joyned to *Maeſtriecht* by a Bridge) ſent word how things went with the *Spaniards* to *Ferdinand Toledo*, who by accident was coming thitherward with ſome Foot from *Dalem*, and timouſly arriving at *Wiccha*, with united forces they marched up to the Bridge: But perceiving Canon planted in the front of it, they pitched upon this ſudden reſolution; As many women of the Town as they could lay hold of, they took and placed before them for a breaſt-work, and ſo faced the Bridge with their Muskets couched under the womens arm-pits, readie to fire upon the enemy. And whilſt the Citizens were afraid to ſhoot, leſt they might kill their kinſwomen and friends, before they ſhould hurt the *Spaniards*, they heard that on the other part of the Town, *Alphonſo Vargah* having burned down *Bruxels-Port*, had entred with his Horſe. Whereupon moſt part of the men running to defend their houſes, the *Spaniards* took the Bridge, the *Germanes* yielded, and *Maeſtriecht* was recovered.

When this news came to *Gant*, for fear the like ſhould happen at *Antwerp*, ſetting aſide the buſineſs of the League for a while, the Deputies of the Eſtates ſpeedily repaired to *Bruxells*, and with conſent of the Senate, ordered new Levies to be made. And at the ſame time, juſt as they could have wiſhed,

1576.
Other Provinces aſſociated with them.
The Convention at Gant.
Their wonderfull unanimity againſt the Spaniard.
The Kings party and the Eccleſiaſticks joyning with the Confederates.
Septem. 30.
The like conſent of old in expelling the *Romanes*.
Cæſ. l. 7. de Gal. Bel.
The Confederates troubled at Glimè's *flight and loſſe.*
Much more at the recovery of Maeſtricht *by the* Spaniards.
A military Invention.
Of the ſack of Antwerp.

1576. From the Emperours Court where he had remained ſince his fathers death.

The Deputies of the Eſtates ſend forces into Antwerp.

wiſhed, Count *Egmont*, ſonne to *Lamorall*, with great joy and gratulation of the Eſtates of *Brabant*, arrived at *Bruxells*. To him therefore as, one that would be ſure to revenge his Fathers death, they committed the greateſt charge of the Army; the reſt, part to the *Marqueſſe de Havre*, part to *Goigny*, *Caprias*, and *Berſen*, diſpatching them away to joyn with *Oberſtein's Germane* Regiment at *Antwerp*. The Town was governed by *Frederick Perenot* Lord of *Campin*, the Garriſon by *Otho* Count *Oberſtein*, both upon late differences, offended with the *Spaniſh* party, and therefore ready to receive the ſouldiers, ſent from the Deputies of the Eſtates; amounting, beſides Count *Egmonts* Regiment of *Walloons*, to the number of three and twenty Foot Companies, and fourteen Troops of Horſe. The *Antwerpers* thus recruited, reſolved to guard all avenues from the Caſtle to the Town. And (becauſe the *Spaniards* had the Fort, from whence they terrified the Town) by the advice of *Campin* they drew a line, beginning and finiſhing a Sconce on ſuch a ſudden, that within four and twenty hours it was in ſome places ſixteen cubits high; above twelve thouſand men and women ſweating at the works. Nor was *Avila*, Governour of the Fort, leſſe diligent to call in the *Spaniards*, at *Lire*, and *Breda*, with the reſt that quartered neareſt to him. The *Burgundians*, and ſome other Horſe and Foot, immediately marched thither, commanded by *Juliano Romero*, *Anthonio Olivera*, and *Franciſco Valdez*. At the very ſame time *Alphonſo Vargas* came from *Maeſtricht* with his Horſe, though he underſtood nothing of theſe paſſages; and almoſt at the ſame hour, as it were by appointment, the *Spaniards* of *Aelſt* with their *Electo* (not upon any invitation, which they alwayes had rejected, but as I ſuppoſe in thankfulneſs for the Proviſion lately ſent them from *Avila*) beyond all exſpectation arrived. They were every man received into the Fort, abſolutely perſwading themſelves, that God in good time had brought them thither, to revenge the Kings cauſe, betrayed by the Royall Senate. And when they had refreſhed themſelves with a little meat, they reſolved to make a ſallie. Onely among all the reſt, they of *Aelſt*, though they had marched faſting four and twenty miles, and ſcarce drunk one cup of wine, yet fierce and implacable, ſwore, *They would never eat till the Town were taken*. Theſe furious words were made good by their courage: for upon the ſignall given by *Avila* (their number was about five thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe) the Suttlers and Scullions bringing ſtraw and fire behind them, and caſting it where it might be uſefull; they aſſaulted the enemies trenches with ſuch violence, the Fort in the mean time thundring againſt the Defendants, that the ditch and works, manned by very near ſix thouſand men, were taken, chiefly by the incredible valour of the *Aeloſtanians*. They entred the Town by three ſeverall wayes; ſo as the Citizens being amazed, and the Garriſon at variance among themſelves, whilſt every one provided for his own particular, the *publick* being neglected, *private ruine* likewiſe followed. And though the *Spaniards* advancing by *Saint Michaels* ſtreet, were valiantly oppoſed by Count *Egmont* and his Forces, yet they being untrained raw men, and their Commander himſelf no very old ſouldier, he was not able to reſiſt the *Spaniſh* Veterans; who beat him with a great ſlaughter of his men, into the Monaſtery of *Saint Michaels*, where he was taken priſoner by *Juliano Romero*, and inſtantly carried to the Caſtle; more gallantly, as it ſeems, then fortunately, initiated in the firſt rudiments of War. But the fight being renued at Court, the Victory for a great while continued doubtfull. For the Townſmen defended their goods and houſes with much more reſolution then forreiners and mercenaries; ſo great an incouragement is wealth unto the

The Town raiſes a battery againſt the Caſtle

The Spaniſh *from all their Quarters come to* Antwerp.
So do the Mutineers from Aelſt.

Of Cannon and Powder.
All received into the Fort.
Chriſt. Aſſonv. in his Relation

The fury of the Mutineers.

A ſally from the Caſtle.
The City-forces beat out of their Trenches.

The Spaniards *enter the Town.*
The Garriſon at odds among themſelves.

Count Egmont *would have made reſiſtance.*
But is taken priſoner.

The Citizens fight ſtoutly.

1576.

the owners. Whileſt they kept the Magiſtrates houſes, and at pleaſure ſhot the *Spaniards*, without danger to themſelves; ſometimes ſallying, and preſently retiring, diverſe *Spaniards* were ſlain, among the reſt *Damiano Morales*, a Captain of great valour. Till ſuch time as *Alphonſo Vargas* having defeated all that made head againſt him, brought his Horſe through Saint *Georges* ſtreet, and ſending them to the Market-place, where the greateſt croud of Citizens were gathered; which, part killed, part maimed, were forced to retreat into the Palace of Juſtice, and the houſes adjoyning. Out of which places whileſt they ſhot and interrupted the courſe of the Victory, in an inſtant two of the black guard, with nothing but a little ſtraw fired the Palace, though built of ſolid Marble; and with an infinite loſſe of men, that building, one of the faireſt in *Europe*, and about eightie houſes, moſt of them full of rich wares, was burned down; the ſpoil being divided between the *ſouldiers* and the *fire*. Then the principall Town-Commanders being taken, and their ſtouteſt ſouldiers ſlain, whileſt the reſt either cowardly ran from their poſts, or more baſely joyned themſelves with the Conquerours and Plunderers; the *Spaniards* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Antwerp*, which had none left to defend it. And to whatſoever fury or avarice prompted the licentious ſouldiers, they acted it upon the enemie, that exceeding rich city, with bloud and rapine. In the mean time, the Deputies of the Eſtates, and the Senatours ignorant of theſe proceedings, and confident, as if they had ſecured *Antwerp*, returned to *Gant*, and applyed their beſt endeavours to the framing of a generall Aſſociation. When upon the ſudden, news coming of the ſack of *Antwerp*, it increaſed beyond meaſure their hatred to the *Spaniards*; and mad upon revenge, they forthwith concluded their League; glad onely of this, that they ſeemed to be neceſſitated to it. And then ſending back *Raſsinghem*, who was lately come from the Court of *Spain*, to acquaint his Majeſtie with the ſedition and cruelty of the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers: they by him excuſed the common Confederation made againſt them; which forasmuch as all the Eſtates of the *Low-countreys*, as well the Clergie, as the Laity, accounted the onely remedy to preſerve the Peace of their Nation, they doubted not, but (the times conſidered) it would be approved of by his Royall clemency, that wiſhed the Peace and Tranquillity of his People. Nor were the *Spaniſh* Commanders leſſe ſolicitous how to poſſeſſe the King; but ſent a Meſſenger at the ſame time, to acquaint his Majeſtie with the ſubtill practices of the *Low-countrey* Lords, with the violence they had uſed to the Kings Officers, even in the Senate; with the uſurped authority of the Deputies, their ſummoning the Eſtates; and likewiſe to ſet before his eyes the imminent defection of the Provinces. *That indeed the* Spaniſh *ſouldiers had offended, in taking* Aelſt *by way of Caution for their pay. For which offence, but eſpecially for their long and invincible ſtubborneſs, they were declared enemies, the* Spaniſh *Commanders never interpoſing in their behalf. Notwithſtanding they very well knew, that occaſion of taking Arms againſt the* Spaniards, *and not paying them as well as the* Germanes, *was the politick contrivance of ſome Lords. But whatever end the* Lowcountrey *men had therein, they had forborn at firſt to take notice of it. But when they underſtood that a bloudy League was made againſt the* Spaniards; *Souldiers out of* France, *and* England *ſent for into the* Low-countreys; *and a Peace concluded with the Prince of* Orange, *an Enemie to Religion, to his King, and Countrey; truly they held it their duties with united forces to oppoſe the Confederates, leſt they expelling the the Kings ſouldiers out of the Low-countreys, ſhould likewiſe ſhake off (which they had now in deſign) the Royall Government. That the ſack of* Antwerp *was lamented*

Neer the Palace of Juſtice.

Which the Spaniards *fire, and become Maſters of* Antwerp.

Novem. 4.

Count Egmont Caprius Gogny.

The Deputies of the Eſtates advance the aſſociation of Gant.

Hearing Antwerp *was loſt, they haſten the firm concluſion of their League.*

And ſend a Meſſenger to acquaint the King with their proceedings.

The Spaniſh *Commanders likewiſe ſend one to his Majeſtie.*

Who informs the King of theſe particulars.

1576. *lamented by all men, but merited by the City, having received, contrary to their faith obliged by Oath, the forces of the League, and attempted to beſiege the Caſtle: ſo as the* Spaniards *could not defend themſelves, and the Fort, without calling in their fellow ſouldiers: though ſome, onely by divine Providence, came unſent for. Who, if they behaved themſelves more fiercely, or cruelly in defending the Fort, and beating the Enemy out of the Town; that was done upon a ſad neceſſity, when they muſt either kill or be killed. Yet that it is not eaſie to hold mens hands, when Victorie ſhews them both Revenge, and Bootie.* But, howſoever they excuſed their military licentiouſneſſe, common Fame abſolved them not, but reported their valour in taking the citie againſt twenty thouſand Defendants, to be no greater, then their covetouſneſſe in plundering that richeſt Port-town of Chriſtendome, for three dayes together; forcing the richeſt Citizens and Merchants to redeem their merchandiſe and goods, out of which they made twenty hundred thouſand piſtols. Many cauſing ſword-hilts, helmets, and breaſts, to be made them of pure gold, but diſcoloured, leſt they might be taken notice of. And thoſe poor men which entered this rich citie, went out rich men and left it a poor town, as the *Low-countrey* Hiſtorians ſay, with an odious commendation of the *Spaniſh* courage. Unleſſe in this, as in other things, they have exceeded the truth out of their hatred to that Nation. Though I am not ignorant, that the Captains and common ſouldiers occaſioned for the moſt part theſe diſorders, the Colonells and ſuperiour Officers having all ſhares in the *fault*, not all in the *ſpoil.* Nay I am aſſured that *Sancho Avila* Governour of the Caſtle reſtrained the rage of many both by command and puniſhment. And *Camillo a Monte,* one of the firſt that took the town, when he had ſecured the *Florentine* Merchants, and might have had a great ſumme of money of them, out of ſo much wealth took nothing but a little bitch, as if he ſtrove by his continence to expiate the tranſgreſſion of their plunder. I likewiſe know the deſtruction of *Antwerp* was not the crime of the *Spaniards* alone; but the *Low-countreymen, Burgundians, Italians,* and *Germans,* had every one their part in that tragick deſolation: and diverſe of them acted more barbarouſly, then the *Spaniſh.* Indeed ſome great moneyed men taken by the *Spaniards,* when *Cornelius Vanindems* ſouldiers would have had the prize, were as they ſay betwixt deſpair and envie cruelly murdered. Among whom *Giles Smiſſart* a rich *Lapidary,* and therefore more greedily ſearched for by the plunderers, was miſerably uſed, who at laſt being found out, and buying his life and fortunes of the *Spaniards,* for ten thouſand Florens, could not avoid death ſo. For a companie of *Germans* coming in, that ſaw themſelves defeated of the profit they gaped after, a quarrell growing about it, one of them thruſt him through the back with his pike. See the unhappie fate of riches, how much more eaſily may he avoid the ſpoilers hands, that never hath allured an envious eye. For no naked man is ſought after to be rifled. Little things being by their littleneſſe ſecured. Touching the execution done and the number of the dead, they that were preſent do infinitely vary. Some affirming them of the *Spaniſh* ſide to be at leaſt two hundred, others not above fourteen. But of the States ſouldiers, and the townſmen, the *Low-countrey men* and *Spaniards*, (which is ſtrange) agree upon the number of ſix thouſand (unleſſe perhaps thoſe out of their *hatred*, and theſe out of their *pride*, do over-reckon) whereof they ſay almoſt three thouſand were killed by the ſword, fifteen hundred burned, or trod to death, and as many drowned in the waters thereabout, and in the River *Schelt:* where they ſay a *Low-countrey* horſeman purſued by *Pedro Taxio*, as he was armed with

The Plunder of Antwerp *made the* Spaniards *odious.*

How miſerable a pillage it was.

The principall Actors in it.

The moderation of Camillo *a* Monte.

The wretched condition of rich men.

The good fortune of a Low-countrey *trooper.*

with his Lance in his hand, leaped from a huge height into the Town-ditch, and ſwimming it with his horſe got off ſafe, without ſo much as breaking of his Lance. And yet at the very ſame time, Count *Otho Oberſtein* Commander of the *Germans* and Governour of the Town Garriſon, when he was taking boat, upon eaven ground, his foot ſlipping, was in a moment devoured by the water. Nothing is therefore to be preſumed upon, or deſpaired of; ſince the Levell precipitates thoſe that ſtand on plain ground, and precipices ſave men falling headlong.

1576. *The fate of Count* Oberſtein.

The End of the eighth Book.

The Hiſtorie of the *LOW-COUNTREY* WARRES.

The ninth Book.

1576. *Novemb.* 4. *Don* John *of* Auſtria *comes into the* Low-countreys. *Diſguiſed.*

Diſcovers himſelf at Luxemburg.

The Senatours doubt whether or no they ſhould receive him.

The Prince of Orange *adviſes them, not to admit him, but upon conditions.*

They ſend an arrogant meſſage to Don John.

Mar. Delr. l. 2. Turb. Belg.

The Meſſengers friend gives him moſt unfriendly counſell.

THe ſame day that *Antwerp* was taken by the *Spaniſh* and Forrein ſouldiers, *Don John of Auſtria* ſonne to *Charles* the fifth arrived, but not time enough, in the *Low-countreys*; having rid poſt through *France*, with onely two in his companie. To one of which (*Octavio Gonzaga*, Brother to the Prince of *Molphet*) he paſſed for a ſlave, having blackt his face, and died his hair and beard like an *Ethiop*. But at *Luxemburg*, a Town well affected to him, he put off his counterfeit ſhape, and diſcovered himſelf to be ſent by *King Philip*, Governour of the *Low-countreys*: where underſtanding that *Antwerp* was ſackt, he preſently directed his letters to the Senate at *Bruxels*, and to the *Spaniſh* Commanders in *Antwerp*, certifying them of his coming and Commiſſion for the Government: by virtue whereof, he commanded a ceſſation of arms, between both parties. The *Spaniſh* indeed obeyed, but the Senatours and Burgeſſes either exaſperated by their late affront, or unwilling to lay down their abſolute authority, made ſome difficultie of admitting the new Governour, eſpecially before they had conſulted their *Delphian* Oracle, the Prince of *Orange*: whoſe opinion was, that *Don John* ſhould not be acknowledged for their Governour, nor that their libertie, purchaſed with their bloud, ſhould be ſold: or at leaſt, that they ſhould not admit him, before the *Low-countreys* were diſburthened of the *Spaniſh* and forrein forces, and that he had by oath confirmed the pacification of *Gant*. The Senatours following the laſt part of his advice, ſent *Iſchius* to *Don John* with ſuch proud and peremptory inſtructions, that he juſtly fearing the young Princes diſpleaſure doubted whether or no he ſhould undertake the imployment. Being in this anxietie of mind, they ſay, *Iſchius* conferred about it, with a perſon of qualitie, then lying at his houſe. This friend of his, pittying his condition, that muſt inevitably either incurre the diſpleaſure of *Don John* of *Auſtria*, if he delivered his Embaſſage, or of the Senate, if he omitted any thing; ſaid, that he could yet find out an expedient to diſintangle him. *Iſchius* demanding what it might be, he replyed, *I would have you uſe* Alexanders *ſword to cut this* Gordian *knot; that is, when you ſpeak alone with* Don John,



Don John of Austria
Son to Charles ye 5th
Governour of the Low countreys

reſolutely draw your ſword, and kill that fraudulent man, who comes to ruine the Low-countreys. *The dead will not bite, and the Senate will be ſure to thank you.* But *Iſchius* both in words and looks abhorring this unworthy Counſellour, that with an impious oſtentation revived the old advice given to *Ptolomie* King of *Egypt* by *Theodotus* of *Chios*, waited upon *Don John*, and delivering, with all the qualification he could give, the Commands of the Eſtates, he offended not the Prince, and yet fully diſcharged his dutie. And though, as he was much taken with *Don John*, by his infinite commendations of him to the Senate, he diſtaſted many, yet thoſe praiſes ſo wrought with the major part, that correcting their former with a new Embaſſage, they ſent *John Funch* to the Prince with farre modeſter inſtructions, and humbly offered to receive him, if he would ſign the pacification of *Gant*.

1576. *Who notwithſtanding treats modeſtly with* Don John *of* Auſtria. Plutarch in Pompeys life. *Another Meſſenger from the Eſtates deſires him to ſign the Pacification of* Gant *and diſmiſſe the* Spaniards.

Don John took time to conſider of it, for the disbanding of the *Spaniards* troubled him. And calling to him *Juan Eſcovedo*, and *Octavio Gonzaga*, his intimate Counſellours and Confidents very much troubled, he deſired their advice. *Gonzaga* immediately denyed, that it could be either advantagious or honourable; *For* (ſaith he) *if the Prince of* Orange *were this day of Counſell with you, what elſe do you think he would perſwade, but to ſend away the* Spaniards, *and to eſtabliſh the Government of the* Low-countreys *in the love of the* Low-countreymen, *not in the fear of a forrein and hated ſouldiery? Which is in effect, that you, diſmiſſing your Garriſons, might with more eaſe lie open to the Plots and Stratagems of turbulent perſons: injoying at preſent a kind of Government during pleaſure; and upon the firſt breath of the giddie multitude, none at all. We are deceived if we hope this people, differing from us in Manners and Language, many of them in Religion, all in Reſentment of our Countreymens late victory, will be governed of their own accord, without the terrour of our arms. They article with an armed Governour, what will they do when he is diſarmed? Let them know there is come a ſonne of* Charles the fifth, *leſſe then his Father in Power, not Courage; to whom it belongs to* give, *not to* receive *the Law. But they are reſolved, except this be granted them, not to* admit *a Governour: Let them be* compelled. *If it be diſputed by the ſword, can our men and theirs have other thoughts, then ſuch as are familiar to the Conquerours, and the conquered? If you ſeek praiſe by this Indulgence, it is over haſty, and will be of no long continuence with proud people, made impudent by our modeſtie. Theſe names of* humanitie *and* favour, *will ſhew more noble after a victory, when they are demonſtrations not of Neceſsitie, but Moderation. It may be objected, that ſome good ſubjects, well-wiſhers to the Royall party, would have all forreiners disbanded. I would gladly know theſe* Low-countrey-*Royalliſts; for I am told many live with us at Court, whoſe hearts are in* Holland *with the Prince of* Orange; *whoſe conſent and indeavours to ſend away the* Spaniards, *the more they appear, the more ought ſuch friends to be ſuſpected. I am ſure the King your brother, when he was in the* Netherlands, *promiſed the* Low-countreymen *to free them of the* Spaniards; *but obſerving a generall conſpiracie to eject them, that very unanimous conſent made him pauſe upon it, and deferre his Grant, till the Governeſſe, the Dutcheſſe of* Parma, *wonne him by her intreaties. And yet the* Low-countreymen *were not then minded to rebell. Now, by the example of the wiſeſt King, you ſee what is the beſt courſe for you, that have not obliged your ſelf by any promiſe to this publickly offended and armed Nation. I have ſaid thus much, taking it for granted, that you can at pleaſure preſently draw our men from their Garriſons, and ſend them out of the* Low-countreys: *What, if upon knowledge of your agreement with the* Low-countreymen, *made upon condition of their baniſhment, they ſhould mutiny, to which they are too much in-*

Don John *conſults about diſmiſſing of the* Spaniards. Gonzaga *ſpeaks againſt it.*

1576. *clined, and refuſe to deliver up the Forts and Cities? truly then you will loſe both the reſpect of your own ſouldiers, as if you preferred the* Low-countreymen *before them and yet, as if you had but mockt the* Low-countreymen, *aggravate their hatred. Laſtly, I will never perſwade you, the Brother to my King, to receive the Government of the Provinces on poorer terms, then his Majeſties ſervants,* Alva *and* Requeſenes. But *Eſcovedo* was clear of another opinion. And having ſounded the Princes inclination, began ſecurely in this manner. *I ſhall rather be willing to ſhew your Highneſs what I* conceive, *then what I dare* advice, *becauſe You are ſtill accuſtomed, to allow the freedom of my counſels: as I am to admire the wiſdome of your Reſolutions. And I ſhall at preſent, the freelier expreſſe my ſelf, in regard it will, I preſume, be thought a greater truth, which a* Spaniard *is forced to ſpeak againſt his Countrey-men. But even our Countrey muſt give place unto neceſsity: Nor in conſultations, is Reaſon at all times permitted to make a free Election; but by neceſsitie we are often circumſcribed; at which times, men that ſhun a tempeſt muſt count any poor Creek a Haven. Almoſt all the Provinces, as well the Clergie, as the Laitie, in the Pacification of* Gant, *have agreed to out the* Spaniards, *and ſworn not to admit of any Governour over the* Low-countreys, *till all forrein ſouldiers be disbanded. Wherein their reſolutions are ſo fixed and immoveable, that we may deſpair of winning the* Low-countreys *by any Avenue, but this; which according to* Gonzaga's *opinion, we ſhould open with our ſwords. But you,* Gonzaga, *ſpeak what becoms an old Commander to promiſe, eſpecially to an invincible Generall. Nor do I doubt, but if occaſion ſhould be, you would gallantly perform, what you have glorioſly adviſed. But I, that perhaps more timerouſly, not leſſe circumſpectly, conſider our preſent condition, hold it our beſt to try all wayes before we make uſe of Violence and Arms. And this you know is the Kings Pleaſure, and Command. For what, I pray you, have our men all this while effected in the* Netherlands? *The Duke of* Alva *coming in, with the fame of ſo great forces, ſo many victories, feared for the ſhedding of ſo much* Low-countrey-*bloud, at laſt loſing all the Sea-coaſt, and the ſtrongeſt Provinces, left the* Low-countreys, *which he found entire, diſmembred. And yet in all the time of* Alva, *and his Succeſſour, (whoſe fortune was little better) moſt part both of the* Netherlands *and the* Belgick *Nobility, bore Arms for the King. Now you ſee how the* Low-countrey-men *have deſerted us. Of all the Provinces onely two continue loyall; the reſt, if force be offered, are now bound by Oath to defend themſelves by Arms. Which is the very thing the Prince of* Orange *wiſhes. This pretenſion for a warre he cunningly contrives; and this alone, if he were preſent at our Conſultation, he would endeavour to perſwade, not the diſmiſsing of the* Spaniards. *For your Higneſſe may be confident, that he therefore perſwaded the* Low-countreys *to this courſe, becauſe he feared nothing more then your Admiſsion; inſerting that clauſe in the Pacification of* Gant, *which he hoped you never would allow; and ſo, excluded from the Government, be preſently neceſsitated to a Warre, which that ambitious man might at his pleaſure manage. But this cunning Artiſt muſt be fooled, and contrary to his exſpectancy, by approving the Pacification of* Gant, *your Highneſſe will be inveſted in the Government of the* Low-countreys. *Whereto being once admitted, you by your clemency and gentleneſſe may bring that about, which others never could, with their auſtere and armed mandats. Every one knows the Counſel* Livia *gave to* Auguſtus Ceſar, *that he ſhould imitate Phyſicians, who if their uſuall receits fail, uſe to preſcribe contraries: and by the ſame Rule, when Severity could not do his buſineſſe, he ſhould try what might be done by clemency.* Ceſar *followed his wifes advice; and thenceforth all conſpiracies ceaſing, the Senate and People of* Rome *were loyall and obedient to him. And truly, if any man may go this way with hope of happier ſucceſſe, it is your Higneſſe onely.*

Eſcovedo argues for it,

Seneca l.9. de Clementia.

Dio. in Aug. Cæſar.

1576.

ly. To paſſe by your being a German born, ſonne to a Low-countrey Prince, for which they muſt needs love you more then any of their Spaniſh Governours: The fame of your actions, your deportment, (which how it hath wrought in mens minds you by experience know) your Aſpect, lovely even in your enemies eyes, will no doubt gain you the Affection, Duty, and Obedience of this people. The nature of the Low-countreymen is eaſieſt cured with lenitives: if violence be offered they will ſtruggle; they are to be lead, not driven. Beſides the greateſt perſons will haſten the tender of their ſervices to you, that the former crimes of Rebellion may be imputed not to their contumacy, but anothers pride. One Act there is that may extinguiſh all their Love, the retaining of forrein ſouldiers. The Low-countreymen have ſtill before their eyes the figure of Antwerp burning, the ſlaughter of the Citizens, and rifling of their Goods. Their implacable hatred to the Spaniards, if you keep them here, will likewiſe reach your ſelf. For they that hate your armie cannot love your Perſon. Nor can you be ever ſafe among thoſe ſubjects, that cannot think themſelves ſecure among your ſouldiers. For ſecuritie is eſtabliſhed by a mutuall ſafeguard. And therefore if the Low-countreymen deſire the cauſe of their late Quarrels may be removed out of their ſight, grant their Requeſt; and what they perhaps may force you to by arms, make it your favour to them. By which favour you will both immortally oblige the Low-countreymen to You, and likewiſe indear your ſelf to the King your Brother, weary of the cares and charges of the warre, by pacifying the Low-countreys without arms. Nor is it greatly to be feared, that the Spaniards ſhould refuſe to go upon your Command, now the King approves the diſcharge of forreiners: for the Obedience which they formerly ſhewed to the Dutcheſſe of Parma, queſtionleſſe they will not now deny to you, and to the King himſelf. But when the Spaniards ſhall be diſmiſſed, if there be danger, the Low-countreymen ſolicited by the Prince of Orange, may ſoon forget this Act of Grace; ſhall we therefore conclude, that we muſt neceſſarily be circumvented by their fraud, and oppreſſed by their arms? Are not the Loyall Provinces able to ſuſtain the firſt charge of an inſurrection, till Forces can be ſent for, out of Burgundy hard at hand, and out of Germany not farre off? And then, we have ſo much more reaſon to look for good ſucceſſe, by how much we ſhall be aſſiſted with a more powerfull armie ſent from the King, in defence of his own commands; and we may with more juſtice puniſh the perfidious Rebels. Wherefore in a word, I deny not, but the forrein ſouldiers whether retained or diſmiſſed may ſomewhat indanger us: but when I ſee on the one ſide a certain warre, and the Kings certain diſpleaſure, no help; and on the other, that you are offered the poſſeſſion of the Government, hope of quieting the Low-countreys, the Kings favour and aſſiſtance, and conſequently, if a warre ſhould break forth, that which would much conduce to victorie; I think in point of diſcretion this ought to be preferred before the contrarie.

If the Spaniſh be retained. If they be diſmiſſed.

Don John, though he was very unwilling to forgo his Spaniſh forces, a greater ſecret then I have yet diſcovered won him to conſent. For if he, by keeping them, ſhould have interrupted the peace of the Low-countreys, which his Majeſtie had particularly recommended to him; he might well ſuſpect, it would be whiſpered in the Kings ear (open to ſuch kind of jealouſies) that by laying the plot for a warre, he was ambitious of new power and greater fortunes. Beſides he longed exceedingly for the voyage into England, which, if he were ingaged in the Low-countrey war, he knew would ſlip out of his hands. Withall, he took it for granted, that the Low-countreymens hearts, alienated by the Warres and Taxes of former Governours, might by contrary arts be reconciled. Therefore, according to mans nature, thinking himſelf and his winning carriage would be more prevalent, then any ſtratagem of the Enemie, and coveting what others could

Don John follows this opinion. His Reaſons.

Fear of the King.

Deſire of a voyage for England.

Hope of quieting the Low-countreys.

 not

1576. *He reſolves to confirm the Pacification of* Gant.

not get in the *Low-countreys*, the title of *Peace-maker:* he reſolved to allow the aſſembly at *Gant*, and to ſign their conditions. Eſpecially, becauſe he conceived that he ſhould ſufficiently provide for Religion, and the Crown, foraſmuch as the league concluded in theſe words, *We the Delegates of the Eſtates whoſe names are under-written, and by whoſe authority the Eſtates are now aſſembled, have & do promiſe for ever to maintain the League; for the conſervation of our moſt ſacred faith, and the* Romane *Catholick Religion; for the perfecting of the pacification of* Gant; *For the expulſion of the* Spaniards, *and their adherents; due Obedience to the Kings Majeſtie being ſtill and for ever rendered.*

1577. *In the beginning of January. Moved thereunto by this ſubſcription of the Deputies. He gives the Heads of the Pacification to be conſidered of.*

Notwithſtanding he asked the opinions of the profoundeſt *ſchollars*, whether by thoſe heads (which he gave them accurately to examine) the orthodox faith, or the Kings honour might receive any prejudice. And when they reſolved him no danger could accrue to either, in caſe this clauſe were added, *That nothing in thoſe Articles, or any part thereof, was eſtabliſhed, or decreed, contrary to the Catholick Religion, and the Kings Authority*. *Don John*, confirmed by their judgements, ſent their advice, and the Biſhops letters to the ſame effect, unto his Majeſtie.

The King allows of it.

Who conſenting, and likewiſe the Emperour *Rodolph*, Biſhop of *Liege*, and Duke of *Cleveland* by their Embaſſadours ſwearing to it; a new Pacification, called the perpetuall league was made at *Marcha*, a Citie in the Province of *Luxemburg*.

A new Pacification made in purſuance of the old.

Feb. 17. *Whereto both parts ſubſcribe.*

Wherein, by *Don Johns* Agents, the diſmiſſion of the *Spaniards*, and the whole pacification of *Gant* was confirmed: and by the Deputies of the Eſtates, a caution for conſtancie to Religion and the Kings obedience, which they had formerly ſworn for ever to continue, was again expreſſely inſerted.

Proclaimed.

And now *Don John*, after he had cauſed the pacification to be proclaimed, firſt at *Bruxels*, then at *Antwerp*, and in other Cities, ſet forth from *Luxemburg*, being met upon the way by the *Low-countrey* Lords, with an infinite number of the Gentrie: and at *Lovain* in the beginning of March he was ſaluted, with a generall joy, Governour of the *Low-countreys*.

Don John *acknowledged Governour of the* Low-countreys. *He preſſeth the* Spaniards *to be gone. Who are unwilling to obey.*

There he thought fit to make ſome ſtay, that he might from thence quicken the dull motion of the *Spaniards* departure. For they held it a grievous injury, to be upon a ſudden, at the pleaſure of the *Low countreymen*, diſpoſſeſſed of ſo many Forts and Garriſon towns, as they had in ſo long a time purchaſed with their bloud. Moreover many of them having lived divers years in the *Low-countreys*, being poſſeſſed of land, and having married wives of that Nation, by whom they had children, were brought then by degrees to love the place like Natives.

Their Complaints.

Nor wanted they ſome Mutineirs, that cryed out, *Was that caſhiering a juſt reward for their labours, and ſo much bloud as they had ſpent in Service? muſt their gaping Soars, their loſſe of Limbs, and their crackt Sinews, in ſtead of Reſt and Accommodation, be recompenſed with their Countreymens ingratefull oblivion or neglect, however with the publick hate and execration of the* Dutch? *what would the* French *the* Italians *and other Nations ſay, but that the* Spaniſh *Souldiers could be ſuffered to live no where? Sixteen years ago, the Governeſſe, Margaret of* Auſtria, *had turned them out of the* Low-countreys, *and now this Governour,* Don John *of* Auſtria, *had again expelled them; with ſo much the greater diſhonour, by how much there was then a fairer pretence for the Kings ſending them into* Africa, *to recruit his Armie. But now plainly, by publick Edict, they (who alone in the* Low-countreys *had maintained the Kings Right) were now, forſooth, declared Enemies to the King and the* Low-countreys, *and by a common confederation of the Provinces, expelled; as if Peace and a* Spaniard *could not inhabite there together.* Thus they diſcourſed, though diſcontentedly, not threatningly, yet furie, as the cuſtome is, by meeting others, and communicating

Mar. Delv. l. 2. Turb. Belg.

nicating

nicating their Grievances, increaſed: the nearer the day of their departure came (grief making them ſtill more ſenſible of their condition) the more obſtinate they ſhewed themſelves; eſpecially at *Antwerp*, where their number and late victory had ſo elevated them, as there was little hope they would eaſily deliver up the Fort. But the care of the vigilant Commanders, and Reverence to the Royall bloud, among the loyall Regiments trained in the old Diſcipline, prevailed ſo much, that by degrees the love of Obedience returned, and *Juan Eſcovedo*, a very prudent man, ſent poſt to *Antwerp* by Don *John*, appeaſed the Mutiniers with an appoſite Oration. For after he had read the Kings letters, wherein the *Spaniards* were commanded to depart the *Low-countreys*, beginning with a Commemoration (but without upbraiding) of their Tumults and inſurrections, he told them, *That if they had of late years done any thing ſo licentiouſly, as to offend the King, they might by their preſent obedience, not onely cancell the memory thereof, but alſo highly merit at the Kings hand, from which they could not but exſpect farre more and firmer fortunes, then they ſhould forgo in the* Low-countreys. *Could gallant men find no other place but that to exerciſe their valour in? Kings, that have large Dominions, never want cauſes of warre, nor rewards for ſouldiers. But it was more then needed, to trouble themſelves about other mens opinions touching their departure: it being evident by whom and with what artifice this was brought about. For ſuch as feared them, could not indure their company; and no marvell if their inferiours, that more then once found themſelves overmatched, now feared them. Their neighbours ſaw and ſtrangers heard, how often the* Spaniard *had cowed the rebellious Enemy. They knew the number of Forts, Towns, and victories wonne by the Armie: and that for ten years together in all Land-battels (for at Sea there was a variation of Fortune) the* Spaniards *at all times, excepting that one overthrow of Count* Aremberg, *remained Conquerours. They likewiſe knew, that in the killing of ſuch multitudes, no leſſe then thirty thouſand, as the* Low-countreymen *themſelves confeſſe, ſo few* Spaniards *have been loſt, that upon computation Ten* Spaniards *were able to rout a Thouſand. Truly a miſerable ſlaughter, and to be buryed in ſilence, if it had not been executed for Religion and the King, upon Rebells unto both. But with this very name of Rebell, if, by a bloudy Edict of the Eſtates, the late* Spaniſh *Mutineirs were branded; Don* John *hath abundantly provided againſt that Edict, by framing a new one of his own, and making void the old: thereby favouring their Merits, and obliging their Obedience: ſo as they may with greater honour obey his Commands: and their valour ſhewn upon the enemy will not appear more glorious then their Loyaltie to their Sovereign; and not onely by taking Forts and Cities with their Arms, but likewiſe by laying them down at his Majeſties Command, with equall praiſe in both, they will be ſaid to have aſſerted the* Low-countreys *to the King.* This laſt part of his Speech moved the Souldiers wavering minds (for rather the ſpirit of ſedition then of anger vaniſhed) and He reading an honourable Edict, on their behalf, poſted up in many places, They delivered into the hands of the Eſtates the Forts of *Antwerp*, and of the other Cities, and retired to *Maeſtricht*. Priſoners on either ſide being ſet free. The *Spaniards* releaſing *Count Egmont, Goignius, Caprias*, and ſix others taken in the ſtorming of *Antwerp*. The Eſtates on their part five, firſt the Lord *Billes* Governour of *Frieʒland*, in the Tumults of thoſe Provinces outed from his Government by his own ſouldiers, and by *George Lalin* Lord of *Ville* impriſoned at *Leovard*. Then *Mondragonio's* wife, that when the Caſtle of *Gant* was beſieged, whilſt ſhe manfully diſcharged the place of her abſent husband, was taken priſoner, and by the Eſtates Commanders carried

1577.
They begin to mutiny.

Eſcovedo *labours to pacifie them.*

With a ſpeech that comes home to the men.

They are quieted

Surrendring the Forts And priſoners they had taken.

Gaſpar Robley afterwards created Count of Renneberg. Mar. Delr. l. 1. Turb. Belg-

1577.
With part of their Pay in hand
The ſame Authour l. 2. & Chriſt. Affonvil in his Relation.
They leave the Low-countreys.
Under the command of Count Mansfeldt.

carryed as it were in triumph. After the mutuall releaſe of priſoners, ſome part of their money was begun to be tendered to the *Spaniards*, the Eſtates having agreed with them for 600000 Florens, whereof they were to have 300000 in hand, and as much more by bills of exchange at *Genoa*. But after 100000 was paid down, the Deputies of the Eſtates not producing any more; Don *John*, out of his own moneys, lent the Eſtates (never to be repaid) 200000 Florens, leſt he might be thought to favour their ſtay. So towards the end of April the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Burgundians* left the *Netherlands* under the command of *Peter Erneſt Count Mansfeldt*, choſen on purpoſe to take away the emulation between *Alphonſo Vargas*, *Sancho Avila*, *Juliano Romero*, and *Franciſco Valdez*, which might with more honour obey a Generall of another Nation, then ſerve under one another. The *Low countreymen* appeared not more joyfull to ſee the Armies departure, then the *Spaniards* were diſcontented and angry at the beholders: and the greater their number was (for beſides ſouldiers and ſuch as belonged to the carriages, the wayes were crouded with horſes and wagons loaded with women and children, the whole number amounting to thirty thouſand head of men, and cattle) the more it troubled them to be looked upon, paſſing through Cities like a Show. Albeit ſome among them, penetrating further into the *Low countreymens* deſignes, foreſaw, that the war, now raked up in embers, would ſhortly break forth again into a flame, and then the *Spaniards* would be called to extinguiſh it. In the mean time, they left the *Low-countreys*, without ſo much as obtaining the honour, in their paſſage, to take their leave of Don *John*; which exceedingly grieved them, as if by that ſeveritie their actions were condemned. And marching through *Lorain*, *Burgundy*, and *Savoy*, they deſcended into *Italy*. Where coming into the Province of *Millain* the Governour the Marqueſſe of *Ayamont* quartered them, as he pretended by the Kings Command, along the mountains of *Liguria*, which they call *Langaſcho*, there (the heat of Summer breeding diſeaſes) for want of neceſſaries, and with very grief to think the King ſhould ſo forget their ſervices, a great ſort of the oldeſt ſouldiers dyed.

Their ſenſe of this uſage.
Their Prediction.
Al. Cabrer. in Philip. 2. l. 11. c. 15. Mar. Delr. l. 2. Turb. B.
Their March into Italy.
They are quartered in the mountanous parts of Liguria
Delr. in the ſame Book.

But Don *John*, whilſt the *Spaniards* marched away, riding in the middle between the *Popes Legate*, and the Biſhop of *Leige*, attended by the three eſtates in all their glory, entred *Bruxels*. He himſelf added to the pomp, by the lovelineſſe of his preſence and youth, being not yet thirty two years of age, as likewiſe by the fame of his Land-and-Sea-victories; in a word, by the memory of his Father *Charles* the fifth, honoured by the *Dutch*, as their beloved Countreyman. No ſooner had he ſolemnly taken his oath, and was acknowledged Governour, but he yet more indeared himſelf to that people, by his admired Clemencie, Affabilitie, Graciouſneſſe, and Bountie, beyond example extended even unto his Enemies. Inſomuch as the Subjects enamoured of the ſweetneſſe of his deportment (above what they could imagine, or had ever heard related) praiſed him to the skies; eſpecially becauſe they ſaw themſelves, at laſt, freed by his favour from the burthen of forrein ſouldiers: and with a generall gratulation joyed their Countrey of its antient happineſſe returned with Don *John* of *Auſtria*. Yet many thought it not ſo prudent an action, for Don *John* to truſt his perſon, diſarmed, into the hands of the armed Eſtates, with ſo much confidence in himſelf; being after the diſmiſſing of the *Spaniards* in a weak and unſafe condition, if ſo be the Prince of *Orange* ſhould invade him that had reſerved no one Fort or Garriſon-town in his power, either for refuge, or reſiſtance.

Don Johns *entrance into* Bruxels.
In great pomp, but the moſt glorious ſight was himſelf.
May 1.
His winning wayes.
The Peoples Joy.
And love to him.
The judgement of ſome that diſliked his Conceſſions.

ſiſtance. And it was not long before it appeared, how he was over-reached in this conceſſion, & how much wiſer King *Philip* had been, when he ſuſpected the *Low-countrey men* unanimouſly petitioning for the removall of the *Spaniards*. For, the Prince of *Orange*, who had aſſured himſelf *Don John* would never ſend away the *Spaniſh*, and conſequently never be admitted Governour over the *Low-countreys*; when he heard the *Spaniards* were departed, & Don *John* with a great and generall joy inaugurated at *Bruxels* whither Embaſſadours daily came to him from neighbour-Princes, (the Queen of *England* her ſelf ſending *Edward Horſey* Governour of the Iſle of *Wight)* and that he likewiſe ſaw the Prince and Senate by their Commiſſioners required him, with the Provinces *Holland*, & *Zeland*, which onely were not included in the League, to ſubſcribe the perpetual Edict: the man, that would upon no conditions part with the Dominion he had now got into his hands, anſwered: That the Provinces with him confederated, were in conſcience barred frō conſenting with the reſt to the maintenance of the *Romiſh* faith: and being preſſed by Duke *Areſchot* (for he was ſent to the Prince of *Orange*) to ratifie the common League, he ſaid, he could not do it, for which his reaſon was, the Faith of *Calvine*: preſently putting off his hat and laughing; he ſaid to the Duke, *Do you ſee this bald crown, let me tell you, there is not more Calviſme on my head, then there is Calviniſm in my heart*. Then applying himſelf wholly to his buſineſs, he ſent Letters & Meſſengers to the Senators, the Delegates of the Eſtates, and all his friends, pitying, & withall reviling them. *What did they intend? whither were their courages & judgements fled, that they had admitted Don* John, *not onely not inlarging, but not ſo much as ſwearing to preſerve, their priviledges? Were they ſo much taken with empty forms of Courtſhip, as not to obſerve the Bird-call, that by ſweetneſſe of ſound brings the free creatures of the air into the net? They had now ſufficient experience that new Men came out of* Spain, *not new Manners, for in that Shop they were all caſt in the ſame mould. But above all the reſt, they ſhould beware of this Gentleman, puft up with his Imperiall bloud, & fortune in the wars, which if he now diſſembled, ſtooping to the civility of a private perſon, the more it goes againſt the hair with a haughty and tyrannicall nature, the ſooner would his hypocriſie be laid by, and their ſlavery inhaunſed. No proud man carried ever himſelf like a ſervant to any, over whom he did not hope to be a maſter. Why hath he got a Guard, if he be ſo popular as wholly to confide in the affection of the Subject? Can any one doubt whither all theſe exceſſive bounties and promiſes tend, wherewith that princely Merchant loads men of merit, and no merit? Yet ſome there are, who, notwithſtanding they ſee this general Munificence traffick for the liberty of the* Low-countreys, *think, that fre-men ſell themſelves into bondage at a conſiderable rate. Wherefore let them look into the man, & they will find it impoſſible, that he ſhould love the* Low-countreys, *who betrayed to King* Philip, *the Patron of the* Low-countrey *Lords*, Charles, *Prince of* Spain. The Prince of *Orange* not thus contented, by thoſe he imployed abroad, particularly by *Teronius Vaſcho*, lately come over to his party, made it be privately rumoured, That the *Spaniards* and forrein ſouldiers, whoſe departure had been ſo longed for by the *Low-countreymen*, (let them not deceive themſelves) lay part concealed in the Province of *Luxemburg*; part ſtayed in *Burgundie*, part fought againſt the *Hugonots* in *France*, and from theſe places exſpected Don *Iohns* Orders for their immediate return. And it was held more credible, becauſe of Don *Iohn's* & *Eſcovedo's* Letters, intercepted in *France*, and about that time publiſhed at *Bruxels*, which they ſaid contained complaints to the King againſt the Eſtates, Reaſons for the neceſſity of a war, & an humble ſuit for money to that end. All which aggravated by a large printed Comment of the Prince of *Oranges*, took away ſo much of Don *Johns* Authority and

The Prince of Orange *vexed at Don* Iohns *admiſſion.*

May 24.

Refuſeth together with the Provinces under his government, to ſubſcribe the Edict.

Endeavoureth to turn the Low-countreymens *hearts from Don* Iohn *of* Auſtria.

A Rumour ſpread by the Prince of Oranges *party.*

1573.

Don Iohns *letters intercepted.*

1577. *The Low-countreymens love to him decreaſeth. Their ſuſpitions and averſion increaſeth. Forgetfulneſſe of benefits received converts to Hatred.* Eſpecially Heſe. *The Hereticks blow the fire.* Out of the relation of Chriſt. Aſſonvil. See Guicciard. l.2. of his Hiſt.

eſtimation, that whether his Bountie ebbed or flowed, when their minds were once poſſeſſed with jealouſie, they interpreted all in the worſt ſenſe. Thoſe very men, to whom he had ſhewn extraordinary favour, advancing them to honours and great penſions, on a ſudden alienated from him, not only ſhunned his ſight, as if all his graces had been poured into colanders, hearts with holes in them; but openly railed at, aſperſed, and now endeavoured to prove themſelves diſobliged to him, by their hatred of him. Thus are unſound minds like unſound bodies, the more you *feed* the more you *poyſon* them. Nor did the Hereticks leave their knavery thus, but repreſented his words and actions, as things of meer deſign. Nay, to ſome that wondered at his unexampled condeſcentions, they told it as a ſecret, *That the* Low-countrey-men *had no great reaſon to truſt the Oath ſo willingly taken by his Highneſs, for confirmation of the perpetuall Edict. Becauſe he had ſworn, before he came out of* Spain, *not to conſent unto any thing in the* Low-countreys *prejudicial to the King. By which Oath he had preingaged himſelf, and as his Religion taught him, the later being contrary to the former would not oblige him, as being of no validitie.* *A Doctrine long ſince preached in many Courts, and now practiſed by Princes. So the* Florentines *were deceived by* Charles *the* viii. *of* France; *who having ſworn to deliver* Piſa *to them, when they claimed his promiſe, anſwered, that he had firſt ſworn the contrary to the* Piſons.

The Prince of Orange *deſigns the taking of Don* John *priſoner. His Inſtruments* S. Aldegund. *And* Heſe.

When the Prince of *Orange* found this to work according to his wiſhes, thinking Don *John*, that had parted with his *Spaniards*, and loſt the hearts of the *Low-countreymen*, might eaſily be oppreſſed, he left it to be acted by *Philip Mornixius* de *Saint Aldegund*, whom he ſent to *Bruxels* for that purpoſe; and by *Willam Horn* Lord of *Heſe*: both undertaking, either by force or ſtratagem, to ſeiz upon his Highneſſe, and carry him into *Zeland*. Which attempt, though it was conſonant to the reſt of *Aldegunds* life, a man ignominiouſly wicked, who when he was a boy, was *Calvins* auditour; and now he himſelf being an old man preachedto others: nor leſs agreeable to the manners of the Lord of *Heſe*, eſpecially ſince the removall of Don *John* from *Bruxels*, would be much for his advantage, that was to be Governour of the Town; & who being afterwards condemned to loſe his head, it was thought practiſed the like againſt *Alexander Farneze* Duke of *Parma*.

Whether they attempted his murther it is uncertain.

Yet whether they really plotted it, as *Don John* underſtood from many credible authours, or rather, by the Prince of *Oranges* direction, were contented with the fear reſulting from the report of ſuch a plot, I dare not poſitively affirm. For to breed enmity between *Don John* and the *Low-countrey* Lords (which was the Prince of *Oranges* end) the means would be all one, whether they intended, or onely gave out that he ſhould be taken priſoner: the former being an odious thing, and fit to be revenged by his Majeſtie: the later, a ſubject for jealouſie, not eaſie to be diſcovered, and which perhaps might be thought pretended by Don *John*, ſeeking colour for a warre. And truly this artifice ſucceeded, as the Prince of *Orange* could have wiſhed.

Of Don Johns *flight.*

For Don *John* when he found his authoritie every day leſſening, the generall Odium increaſing, and his life ſought (as he was made believe) by ſtrange contrivances, reſolved to ſtay no longer in *Bruxels*, but, conſidering of ſome place where he might defend himſelf, or offend the enemie, pitched upon the Caſtle of *Namure*, ſtrong both in fortification and ſituation, and very convenient for receiving forrein forces.

He goes to Mechlin, *as if it were onely to compoſe the difference with the* Germans. *June* 5. Margarite Queen of Navarre.

Therefore upon diſcovery of new plots againſt his life, he haſtned to *Machlin*, under pretence of ending the controverſie between the Treaſurers and the *German* Souldiers, about their pay. Yet not thinking himſelf in ſafety there, he took an occaſion of waiting upon the King of *France* his Siſter in her journey to the *Spaw* (if ſhe came for nothing elſe, but to drink the waters) and

with a great train of Gentlemen met her at *Namure*. Where after he had treated her like a Princeſſe, and brought her on the way: the next morning, as if he were going to hunt, he rode upon deſign to the Caſtle of *Namure*, and highly commending the place, which he had never ſeen before, being invited in by the Sonnes to *Count Barlamont*, Governour of the Province, with the Governour of the Caſtle his good liking, entred with his retinue; and preſently ſeizing upon the arms, changed the Garriſon, bidding the Governour fear nothing, becauſe (he ſaid) it was no violent invaſion of another mans proprietie, but onely a juſt recovery of the Kings Right. Then turning to the Companie, he called that Day the firſt of his Government: for till then he had injoyed nothing thereof, but an airy Title. Acquainting them likewiſe with the reaſons of that action, he complained of the many affronts offered to him: and ſhewed them two letters of intelligence, that adviſed him of dangerous conſpiracies; proteſting, he retired to that Caſtle for his own ſecuritie, not with intent to alter any thing in the State, already ſettled. Then writing to the Deputies of the Eſtates, and ſending them (with thoſe letters that diſcovered the plot) *Maximilian Raſsinghem* the conſtant meſſenger between both parties, he explained the cauſe of his departure, to wit, that his future Government might be more ſafe for, and worthy of him. The Deputies of the Eſtates and the Senatours variouſly interpreted the action. Many grieved, that it cut off all hope of accommodation. A great ſort rejoyced, that hereby Don *John* himſelf ſounded the Alarm to warre, in forcing them to take arms againſt a naked Generall; and therefore commended the plot timouſly and well laid by the Prince of *Orange*, to whom they aſcribed the inſinuation that counſelled him to this flight. Yet all, for fear the King might charge them with the revivall of the warre, preſently diſpatched away letters and meſſengers to Don *Iohn*, beſeeching him to ſatisfie his triviall fears and jealouſies; and, if he pleaſed to return to *Bruxels*, promiſing exactly to examine the conſpiracie (if ſuch there was) againſt him. Don *Iohn* denied to go back, till the Lord *Heſe*, that had ſet afoot many practices againſt him impiouſly & ingratefully (for Don *Iohn* had given him an annuall penſion of 6000 Florens) together with the people of *Bruxels*, ſhould lay down arms; till *Aldegund*, and *Teron* (ſent by the Prince of *Orange* to ſurpriſe him) were driven out of *Bruxels*; till the Deputies of the Eſtates, that ſeemed to hold a correſpondence with the Prince of *Orange*, had renounced his friendſhip, and compelled him (all juggling ſet apart) according to the publick agreement, from which he unjuſtly diſſented, to ſubſcribe the Pacification of *Gant*, and the perpetuall Edict. Writing this to the Provinces, and naming not onely divers, which he ſaid had conſpired againſt him: but likewiſe ſome perſons of qualitie and honour, among whom was Duke *Areſchot*, who had given much intelligence of that kind; he made it appear, that his jealouſie was not triviall, nor feigned: and alſo ſufficiently, nor falſely, laid open the Prince of *Oranges* ſubtiltie, who meerly by thoſe diſcords indeavoured to oppreſſe the Catholick Religion, and the Kings Authoritie. But in the mean time upon diſcovery of Don *Iohns* deſign to ſeiz the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, leſt, as he heard, it might be delivered to the Prince of *Oranges* Emiſſaries, or to the Eſtates; *Lodwick Bloſius* Lord of *Treſlong*, Lieutenant-Governour of the fort, being taken priſoner, and the ſouldiers that favoured Don *Iohn*, not without the ſlaughter of ſome of them, beaten out; the Caſtle came into the hands of the Eſtates. Whereby both parties being exaſperated, and many threatning Papers on each ſide publiſhed, whilſt the Eſtates call God and Men to witneſſe their deſire of

1577.
From thence to Namure *under another pretence.*
Ægidius L. of Hierg. Lancellot. C. Megen, Florus Floio, and Clodius Haultepenne.
Poſſeſſes himſelf of the Caſtle. Gives reaſons for it to his attendants.
Writes to the Deputies of the Eſtates.
The ſeverall ſenſes of the Deputies.
Their letters to Don John July and Auguſt. Mart.Del.l.3. Turb. Belg. Aloys.Cabrera in Philip. 2. l.11. c.13. & c. 16.
His anſwer.
Which he writes to the Provinces.
The Fort at Antwerp *attempted by Don* John.
Is poſſeſſed by the Eſtates.
The Eſtates accuſe Don John, *as if his fears were feigned.*

1577. *Don* John *ſhews the plots againſt him to be reall.*

Peace, and that it was Don *Iohn* who pretending fear of conſpiracies ſought to raiſe a warre: Don *Iohn* on the contrary atteſting, that he had demonſtrated his affection to Peace by ſending away the *Spaniards*, disbanding all his other forces, and leaving himſelf no means, men, or munition for a warre. Both parties, in caſe a warre ſhould follow, ſtrove to clear themſelves of being the Cauſes: and, to avoid the Odium, omitted not to ſhew at leaſt a pretended care of an accommodation. Wherein they were induſtriouſly aſſiſted by *Vernerus Gimnich*, and *Levinus Torrentius* Embaſſadours from the Duke of *Iuliers*, and the Biſhop of *Liege*. But Don *Iohn* took the moſt pains to bring about a Treatie, in regard he was unprovided of ſouldiers, and uncertain of his Majeſties reſolution. He therefore ſpun out the time in delayes, till *Eſcovedo*, whom he had ſent into *Spain*, ſhould bring him an anſwer of his letters. A little while before, *Philip Sega* came Nuncio into the *Low-countreys*, ſent thither from his Government of *Piſa* by *Gregory* the thirteenth. For, his Holineſſe hearing the Provinces ſtood upon conditions with Don *Iohn*; which he muſt ſwear to, before they would acknowledge him for their Governour, diſpatched a Nuncio whoſe prudence he relyed upon to be with the Prince in time, leſt he ſhould by a law paſſe any thing prejudiciall to Religion. And likewiſe that, when he ſaw a peace concluded, he might animate Don *Iohn*, according to agreement betwixt his Holineſſe and the King, to the Voyage for *England*. But the Nuncio, finding *Don Iohn* had already ſigned the conditions of the perpetuall Edict, and was notwithſtanding ingaged in Domeſtick troubles, likely after a little time to break forth into a warre, ſo as there could be no exſpectance of a forrein expedition, did all that remained for him to do; confirmed the young Prince not onely with his beſt advice, but, which more advantaged him, with fifty thouſand crowns, a ſumme deſigned by Pope *Gregory* for the warre with *England*, but which by His Command was to be forthwith preſented to his Highneſſe: a ſupply the more wellcome, becauſe ſo ſeaſonable to him then deſtitute both of Men and Money. Nor did the Nuncio fail to viſit the Deputies of the Eſtates, and the Senatours; but paſſed from *Namure* to *Bruxels*, where delivering, as he had in Command, his Holineſſes letters, and fatherly exhortations to the reſuming of their former Concord and Obedience; which letters were received with more magnificence, then dutie, many of their minds being long ſince poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of hereſie, a refractorie and ſullen diſeaſe, that may with leſſe difficultie be kept out, then ſhook off. In the mean time Don *Iohn*, by letters from the King being injoyned, if an accommodation could no way be made, ſtrenuouſly to maintain the Catholick Religion, and the Royall Authority, with aſſurance that he ſhould not want an armie, had notice, that the Prince of *Orange* was ſent for to *Bruxels* by the Eſtates, and created Protectour of *Brabant*, by the old name of *Ruart* of the Province; an Office very like that of *Dictator* among the *Romans*, or *Manbure* among the *Leigeois*. This Officer, the *Brabanters* ſaid they were authorized to elect, by the priviledges of the *Ioyfull Entry*, though as farre as I obſerve in their Annals, beſides *Anthony* ſonne to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie* (when *Ioan* the widow of Duke *Wenceſlaus* governed *Brabant*) choſen *Ruart* by the three Eſtates of that Province; and beſides *Philip* Count de Saint *Paul* (whilſt Duke *Iohn* and his wife *Iaquenette* were at difference) whom the *Brabanters* rebelling againſt the Duke created *Ruart*; that people never made uſe of ſuch a Magiſtrate. And becauſe both thoſe *Ruarts* came at laſt to the power and authority of Dukes, the Prince of *Orange* might by their example hope, that one day, the titles of tempo-

Levinus, a very learned man, afterwards Biſhop of Antwerp.

The Pope ſends a Nuncio to Don John Biſhop of Ripa tranſono afterwards Cardinall. S. B. E. *To what end.*

He furniſheth Don John *with Councel and Money.*

Then, goes to the Deputies of the Eſtates.

In the beginning of Sept. *The Prince of* Orange *created* Ruart. *What this office is, and who they were that executed it.* Mart. Delr. l.4.Turb.Belg. Phil. Aud.

1404. John iv. Duke of Brabant.

1420.

temporary modeſtie laid aſide, the Houſe of *Naſſau* might be Dukes of *Brabant*, and he the firſt. For this preſumption *Don John* failed not bitterly and ſpeedily to reprove the Citie, and the Eſtates, by his Embaſſadour *Gaſpar Schetz*, Lord of *Grobendonch*. Likewiſe, a while after receiving other Letters poſt from the King, by the hand of *Philip Sega* (ſent at that time *Nuncio* out of the *Low-countreys* into *Spain*, in the place of *Ormanetto*) wherein the King commanded the Deputies of the Eſtates to lay down Arms, not to admit the Prince of *Orange*, and to obey the perpetuall Edict: *Don John* ſending them a copy of the Letter, ſeriouſly wiſhed them maturely to adviſe upon it, whilſt they had time; and not to provoke their Prince his juſt diſpleaſure, to the ruine of their Countrey, and themſelves. But, when inſtead of Anſwer, they would return nothing (being wholly governed by the Prince of *Orange*) but complaints and threatnings; *Don John* applyed himſelf to thoughts of violence and Warre, as ſome conceived, not unwillingly. For having loſt all hope of quieting theſe Provinces by indulgence, and liberality, (an Honour forfeited by the former Governours of the *Low-countreys*, which he laboured to recover) when he found that his clemency prevailed not, but the Magiſtrates authority waxed, his waned, and was rather a kind of entreaty, then command: his life expoſed to the daily injuries and plots of wicked men; He not able to ſuffer their affronts, having been accuſtomed to command great Armies; and finding his hands tied both at home and abroad, weary of ſuch a life, was glad to lay hold of that occaſion, and rather choſe an open Warre, then a miſerable and unſafe Peace.

1577.

Grobendonch *the Kings Treaſurer.*

Octob. 4.

What the King requires of the Eſtates.

What Don John *adds.*

They obey not.

And he not unwillingly, hath recourſe to arms chiefly for theſe reaſons.

Indeed it was an Argument of a mind highly offended and incenſed, that a Man of ſuch experience in the Warrs, would enter into hoſtilitie, at a time, when he was in ſtrength ſo much inferiour: For of all the ſeventeen Provinces, onely two, *Luxemburg* and *Namure*, continued faithfull to him. The Nobility, Clergie, and Magiſtrates, a few excepted, were all confederated with the Eſtates. Not that they renounced their Religion, or Loyaltie, (though there was then a world of ſuch Apoſtates) but ſome to ingratiate themſelves with the People, (greedie of Libertie, and ſtill maligning their Governours) part bought with promiſes by the Prince of *Orange*, and being kinſmen to him: many thinking *Don John* quite diſarmed, and running away, followed the partie of the Eſtates, as ſafer. A great ſort held their cauſe to be likewiſe honeſter, conceiving all *Don John* of *Auſtra's* jealouſies and fears, to be onely pretences for the juſtice of a Warre. Therefore, by Letters to the King, they accuſed him for endeavouring to ingage the *Low-countreys*, upon vain ſuſpicions. It ſeems, we muſt not beleive Treaſon to be plotted againſt any Prince, that is not ſlain. Nor could he then raiſe an Army able to conteſt with theirs: For on the one ſide, thoſe few *Germans* he had retained in the *Low-countreys*; ſome Companies of *Spaniſh* now called out of *France*, where they fought for the Crown; and divers *Wallons* and *Burgundians*, hardly amounting to the number of four thouſand. When on the other ſide, they had at that preſent no leſſe then fifteen thouſand, which (as it was propoſed in their Councel of Warre, and to which end they marched from *Gemblours*) if they had preſently advanced to *Namure*, no doubt they had beat *Don John*, weaker in Men and Munition, out of the Town and Fort. But as in conſultation where many heads are laid together, whilſt they in the field diſputed away their time, they gave *Don John* opportunity to ſtrengthen himſelf with new ſuccours: For the *Ruart*, the Prince of *Orange*, after that Dignitie was conferred upon him, would do nothing

The ſtate of affairs on both parts.

Onely two Provinces declare for Don John.

The Nobility and Clergy for the Eſtates.

Their reaſons.

Don John's *forces.*

The Eſtates Army.

Theſe were more in number and had carryed it.

If they had been unanimous.

The Prince of Orange *governs all.*

1577.

In the end of Auguſt.
The Fort at Antwerp *demoliſhed by his advice.*
M.Delr.lib.4. Turb. Belg.
with great rejoycing of the people.
Eſpecially when they ſaw the Duke of Alva's *ſtatue.*

nothing before *Brabant* was ſettled, that their neighbours might be ſecure in *Holland*. He therefore inſtituted at *Bruxels*, and in the Towns adjacent, Magiſtrates according to the *Hollanders* new model. By his advice the Fort at *Antwerp* was diſmantled, as to that part which commanded the Town, with ſo great a rejoycing of the People, and ſuch a crowd of voluntary Labourers, that women of the beſt quality could not be kept within doors, but they would come in the night to ſee the men at work; till for abominable things committed in their drinking and dancing, the night-work was prohibited by Edict. But their Joy was never at the heighth, till they came to the triumphall Braſſe-ſtatue of the Duke of *Alva*, laid out of the way in a private corner of the Fort. They tumbled it into the Court, hackt it with their ſwords, hewed it aſunder with axes; and, as if they had at every blow drawn bloud, and put the braſſe to pain, pleaſed themſelves with an imaginary Execution. Some carried home fragments of the broken Baſis, and hung them up in their Halls, as if they were the enemies ſpoyls, and would ſignifie to Poſteritie a kind of revenge taken upon the Duke. The metall, as before it was melted out of Cannon into *Alva's* ſtatue; ſo afterwards the Statue was again caſt into Cannon, and reſtored to its own nature. Onely one thing diſpleaſed many, as if *Alva*, being wholly compoſed of terrour, and therefore ſufficiently formidable to that very day, were now turned into theſe great Gunns, that he might though abſent, for ever terrifie the *Low-countreys*. The City of *Gant*, with no leſſe alacrity, forthwith followed the example of *Antwerp*; ſo did *Utrecht*, *Liſle*, *Valenciens*, and other Towns, which ſlighting their Forts, as if they had ſhaken off the yoke of ſervitude, kept the Feſtivall of their new recovered Libertie. Theſe actions, becauſe they tended to a Rebellion of the People, and (which more troubled ſome) to the too high advancement of the Prince of *Orange* his power, divers of the Lords yet loyall to the King, eſpecially Duke *Areſchott*, by reaſon of the old differences between him and the Prince of *Orange*, ſpake of chooſing a new Governour of the *Low-countreys*, pretending it would ſtrengthen the Eſtates by acceſſion of greater forces; but *meaning*, when the *Ruart* was out of Commiſſion, whom the Nobility with much unwillingneſs obeyed, to balance the Authority of their new Prince. And when ſome named the Queen of *England*, ſome *Francis Hercules* Duke of *Alençon*, Brother to the King of *France*; others *Matthias*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, the Emperour *Rodolph's* brother; the Catholicks excepted againſt Her, as an heretick, and one that would govern them by a Lieutenant. The Duke of *Alençon*, by reaſon of the conſtant enmity between the *Low-countrey men* and the *French*, was not by many ſo much deſired, as the Archduke, who being of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, would not ſo much offend King *Philip:* unleſſe ſome pitched upon the Archduke, onely to engage the Houſe of *Auſtria* in a Warr among themſelves: Embaſſadours to this purpoſe being ſent to *Vienna*, eaſily perſwaded the young Archduke to what he longed for; and ſtealing him away by night, with a few in his train, brought him ſooner then could be imagined into *Brabant*, without the privity of the Emperour *Rodolph*; who, as ſoon as he knew it, ſent poſt after him to ſtop his flight; and afterwards wrote Letters to diſſwade him, but in vain, from his deſigne. I have likewiſe heard, from good hands, that the Emperour was very angry with his brother *Maximilian*, becauſe he had not in time acquainted him of this Plot, imparted unto him by the Archduke; though *Maximilian* excuſed himſelf; becauſe his Brother made him take an Oath, that he ſhould not reveal the Secret that night diſcovered to him, unto any man living, till the

Which was melted, and caſt again into Cannon.

Other Forts diſmantled.

The Lords offended at the Prince of Oranges *power.*

Mention the choice of a new Governour.

Three propoſed.

The Arch-duke Matthias *preferred.*

And brought from Germany *into the* Low-countreys.

Octob. 3.
Whereat the Emperour Rodolph *is diſpleaſed.*
And chides his brother Maximilian *who knew of the deſigne.*

the next day at evening. But for all this, the Emperour eſcaped not the cenſure of ſome, that made a farre other conſtruction of the Arch-duke's flight. Truly, at that very time, many men ſuſpected the ſending of this youth to govern the *Netherlands*, to be deſigned, that by occaſion of this patronage, the *Low-countreys* might come at laſt to be the Patrimony of the *Germane* Houſe of *Auſtria*; a point which *Bartholomeo Comes Portia*, the Popes Legate to the Emperour, grounding his diſcourſe upon this ſuſpicion, argued with ſome *Germane* Lords. And *Don John* himſelf ſeemed to doubt the Emperours intention. For writing to *Alexander Farneze* Prince of *Parma*, among other paſſages, he ſayes, *Yeſterday one brought me Letters from the Emperour, wherein he tells me of his brothers departure, as he ſuſpects, for the* Low-countreys, *without either his Privitie or Allowance. Indeed it is a thing that troubles me not a little. For though I am not ignorant, that it was laſt year attempted by the Eſtates, yet I could never perſwade my ſelf, that either the Arch-duke would undertake it, or that his Mother the Empreſſe, and the Emperour his Brother, would give their aſſents. Howbeit, I wonder not ſo much at the Empreſſe-Dowager, who I believe knew nothing at all of the Deſigne; but am rather grieved on her behalf, and fear that her ſonne's levity will much afflict her. What I ſhould think of the Emperour, I cannot yet reſolve; becauſe when he knew there was ſuch a buſineſſe in agitation, He was ſo far from preventing it, that he never ſo much as (like a kinſman) ſent word of it to the King. For mine own part, as ſoon as ever I hear the Arch-duke ſets his foot in the* Low-countreys, *I will ſeriouſly deſire him, as I think it concerns both our intereſts, not to joyn nor engage with the Eſtates. If he refuſe, I ſhall juſtly repute him for an Enemie*, But the Arch-duke was now come into the *Netherlands*, though not yet declared their Governour. For the Eſtates and the Prince of *Orange*, being not ſufficiently conſulted in the buſineſſe, purpoſely delayed it, very buſie about preparing conditions to be offered unto the Arch-duke; and finally propoſing no fewer then thirty one, whereby they tied his hands: and onely allowing him the honour of precedencie, laid the foundation of ſuch a popular Goverment, as the *Low-countrey men* had of old, when dividing the adminiſtration with their King, they did govern, and were governed. To theſe conditions when both Catholicks and Hereticks, being joyned in a new League, had bound themſelves by Oath; the Arch-duke *Matthias* firſt at *Antwerp*, afterwards at *Bruxels*, with great publick joy, Shows, and Revels, was ſaluted Governour of the *Low-countreys*. And the Prince of *Orange* his party prevailed ſo farre, that he was added to the Arch-duke, not yet one and twenty years of age, and a ſtranger to the *Low-countrey* affairs, that under the name of his Lieutenant, he might be indeed his Governour.

> 1577. *Many think the Emperour diſſembles.*
>
> Gregory the xiii. his Legate.
>
> *Don* John *of* Auſtria's *Letters upon that ſubject.* *Octob.* 25.
>
> *The Arch-duke* Matthias *enters the* Low-countreys, *and accepting many conditions,*
>
> Cæſar. lib. 5. Bell. Gall.
>
> *Decem.* 17. *Is made Governour of the* Low-countreys.
>
> *And the Prince of* Orange *his Lieutenant Governour.*

The firſt Act of the new Government, was to purge the Houſe of Lords, and diſcharge all thoſe Senatours that were held ill affected to the Eſtates, chooſing new ones in their places, which immediately pronounced all *Don John* of *Auſtra's* adherents enemies to their Countrey. Soon after the ſame ſentence paſſed againſt *Don John* himſelf, unleſſe he departed the *Low countreys*. Laſtly, by the ſame Senate, and the Deputies of the Eſtates, an Oath was framed, wherein both the Clergie and Laity ſhould ſwear, *to obey the Arch-duke* Matthias, *ſupream Governour of the* Low-countreys, *and to defend him with their Lives and Fortunes; till another were created by the King, and the Eſtates; but to oppoſe Don* John *of* Auſtria, *as an enemie*. This Law being paſſed, and in ſome places in a manner forced, entrapped many of the Nobilitie, and ruin'd ſome. At *Antwerp* they began with the Fathers of the Societie, becauſe their authoritie being great in the citie, it was thought, if they ac-

> 1578. *A new Senate declares* Don John's *party, and himſelf, enemies to the State.*
>
> *Holding forth this Oath.*
>
> *It is tendred to the* Jeſuites.

acknowledged the Arch-duke, others might be invited by their example;or if they did not, frighted by their puniſhment. The Hereticks exceedingly preſſed it, not doubting but the Fathers (whoſe conſtancie they had alwayes hated, but now wiſhed) upon ſuch an occaſion, which they commonly turned to their honour, would in the mean time be baniſhed the *Low-countreys*, *William Heſe* undertook it, and meeting Father *Baldwin ab Angelo*, Provinciall of the *Jeſuites* in the *Low-countreys*, adviſed him to take the Oath in the name of the Societie. He who knew that Oath was formed by Hereticks againſt the Catholick party, excuſing himſelf by the rule of his Order,that forbids them to intermeddle with ſecular affairs,reſolutely denied, nor could by any prayers or threats be brought to ſwear. Whereupon when the Fathers, for ſome few dayes having been incommodated, and abuſed by the Hereticks; at length upon the very day of *Pentecoſt*, their Houſe and Church was beſieged by armed Hereticks, the doors forced open, all, as well ſacred as profane things, plundred, and the Fathers violently thruſt out of poſſeſſion, and ſent aboard the *Hollanders*, with great ſcorn of the wild multitude, to be landed in ſome other Countrey. There happened at this time a paſſage worthy to be recorded. The Fathers were turned out of doors, and Piſtols ſet to their breaſts till they were ſearched, leſt they ſhould carrie any thing away, when one of them, *John Boccace* (for it is fit poſteritie ſhould know the name of a man ſo ſtout and pious) wanne the admiration both of the Catholicks and Hereticks. For calling to mind that upon the High Altar, the holy Euchariſt was left in a ſilver veſſel, he preſently ſlipt away from the ſouldiers, and entring the Church full of Hereticall Furioſo's,with a conſtant gate and countenance, approached the altar, and upon his knee adoring Chriſt reverently, drew out of the Tabernacle the Pix, but finding it full of little hoſtes, when he ſaw his dry and gaſping mouth was not able to ſwallow ſo many on the ſudden, the man both of a preſent wit and faith, held up the Chalice, and carried it to his brethren, through the midſt of thoſe ſacrilegious ſouldiers,none preſuming to attempt any thing againſt him. The hereticks being aſtoniſhed at the miracle of his confidence, or rather God approving his pietie, and the hope he had conceived of his Divine aſſiſtance. For, if in the commemoration of the not much different Act of *Caius Fabius*, that whileſt the *Gauls* beſieged the *Capitol*, went through the enemies camp to the *Quirine* hil, and returned the ſame way, bearing things they accounted ſacred in his hands; if (I ſay) the *Romane* Hiſtorian could affirm, that *Fabius* hoped the gods would be propitious to him, from whoſe worſhip not the fear of death could deterre him: Why may not I a little more prudently argue, That he I ſpeak of, hoped he ſhould be protected in that ſervice by the ſame aſſiſtance, wherewith *Chriſt* himſelf, that afforded his preſence to the *Jews* and when he was pleaſed was inobſervable, mocked the eyes,or at leaſt the hands of ſuch like enemies: and moreover, That it came to paſſe by Gods favour,remunerating his rare confidence, that a ſingle man, among three hundred ſouldiers, (for they were no fewer that, with their ſwords drawn, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Quire and Body of the Church) ſhould preſerve the Euchariſt from the abuſes of the Hereticks, and the plate from the rapacitie of the ſouldiers. I ſhall adde another accident, which it concerns Religion to inſert. When the Fathers were expelled the Citie, among others that came to ſee their empty building, partly out of curioſitie, as it often happens, to view other mens houſes, eſpecially the *Jeſuites:* partly (for moſt of them were hereticks) to feed their eyes with the joy of their enemies miſfortunes; there

They refuſe to take it.

And are beſet with armed Hereticks.

Their Houſe plundered.

Themſelves turned out of doors.

A remarkable act of one of the Socitie. Annals of the Society. *Ann.* 1578.

T. Livii l. 5. *The like done by one of the ancient Romanes.*

Tillemannus Bredenbach, l.7.c.62. colla ſacra.

A wonderfull accident at the Jeſuites *Colledge.*

there was a buffoonly *Calviniſt*, who thought himſelf a Wit, that to make the people ſport, entring the Houſe put forth, at a window over the door, a wiſp of ſtraw, upon the end of a white Rod, as if he would, according to the cuſtome of the Countrey, give notice to the Town that the houſe was viſited with the plague. The ſight moved ſome paſſengers to admiration, others to laughter (of which the *Calviniſticall Apelles*, ſtanding behind his *Venus*, had his belly full) and one of them rapping at the gate, he within cryed to him, *What with a miſchief would you have? Do you not ſee the Enſigne of Death, the Rodde and Wiſp before the door? All that dwe't here are dead of the plague.* Behold a wonderfull judgement of God the ſame day, when no part of the town was infected with the peſtilence, the impious jeerers own houſe was viſited, and he himſelf was compelled to weep at home, what he had laughed at in the manſion of others. The like to this uſage befell the fathers of the ſocietie at *Tournay*, *Bruges*, and *Maeſtricht*; they being for the ſame cauſes baniſhed from thoſe Cities, having for the companions of their exile in ſome places the *Franciſcan* Fathers, in others honeſt Prieſts, and ſuch as had the cure of ſouls. By whoſe departure, ſo much as the Catholick cauſe ſuffered, ſo much hereſie immediately prevailed: and it was apparent how great a benefit their preſence was to the publick, which in their abſence ſo ſoon ſuffered: the *Calviniſts*, not long after, preſuming to petition the Archduke and the Eſtates to eſtabliſh libertie of Conſcience in the *Low countreys*. And though at firſt they received a deniall, yet the Prince of *Orange* ſoliciting their buſineſſe; they drew up new and bolder petitions for the ſame libertie, and at the very ſame time were ſo bold as to exerciſe it, poſſeſſing themſelves of ſome Catholick Churches. Inſomuch as the Eſtates, for fear of inſurrections likely to grow about it, eſpecially their care being wholly fixed upon the buſineſſe of the warre, were forced to grant the free exerciſe of Religion, in many cities of *Brabant*, *Gelderland*, and *Flanders*, the Archduke and the Catholicks in vain proteſting againſt it.

They are expelled in other Places. *So are the* Franciſcans, *and divers Prieſts.* *To the great detriment of the Chatholick Cauſe.* In Iune.

Churches ſeized by the Hereticks.

And liberty of Conſcience extorted In Iuly.

But Don *Iohn* of *Auſtria*, about the end of the Year, was much ſtrengthened by the coming of *Alexander Farneze*, Prince of *Parma*, with his old ſouldiers out of *Italy*. The *Spaniſh* army was commanded by King *Philip* from the borders of *Genoa* (whither as I told you Don *Iohn* ſent them ſeven moneths before) to march directly back to the *Low-countreys*, to the great contentment of their Colonels and Commanders, that conceived themſelves, by that revocation, abſolutely reſtored to the Kings Grace, and their own honour. Yet their joy was abated by the death of their firſt Colonell whom they loved exceedingly, *Iuliano Romero*, who buſie in providing for the departure of his ſouldiers at *Cremona*, died ſuddenly of a fall with his horſe. Theſe forces, and others raiſed in *Italy* (for there had been a great mortalitie among the *Spaniards*) according to the Kings Orders went, part before, part after the Prince of *Parma*. It was thought moſt expedient for their ſpeedie march, and for the good of thoſe Provinces through which they paſſed, that this armie conſiſting of ſix thouſand, ſhould rather go by troops and companies, then in a bodie. But the Prince of *Parma* himſelf, with a ſmall train, having appointed *Fabio Farneze* to follow with the reſt of his houſhold, by long journeys came to *Luxemburg*, in *December*. Before you have the reaſon of his coming, I hold it worth my pains to give you what I know of *Alexander* Prince of *Parma*, beginning ſo much higher then I uſe to do in the deſcription of other Generals, by how much he will be oftner in the Readers eye, filling up a great part of our future Annals. Nor

Alexander Farneze *brings the* Spaniſh *Army back from* Italy.

The death of Iuliano Romero.

18 day.

Fff will

will it be unpleaſing to know *Alexander Farneze* before his *Low-countrey* expedition; and to compare him in his former life, to Himſelf in the Government of the *Low-countreys:* like Members of a great Bodie, every where great.

Of Alexander Farneze *before his comming into the* Low-countreys. *His father* Octavio *ſoon after Duke of* Parma. Octavio's *abilities, and Art of Government. his wiſe Popularity.* Suetonius in his Life.

Alexander Farneze was ſonne to *Octavio Farneze* Duke of *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, a Man, without all queſtion, to be numbred among the examples of men beſt verſed in the arts of Government. For he had a wit naturally dexterous in the managing of Peace and Warre; having been inſtructed in the ſchool of his Great-Grandfather *Paul* the third, and his Father in law *Charles* the fifth, and perfecting that diſcipline in the ſchool of various fortune. Affabilitie and Bountie were eminent in him, being no leſſe his naturall, then artificiall endowments, accommodated to his new and unſettled Soveraignty. Now, I certainly know, that he made uſe even of his Courtſhip and Revels, to which he ſeemed ſomewhat intemperately addicted, to diſcover, by the example of *Auguſtus Ceſar*, the ſecrets of private families. In hearing the cauſes of ordinary people, in common ſalutations, through the whole courſe of his life, no Prince in the world more gratious. Outward complements and emulous flatteries of men, that ſtrive which ſhould lie loudeſt, like parts in a Comedie well acted, he looked upon and laughed. For he regarded the ſubſtance, paſſing by the ceremonie. His equitie; and indulgence of popular ſports, when often as a private man he would make one; but above all his liberalitie, which met the very wiſhes of ſuch as addreſſed themſelves unto him, juſtly won him the repute of one of the moſt popular and munificent Princes of that Age. Nor was he leſſe famous as a ſouldier, learning the elements of warre in his youth, almoſt in his childhood, under the Emperour *Charles* the fifth: and firſt commanding in his ſervice eleven thouſand men, which he brought out of *Italy*; ſent by *Paul* the third, as well for the cauſe of Religion, as of his Affinitie to the Emperour: and not a little conducing to that victorie; wherein all *Germany* between the Rivers of *Donau*, the *Elbe*, and the *Rhine*, were conquered by his Imperiall Majeſtie. Inſomuch as *Ceſar* himſelf having viewed the army, ſaid, that nobler levies of *Italian* horſe and foot never came beyond the *Alpes*, and attributed much of that days glory to their valour, honouring his Son *Octavio* with great teſtimonies of his affection, and particularly with the order of the *Golden Fleece*, with like valour, in the following *Italian* Warrs, *Octavio* defended *Parma*, beſieged a whole year, againſt the Pontifician and Imperiall Armies, enlarging the proportion aſſigned to *Philip* King of *Spain* at the reſtitution of *Piacenza*, by divers encounters with the *French* Generalls. Then laying down Armes, which unleſs provoked, he never took up againſt any, he ſpent the reſt of his live, according to his Genius, that was ſweet and civill, in ſettleing and enjoying his Government.

His bounty.

His actings as a Souldier. 1541

In Germany. 1541. Out of the letters of the Biſhop of Poggio, Legat Apoſtolical to the Emperour, directed to Alex. Cardinal Farneze. *And* Italy. 1557.

The birth of Alexander Farneze.

Prince *Alexander* Son to this Father (for of his Mother *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, I have already ſpoken not a little, and ſhall more in its due place) was born at *Rome*, that very year wherein Pope *Paul* the third his paternall Great Grand-Father beginning the Councell of *Trent*, and his maternall Grand-Father the Emperour *Charles* the fifth raiſing an army in *Germany*, aſſerted the *Chriſtian* Commonweale againſt the *Lutheran* Hereſie; he with ſacred Laws, this with triumphant Armes; no vain preſages unto this child then unborn, and Incitements to him in his riper years, with hereditory virtue to vanquiſh the ſame Monſter, as an ancient enemy. Add to this, the prediction of Pope *Paul*, who gratulating *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, for the birth of *Alexander* and his twin-

Paul *the* III. *his prediction.*



Alexander Farneze Prince of Parma
& Piacenza Governour of ye Lowcountreys.

twin-Brother, laying his hand upon *Alexanders* head, is reported to have ſayed, That, *if his minde could foretell any truths, that child would in time be a great Generall.* I conceive from his name he divined, the Boy would be a ſecond *Alexander*, for all other kinds of divination I hold ridiculous. The joy of that houſe was likewiſe increaſed about this time, *Octavio* being created Duke of *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, as if a new Dominion were prepared to grow up with the Boy. But nothing ſo much demonſtrated *Margaret* of *Auſtria's* felicity, as the having two Sons at a birth, which filled *Rome* with infinite joy, playes, and all kindes of paſtimes and preſentments ſet forth by the *Roman* Nobility, that erected a marble Monument to ſignifie unto after Ages that fortune, ſo rarely befalling a Princely family. In the mean time, *Octavio*, not boaſting of that happineſs, like *Tiberius Ceſar*, who (they ſay) gloried in the Senate houſe, that no *Roman* of his quality till then, ever had the Honour to have *Twin-Sons*. But imitating his Father in Law, *Charles* the fifth, that when he heard his Empreſs was delivered of a Boy, went forthwith to the Monaſtery of Saint *Paul*, though it poured down rain, a foot, and gave thanks to God, as his firſt Joy-Offering: ſo he, when it was told him, his wife *Margaret* of *Auſtria* was brought a bed, would admit no viſits of the Lords that came to joy him, nor partake of the publick Iubile, till leaving his own houſe, and going directly to the ſacred figure of Chriſt hanging on the croſs, kept by the Brotherhood ſo named, with great veneration of the *Romans*, in the Church of Saint *Marcellus*, and falling proſtrate (for he worſhipped the croſs with ſingular devotion) gave thanks with all his ſoul, to the divine Benificence and embracing that tree of life, under it's ſhade depoſited the health and fortune of his children; worthy for this zeal afterwards to ſee a Son of his diſplaying this triumphall Enſign of the croſs in the *Low-countreys*, and in this Sign conquering. Three months after at the font (for the Chriſtning was a while deferred, that the ſhows and ſolemnities of joy might be reiterated,) *Giovanni Dominico*, Cardinall de *Cuppis*, Prince of the ſacred Senate, baptized them, the elder *Alexander*, the younger *Charles*; this by the Emperours name, that by the name of *Paul* before he was elected Pope. But *Charles* dying ſoon after, all their care was fixed upon the Education of *Alexander*. He ſpent the time of his infancy in the boſome and embraces of his Mother, *Margaret* of *Auſtria*; his child-hood under the beſt Tutours that Age afforded, yet with little benefit, at leaſt not anſwerable to the induſtry of the Maſters, and aptneſs of the Scholler: For he, of a reſtleſs and fiery nature, hated the fetters of Study; and in the field a hunting, in riding the great horſe, and practiſing his weapon, more delighted to exerciſe his body, then his mind. That which cheriſhed, or rather made this impreſſion in the Childs mind, was the armes and warlike preparations in his Fathers houſe, which he fancied as his firſt fine object: by which, much ſooner then by the Starrs that raign at our nativities, mens manners commonly are moulded. For his Father, haſtning to go beyond the *Alps*, with forces to the Emperour, all the houſe clattering with Armour at his birth, ſo intertained the infant, that indeed he heard the ſound of the trumpet, before the ſinging of his nurſe, and had the drum for a Rattle: the firſt light that ſaluted his eye, being the glittering of Armes. Nay, the year following, the Trophies brought out of *Germany* by his Father, ſet the child a longing. A little while after emulous Armies fighting before *Parma*, where at ſix years old the boy was beſieged, and bred up in the noiſe and thunder of the cannon, with war upon

The joy at Rome *for* Octavio's *male-twines.*

In the Portico of S. Euſtar.

His Moderation greater then Tiberius Ceſar. Tacitus l. 2. Annals.

Philip the 2. King of Spain. *His Piety.*

Crucependent

Prince Alexanders *Chriſtning.*

Education.

Proſpenſation to Armes.

On what occaſion he came firſt to fancy, and by degrees to be deeply in love with the Warrs.

He is ſent, very young, into the Low-countreys *to King* Philip.
1557.

on war ingaging his Father; the younger he was, the deeper were military figures ſtamped in his imagination, and formed in him a martiall ſoul. Before he had paſt his childhood, he was by his Mother ſent into the *Low-countreys* to Duke *Octavio*, that he might deliver him to King *Philip*, as a teſtimonie of renuing his ſervice to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and likewiſe that by ſuch a Pledge as their onely ſon, they might win the affection of his Uncle, & yet (which they moſt deſired) the Caſtle of *Piacenza* reſtored, the City being already in their hands. And King *Philip*, whatſoever their intention was, willingly received the child, delighted with the image of his beloved Siſter; but eſpecially, becauſe he took him as an Hoſtage of the *Farnezes* friendſhip. He was a year and an half with the King in the *Low-countreys*, much pleaſed with the ſight of military exerciſes. And, they ſay, when the King carried him to the Army at Saint *Quintin*, that very day the Town was ſtormed and taken, he very paſſionately begged of his Majeſtie, that he might be armed, and ſent to the aſſault: but when he was put off, between admiration and laughter, being but eleven years old, he cryed extreamly, and they had much ado to ſtay him in the Camp. Going from thence with his Majeſtie into *Spain*, he lived there almoſt eight yeares, educated with *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, and *Don John* of *Auſtria*: ſome part of the time at *Alcala* (to which Univerſity the Prince was ſent) the reſt in the Court at *Madrid*; where he was in his Uncles eye, and pleaſed him ſo well, that he eſteemed and loved him as his own ſonne. The Kings affection to him was encreaſed, by comparing him with Prince *Charles*, whoſe looſe and crabbed manners differed much from his fathers gravity. Nor did this favour (which is rare at Court) expoſe him to the hatred of the Grandees; being either above it, as Nephew to *Charles* the fifth, or obliging them with handſome and noble Ceremonies, continuall good offices and bounties wherein he exceeded, and thereby ſomewhat prejudiced his Houſe. But in the uſe of arms, eſpecially in all preſentments on horsback (often ſet forth by the military emulation of Prince *Charles*, and *Don John*) his carriage was ſo princely and adviſed, though he ſometime undauntedly oppoſed his unarmed bodie againſt eminent danger, that being in thoſe counterfeited fights applauded by the beholders, to ſee him was both their delight and fear. In the twentieth year of his age, the King reſolved to marry him to Princeſs *Mary*, daughter to *Edward* Prince of *Portugall*, neice to King *Emmanuel*, the miracle of that time for rareneſſe of wit, and ſanctitie of life. And to do honour to his Siſter, then Governeſs of the *Low-countreys*, he ſent thither her ſonne *Alexander*, the Bride following from *Portugall* in the Royal fleet. His Father Duke *Octavio* came likewiſe in great State from *Italy* to the Marriage, celebrated at *Bruxels*, with the above-mentioned gratulation of the Provinces. From hence he went to *Parma*, where after he had had many children by his wife, three of which, *Margaret* Princeſſe of *Mantua* (afterwards tranſlated to happier Nuptialls with the celeſtiall Bridegroom) Duke *Ranucio*, and Cardinal *Odoardo*, ſurvived their parents: when he ſaw his Houſe eſtabliſhed in his iſſue, and himſelf freed from Publick cares (his Father *Octavio*, ſtill in the vigour of youth and ſpirit, eaſily governing alone) he longed to be abroad in the field, and began to conſider where a war was likelieſt to riſe. In the mean time, by hunting of wild beaſts in the woods, running at Tilt in the Citie, and thoſe paſtimes which are the near reſemblances of war, he at once *fed* and *deceived* his longing. Yet, being naturally fierce, now and then he did things that would better have become a *Gladiatour*, then a Prince. For, privily armed, in the night he uſed to walk the ſtreets

His ſtrange ſuit to the King.

King Philip *carryes him into* Spain.

His Majeſties affection to him.

How much he was honoured by others, and why.

His Marriage.

1565.
His iſſue.
1578.
Her marriage being diſſolved, ſhe profeſſed herſelf a Nun.

ſtreets diſguiſed; not like that *Ceſar* who went likewiſe in diſguiſe by night, but with a guard of Fencers, who if the Emperour began a quarrel not dangerous, ſuffered it; but if he was put to it by thoſe he had abuſed, cut them to pieces. But Prince *Alexander*, commonly alone, or but with one companion, would bid nigh-walkers ſtand, and fight with them, to try both theirs and his own courage. And as confidence increaſes by ſucceſſe, it carried him ſo farre, that if he heard any one commended for a ſword-man, he could not reſt till he had met him by dark, and compared his ſtrength and skill at his weapon with the other. They ſay that once meeting *Comes Taurello*, a noble and ſtout Gentleman in the night, inſtantly in that very place (where he had often wiſhed the incounter) he challenged and fought with him; but *Taurello*, by a torch that accidentally paſſed by, perceiving his oppoſite to be Prince *Alexander*, throwing down his Arms craved pardon, if ignorant and provoked, he had wronged his ſword, by lifting it up againſt his Prince. This being newſed about the Town, many afterwards ſhunned the occaſion of meeting with the Prince, leſt they ſhould, if worſted, looſe their reputation: or the Princes favour, if they got the better.

1578. *His Digladiations in the night-time.* Tacit.l.13. Annal. *much more gallant then Nero's were.* *Expoſed to hazard.*

But in the interim, a nobler cauſe of war was offered him, a generall peace being concluded among *Chriſtian* Princes, againſt the common enemie. Divers conſiderations incited him to that voyage; the ground of the Warre, the confluence of noble perſons that ingaged; and above all the Generall, *Don John* of *Auſtria*, equally near to him in love and bloud. Nor was his Father unwilling to let him go, in hope that his ſons military inclination, would produce great effects: howſoever, that his fierceneſſe would be tamed. But his Mother, that was powerfull with her husband, being againſt it, the Duke ſaid, nothing could be done till they knew the pleaſure of the King his Uncle. In the mean time *Margaret* of *Auſtria* received Letters (as ſhe had ordered it) from the King, wherein he wiſhed Prince *Alexander* ſhould not go, as yet. But he, beyond meaſure inflamed with *Don Johns* invitation, at laſt prevailing with his Mother, and the King, furniſhed himſelf for the Warrs, as young ſouldiers ever do, magnificently. Fourty two Gentlemen of *Parma* and *Piacenza* followed him; and he had three hundred that were a kind of *Pretorians*, for his Life-guard, men choſen, with more then ordinary care, by *Paulo Vitelli* a great Commander, moſt of them having been Captains, Lieutenants, or Enſignes, or at leaſt above the rank of common ſouldiers. With this train, Prince *Alexander* offered himſelf as a Volunteer to his Uncle the Generall. Who, then by chance being at the Muſters of his Army, affectionately embraced him, and when he had with the Generalls leave, ſelected four hundred ſea-men of the Kings, he put them in two Gallyes ſent from the Common-wealth of *Genoa*, to be commanded by *Comes Carolo Scotto*, and *Pedro Franciſco Nicello*: he himſelf with his Lieutenant *Vitelli*, and part of his Gentlemen and Souldiers going aboard the Admirall of *Genoa*. Though in the voyage, eſpecially before the battel, *Don John* would never let him be out of the Imperiall Galley, where he was himſelf; which turned to the benefit of the whole Navie: For a verie bitter difference enſuing between *Don John* and *Venerio* the Admirall of *Venice*, likely to embroyl the forces of *Chriſtendome* in a Civil Warre: when *Don John* in his firſt heat, was about to revenge the wrong offered to the Majeſtie of the Supream Admirall; onely Prince *Alexander* (though ſome failed not to bring fuell to the fire, that burned ſufficiently in the young Generalls nature) had ſo much power with his Uncle, that he kept him from ſtriking the firſt ſtroke. • Till *Mark Antonio Columna* the

Alex. Farneze *deſirous to go upon the Holy Warre.* *His Father conſents.* *But not his Mother.* *Feb.* 2. 1571. *Yet he goes.* *With a Train of ſelected Gentlemen and Souldiers.* *Which he placeth in the Genoa-Galleys.* *He contributes to the attonement of the Generalls.*

1578 the Pope's Admiral, and the *Venetian* Embaſſadour *Auguſtino Barbarico*, by their wiſdom joyned to Prince *Alexander*'s endeavours, ſwifter then imagination, diſperſed this Tempeſt, threatning deſtruction to the Fleet. For which ſervice, when Prince *Alexander* came next to *Rome*, Pope *Pius* commended him before ſome of the Cardinalls, acknowledging both himſelf, and *Chriſtendom* much obliged to him. But when they were upon the place of Battel, formerly famed for the victory of *Actium*, won by *Octavius Ceſar*, and the ſhips on both ſides put in Battalia; Prince *Alexander* being aboard *Mark Antonio Columna*'s Gally, in the midſt of the Fleet, paſſed into his own, the two other *Genoa*-Gallyes lying to the wind-ward: and after a ſhowr of Arrows and Bullets from afarr, the ſhips encountring; *Alexander Farneze* having an eye upon Muſtapha, Treaſurer of the *Turkiſh* Fleet, with all his force ſtem'd his Gally, and grappling, found her a great deal ſtronger then he imagined. She carryed the money, and therefore was manned with above three hundred *Janizaries*, all old and valient Souldiers. When they had fought long upon equall termes, ſometimes one of them ſetting up their Colours, ſometimes another: Prince *Alexander*, at once inflamed with ſhame and anger, flouriſhing (as he uſed to do) a huge great ſword, leaped into the *Baſhaw's* Gally, and laying about him on both ſides like a mad-man, by the ſlaughter of the enemy, opened a way to his Souldiers, that were ſo nettled with the example and danger of their General, as now all the boldeſt Turkes being ſlain, the reſt would preſently have yeiled, if the Baſhaw of *Alexandria*, had not come in with a ſtrong Gally, whereby the Turks, both ſtrengthened and encouraged, for a while renewed the fight. But one of *Alexander*'s *Farneze*'s Gallyes ſending in freſh ſupplies, when the Turks could no longer ſtand the fury of the conquerours, *Muſtapha* being in many places run through the body, the Baſhaw of *Alexandria* hurt, and ſoon after taken, Prince *Alexander* made himſelfe maſter not only of the Treaſurer's Gally, but likewiſe of the Auxiliary ſhip; with ſo great pillage for his men, that ſome of them got 2000 Sultanies (it is a Coin of little leſſe value then the *Venetian* Chechine of gold) others 3000, onely out of this Gally of the Treaſurers; beſides what his two other Gallies found in three of the enemies Gallious, and as many of their Galliaſſes. They ſay, that Don *John* of *Auſtria*, after the Battel, when he heard his Nephew *Alexander* highly extolled, received him with great expreſſions of joy and love, yet praiſed him with this exception, that he boarded the enemy with better ſucceſſe, then judgment, they being yet in their full ſtrength, and able to have hindred his retreat. Which fault he took for an honour, and ſaid, the reaſon of his confidence was built upon the ſanctitie of his wife, by whoſe prayers to God for him, he conceived himſelf protected and ſecured; ſo merrily paſſing over his uncles reprehenſion. Nor was the gallantry of Prince *Alexander's* minde leſſe maniſeſted the year following, though with leſſe fortune, or rather leſſe concord of the *Chriſtian* Nations. For the league being renewed, and the *Chriſtian* Fleet, ſomewhat too late after the Battel of *Lepanto*, returned to proſecute their victory in *Peloponneſus*, the new *Turkiſh* Admiral *Ulucial* had now repaired his ſhips, and to avoide the encounter of the League, having many times changed his Road, now lay at Anchor near the ſtrong Port of *Methone*. And whilſt Don *John* with many offers to fight, endeavoured to draw the *Turks* into the Main, he reſolved to ſend *Alexander Farneze* to beſiege *Navarinum*, not far off by land. Who with 6000 in two diviſions began to batter the Fort, with more induſtrie, then ſucceſſe. For the place being all rock, or craggy, his

The Pope commends him for it. *They fight the* Turk.

Alex. Farneze *boards* Muſtapha.

'Tis a meaſuring caſt between them. *At laſt he takes* Muſtapha,

And Scand er Baſhaw.

The Booty got by his Souldiers.

Don John's *words to* Alex. Farneze. P. Alexander's *Anſwer.*

1572. *The Sacred League renewed*

Don John *ſends him to* Navarine. *He attaques the Town.*

his men could hardly get earth to raiſe their batteries, nor could their tubbs and Gabions filled with earth and ſtone, oppoſed in ſtead of a curtain, be defence ſufficient againſt the enemies Cannon. The Seige was neverthe-leſſe continued; and the *Navarines*, ſallying out, but with loſſe beat back, were thought to be upon the point of yielding: When the *Turks*, either by the connivence or ignorance of Prince *Alexander*'s Souldiers, put in men by night, and relieved the Garriſon. Beſides, the Turkiſh horſe and foot coming from al quarters, Prince *Alexander* fearing they would block up his retreat, and not hoping to take the Caſtle, thought it enough in his enemies ſight to retire with his Cannon to the Fleet. And Don *John*, ſince the *Turkiſh* Navy, ſhunning a general Battell, could by no affront be provoked to ſea, contented to have ſtruck a terrour into the enemy, and forced them to confeſſe themſelves not able to appear upon the Main: the mindes as well as the Fleet of the *Christians* being divided, he went to *Sicily*, the reſt to other places. Thus was *Alexander Farneze* initiated in war, which as it begat an opinion, both among thoſe great Souldiers, and Princes abſent, ſpecially the ſucceſſour to Pope *Pius*, *Gregory*, and King *Philip* of *Spain*, that he would prove a gallant General: ſo afterward it moved the King of his own accord, to call him, where the war was moſt dangerous, into the *Low-countreys*.

but finding his endeavours fruſtrate, Retreats.

The League diſſolved.

Pius V. Gregory XIII.

For his Majeſty preſſed with the *Low-countrey-mens* daily complaints againſt Don *John* of *Auſtria*, and very deſirous to quiet the *Netherlands* without Arms, that weaken even the Conquerour himſelf; he reſolved to ſatisfie the deſires of the Provinces; and in his Brothers place to ſubſtitute his Siſter *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, with her Son *Alexander Farneze*. Hoping either by her prudence and power with the *Low-countrey-men* to find out ſome expedient towards the concluding of a Peace; or by his valour, if there was uſe of Arms, ſtrongly to purſue the war. Therefore he ordered it, that Cardinall *Granvell*, then at *Rome*, ſhould perſwade his ſiſter of *Parma*, to return into the *Low-countreys*. The Cardinall taking a journey to *Aquila*, found there very opportunely the Dutcheſſe and Prince *Alexander*, and read his letters containing the Kings deſires to both together. Though his Majeſty had likewiſe commanded the Marqueſſe of *Ayamont*, Governour of *Millaine*, to treat with Prince *Alexander* apart. The Dutcheſſe anſwered doubtfully, ſhe would adviſe upon it; either fearing as ſhe pretended, to diſpleaſe Don *John*: or by that delay and ſeeming refuſal aym to put a higher value upon her journey. But *Alexander Farneze*, without the leaſt demurring, ſaid he would obey the King with all his heart, if it ſo pleaſed his mother. He made yet a plainer anſwer to two letters delivered him by *Raphael Manrique*, from *Ayamont*, (that was ſick and kept his bed;) together with his Majeſties letter, wherein, after expreſſion of his grief for the death of Princeſſe *Mary*, wife to Prince *Alexander*, he ſignifies his reſolution to imploy him in the *Low-countreyes*. *I am certain* (they are the Kings words,) *now you know it, with a ready and undaunted mind you will ſatisfie my exſpectation of you, and my love, which highly eſteems you and your virtue, moſt illustrious Prince.* But when the King altered his determination of ſubſtituting the Dutcheſſe in his Brothers place, by reaſon of *Matthias* the Arch-dukes coming into the *Low-countreyes*, it was doubted at *Parma*, whether it would be handſome for Prince *Alexander* to go and fight in the *Low-countreyes*, commanded by another: which conſideration, he out of duty to the King, and deſire of glory in the wars, eaſily contemned; eſpecially incouraged by ſome dark words of *Granvell*, promiſing great matters. Beſides *Gregory* the thirteenth,

Prince Alexander *joyned with his Mother, is to be commiſſionated for the Government of the* Low-countreys.

Cardinal Granvel *treats with them both in the King's name.*

Margaret *of* Parma *is doubtful of accepting the offer. So is not her ſon* Alexander.

9 & 11 Novemb. 1577. 11 Septemb. 1577. *The Kings Letter to him.*

The Pope's encouragement.

thirteenth interpoſed his Authority and exhortation; who, informed of the deſign by Cardinal *Farneze*, highly praiſed it, and bad the Cardinal write to the Prince of *Parma* in his name, *that the expedition would be pleaſing to God; and therefore under ſo mighty protection, and upon encouragement from his Holineſs, he ſhould willingly and ſpeedily undertake it.* The Pope, I ſuppoſe, did not thus commend the warre, onely for the King of *Spain's* ſake, and the common cauſe of Religion; but for ſome peculiar benefit, that might reſult to the *Pontifician* Empire. For the Prince of *Parma*, being a Feudatary and Homager to the See Apoſtolick, his Holineſſe thought himſelf concerned, in ſending the Prince to a Forein warre, whence he might return an able General, to defend the Church of *Rome*. Wherefore *Alexander Farneze*, having within a few dayes, received three letters from Don *John* of *Auſtria*, which invited him with great entreaties, and no leſſe promiſes, to the ſociety of warre and glory; making ready with all poſſible ſpeed, the twelvth day after he left *Parma*, arrived at *Luxemburg*; and there met Don *John*: who with expreſſions of incredible contentment received Prince *Alexander*, that ſtood amazed to ſee his uncle no leſſe impaired in his health, then in the preſence and Majeſtie of the moſt fortunate Generall. So true it is, that they are moſt ſenſible of adverſe fortune, which have been in moſt felicity. It is therefore probable, that Don *John*, not againſt his will, or onely by the Kings command, ſent for the Prince of *Parma*, nor did with diſſembled joy welcome him, from whoſe long approved fidelitie and valour he might promiſe ſafety to the publick, and a particular preſervation to himſelf, whoſe life was ſought by ſo many plots. At their firſt meeting, Don *John* imparted the Kings commands, that he ſhould acquaint Prince *Alexander* with all buſineſſe of Warre and Peace, and reſerve for his uſe 1000 Crownes a moneth. Both which conditions pleaſed him very much, eſpecially the later, uſually given by the King to none but Viceroyes, Governours of Provinces, or Generalls of Armies. For ſome dayes the Prince of *Parma* took the money, (till the Kings high eſtimation of his merit was thereby divulged among the people) afterwards, writing his humble thanks to his Majeſty, he, as one more ambitious of honour, then profit, refuſed the pay; adding, that it was not fit he ſhould be ſo remunerated, who had yet done no ſervice, and he needed no encouragement.

Many Letters from Don John *inviting him.* 14 & 25 Oct. & 25 Novemb. 1577. *He goes for the* Low countreys. *How he findes Don* John. *That was really glad to ſee him there.* *The Penſion given by the King to* Alex. Farneze. 24 Decemb. 1577. *And by him refuſed.*

The ſtate of the Provinces.

But *Alexander Farneze* acting nothing without order from Don *John*, wholly applyed his minde and endeavours to inform himſelf of affaires at home and abroad; which he found to be in a very bad condition. For the King had but two Provinces that continued loyall; in the reſt, the few Forts that held for his Majeſtie, daily revolted to the States. Nay even in *Holland*, *Amſterdam* it ſelf began to waver. And in *Brabant*, *Bergen* op *Zoom*: where the Souldiers baſely betraying their Colonell *Charles Fugger*, yielded to the States. But the Garriſon of *Breda*, a while before deceived by a ſtratagem of the enemy, carryed themſelves yet more baſely towards their Colonell. For the Generalls of the Sates Army, *Philip* Count *Holach*, and *Frederick Perenot* Lord of *Campin*, that beſieged *Breda*, they were gallantly oppoſed by *George Fronsberg* Colonel of the *Germans* that ſerved Don *John*: but the Garriſon, becauſe they were ſome payes behind, daily growing to mutiny, *Fronsberg* by a man of know courage and truſt, wrote to Don *John*, *ſpeedily to diſpatch away relief, for his men were grown ſo ſeditious he could hold out no longer.* But the meſſenger, either taken by *Holach*, or elſe playing the knave, was with his letters detained in the Leaguer, till ſuch time as they might think he had been with Don *John*, that a probable delay might give more credit to the jugling. Then another, in ſtead of the firſt, was diſpatched to the

Breda *beſieged by the Genera's of the Confederates.* Cardinal Granvels Brother. *A Meſſenger with a Letter to Don* John, *Diſcovered.* *Another counterfeit Letter was ſent.*

the Town, that excuſing the ſtay of him, they ſent, who he ſaid was fallen ſick, brought a formall anſwer, as from the hand of Don *John*, bidding them *upon good conditions render the Town: and that ſhortly; when ſupplies came to him, he would ſend (but yet he could not) forces to recover it.* The meſſenger and letter was believed, and the Town yielded. To the Colonell's errour was added the villany of his Souldiers, which during the time of the Treaty, either corrupted with money or diſcontent, furiouſly laid hands upon him, and perfidiouſly delivered him bound to *Holach* and *Campin*, that made it one of their conditions. In the interim, whilſt they march out, finding themſelves cheated by the enemy, and ſeeing the ſupplies, ſent by Don *John*, at hand, they repented both their haſte, and perjury. The Diceran not ſo merrily on *Holach's* ſide at *Ruremund*, which he with great forces going to aſſault, found Garriſon'd by Don *John* with 4000 men, commanded by *Ægidius Barlamont* Lord of *Hierg*, and likewiſe by a Sally of *Polvillerius* Colonel of the *Germans* in the Town, beaten from the Siege, with the loſſe of his Carriages, and many of his men, he fled. Yet the Treaty of Peace went on, continual meſſengers poſting from both ſides, as if it were out of hope and deſire of ſucceſſe; and not rather to give words for words, that one might ſeem to take up Arms juſtlier then the other. Nothing elſe was intended by the Queen of *England*, at that time moving Don *Iohn* for a Ceſſation of Arms, ſave onely that upon the denyal of her requeſt, ſhe would be thought in a manner neceſſitated to aſſiſt the Eſtates: her Majeſty threatning Don *Iohn* and the King, to whom ſhe ſent an expreſſe Meſſenger, that if they refuſed to do it, ſhe would never more pleaſure them in any thing whatſoever. But her threats being underſtood, ſhe was deſired by the King and Don *Iohn* to move the other ſide, whom ſhe might with a great deal more juſtice perſwade to lay down Arms, rendring obedience to their Prince. Wherefore both parties with the conditions likewiſe rejecting the meſſengers that brought them, all Treaties of Accomodation now cut off, no hope was left of quieting the *Low-countreys*, but by Arms. And about that time, a blazing Star roſe with ſuch a fatall Aſpect, as Mathematicians laboured to demonſtrate, that a more horrid one never had appeared: which mindes prone warr looked at, as a Standard ſet up in heaven.

The Town rendred. *The Perfidiouſneſs of the Garriſon.* Ruremond *holds out againſt the Confiderates.* *Still the Treaty of Peace continues.* *The Queen of* England *moves for a Ceſſation of Arms, in a threatning way.* *She is not liſtned to.* *The hope of Peace vaniſheth.* *A prodigious Comet.* In Novemb. & Decemb. 1577. & January 1578.

The firſt and memorable Battel was fought at *Gemblac*, nine miles from *Namure*, in the entry of *Brabant*; both Armies being a while before muſtered, the Catholick at *Marcha*, a Town in the Province of *Luxemburg*, the enemy at *Temple*, a Village not far from *Namure*: and thoſe were found leſs, theſe more then was ſuppoſed. For it was reported, that Don *Iohn* had 22000 Foot, whereas upon the Muſters appeared not 18000, as *Alexander Farneze*, that was preſent with Don *Iohn*, ſet down in his account. On the contrary, the States Muſtered about 20000, that were, a while before, not thought to be 17000. For the number of theſe was daily increaſed by Souldiers of Fortune, that came in hope of Pillage, which they could not have from Don *Iohn*, that raiſed men onely with money. And yet his Army though fewer (& weaker in Horſe, as not full two thouſand) becauſe they had the advantage of being the older and the better Souldiers, were a great deal more deſirous of a Battel. The Catholick Souldiers were likewiſe much encouraged by the Letters of *Gregory* the thirteenth, wiſhing happineſſe to them, and by the *Chriſtian* cuſtome, freely granting them a general pardon of their ſins. Which the Commanders making uſe of, the Army when they were all abſolved, with much more cheerfulneſſe marched againſt the enemy. The Spyes likewiſe brought in news (which made Don *Iohn* exſpect

Of the Battel of Gemblac. *Both Armies muſtered* January 20. *Don* John's *is leſſe,* The enemie's greater. *But his are better men.* *And more confident, for this reſpect.* 6. January.

Pardieu, Lord de la Mot.

Goigny, *Commander in chief for the Confederates.*

from 18. 1567. 1576.

The Order of his Army.

Goigny Lievtenant-General to the Arch-duke Matthias, for this Expedition.

Scoutes ſent out, and an ambuſh laid by Don John.

The Catholick Army thus marſhalled.

no longer) that *Philip* Count *Lalin*, and *Robert Melodune* Viſcount *Gant*, *this* commanding the Horſe, *he* the Foot, and Valentine *Pardieu* Generall of the Artillery, were abſent from the enemies Campe, pretending an invitation to a Marriage, celebrated with great Pompe in *Bruxels*; but indeed, as it was reported, out of diſtaſte taken at the Prince of *Orange*; beſides, many others, that could not away with the ſharpneſſe of the Winter (being Summer- Captaines) had left the field, and withdrawn into the City. He that now commanded in chief for the Confederates, was *Anthony Goigny* Lord of *Vendege* in the Wood, an old Souldier, trained up in his youth under *Charles* the fifth, then a Captain of Lanceirs at the Battel of Saint *Quintin*: afterwards, Leivtenant General of the Auxiliaries ſent by King *Philip* to *Charles* the ninth of *France*, under the command of Count *Aremberg*. But two years before the differences between the *Spaniards* and *Low-countreymen* had alienated his endeavours, rather then affections from the Kings Service. The enemy intended to ſurpriſe Don *Iohn* in *Namure*, and to this purpoſe were now upon their march, but underſtanding that he had a far ſtronger Army, then was imagined, and meant to draw out of *Namure*, and give them Battel; altering their determination, they were retiring to *Gemblac*, there, upon certain knowledg of the enemies ſtrength, maturely to order their affaires. The States Army quartered that night in the Village of St. *Martin*, almoſt five miles diſtant from the Forces of Don *Iohn*, lying at *Namure*. Thence before break of day, firing their Huts, they retreated towards *Gemblac*, in this manner. Firſt marched *Emmanuel Montin*, and *William Heſe*, with their Regiments flanked with Carabines of the Colonels, *Villers*, and *Fresnoi*. The main Battel (conſiſting of the *German* and *Wallon* Regiments, three of *French*, thirteen of *Scots* and *Engliſh*) was led by *Maximilian Hennin*, Count of *Bolduc*, a while ſince revolted from the King, and by *Federick Perenot* Lord of *Campin*. The Rere, in which was their ſtrength of Horſe, being commanded by the Counts *Philip Egmont*, ſon to *Lamoral*, and *Lumè a Marcha*, Marqueſſe of *Havre*; Duke *Arcſcot's* Brother, and the Campmaſter *Goigny*, Lievtenant-General of the Army, riding up and down, with ſome ſelect wings of Horſe. In the Forlorn they had placed the Pioners and Workmen, intermixed with a Company of Foot. The Battel was encloſed with their Baggage, and flanked with ſome Feild-pieces. They had likewiſe ſecured their backs (fearing the enemy would follow) with their beſt Musketteirs, and ſtouteſt Souldiers. Nor was Don *Iohn* leſs active, but a good while before day, moved from *Namure*, ſending before *Antonio Olivera*, and *Ferdinando Acoſta*, with ſome Horſe and Foot, to diſcover the Wood-land Countrey, and poſſeſſe himſelf of advantageous places. Part of his Army he left behind at the bank of *Moſe* under *Charles Mansfeldt*; the greater and ſtronger part followed him, in this order. In the Van, where he had put the ſtrength of his Cavalry, firſt marched the Light-horſe with Piſtols, then the Lanciers at a diſtance: for defence to both, came on the whole body of the Curaciers, with their Officers in the head of every Troop, ſome Vantcurrers advancing a little before the Army, with ſmall bodies of the fleeteſt Horſe. The main Battel was a Square, conſiſting of two Regiments, Musketteirs and Pikemen, moſt them *Spaniards* and *Germans*, their Colonels likewiſe leading up their men. The Rere, contained a Square Battalion of *Wallons*, ſafely flanked with their Carriages and Baggage, the *Burgundian* Carabines riding mingled with them. The Van-guard was commanded by *Octavio Gonzaga*; the Rere-guard by *Erneſt* Count *Mansfeldt*, *this* Camp-maſter, *he* General of the Horſe. In the midſt was the

the Generall himſelf *Don John* of *Auſtria*, with the Prince of *Parma*, attended by the Life-guard; whence appeared the Royall Standard, in which *Don John*, as he had conceived an extraordinary confidence in the Divine Aſſiſtance, under the triumphall Croſſe of *Chriſt*, had cauſed theſe words to be written, *In this ſigne I did vanquiſh the* Turks, *and ſhall the* Hereticks. He had not marched farre, but he came within ſight of the enemy, and learning the Confederates deſigne from a couple of Priſoners taken in ſome light ſkirmiſhes by *Olivera*, preſently drew out near ſix hundred horſe, Lanceirs and Carabines, and intermixing with them one thouſand foot, Pikemen and Musketteers, gave them, in two diviſions, to *Octavio Gonzaga*, and *Chriſtophero Mondragonio:* ordering *Gonzaga* to charge the enemy in the Rere; but ſo, as not to engage their whole Forces, till he with the Prince of *Parma* and the reſt of the Army were come up. At firſt he obeyed, and ſkirmiſhing, onely galled their laſt Troops; till *Gonzaga* ſaw *Perotto* of *Saſſofferrata*, who that day commanded the Troop of *Camillo Montio*, ſo farre advanced, that he feared the enemies whole Army would be raſhly drawn upon him, before *Don John* could advance. He therefore preſently ſent one upon the ſpur, with command that *Perotto* ſhould immediately retire, without ingaging himſelf and his horſe. But he (for the command was proudly delivered) reſenting it with indignation, as if he were held a coward, bad the man with his imperious importunity be gon, and tell *Gonzaga*, that *Perotto* never yet turned his back in a *battell*, nor could now if he would. There was, upon the flank of the Forces wherewith they ſkirmiſhed, a high way, deep in mire and water, more like a Bog then a Road, which the enemy declining, march'd in a way that would receive fewer a breaſt: Thither Prince *Alexander* had galloped up, to ſee how things went (for *Don John* kept the Prince from fighting, as if he had uſe of him to order the battell, and to ſend in ſupplies) and obſerving that the enemies horſe, either by reaſon of the ill way, or out of their haſt to reach *Gemblac*, marched in no little diſorder (which he conjectured by the waving of their pikes, tangling and croſſing one another) he reſolved to exſpect no longer, but catching a Lance from the Gentleman of his horſe, and getting upon one of *Camillo* a *Monte's* charging-horſes, better managed then his own, his eyes and face ſpeaking the language of a Battel, and looking upon the Gentlemen, *Go*, ſaid he, *to the Generall, and tell him, that* Alexander Farneze *remembring the old* Romane, *will caſt himſelf into the gulph, and hopes by Gods grace, and the fortune of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *to bring out of it this day, a certain and a glorious victorie.* Then ſhewing thoſe about him how advantageous it would be, if advancing a little they would plunge through, and charge the enemie in the flank; his fervour and example with the ſame violence, drew along the valianteſt Horſ-commanders, *Bernardino Mendoza*, *Giovanni Baptiſta*, *Camillo* a *Monte*, *Ferdinando Toledo*, *Martinengo*, *Viennius*, *Mondragonio*, and many more. And he himſelf, riding among the Horſe of *Mutio Pagano* Captain-Lieutenant to *Mondragonio*, entred the bog, followed by all thoſe gallant Cavaleers; and when a few of them yet tugging, the reſt had fortunately paſſed over, and got field-room to eaſe their horſes, encouraging one another, they made a little ſtand, till they ranked themſelves in one equall front. Then riding full ſpeed, *Alexander Farneze* in the head of them, they charged the enemie ſo home with their Lances, *Gonzaga* ſeconding with the reſt of the Cavalry, and *Don John* ſtill ſending in freſh men, that the Confederates Horſe (this diviſion being amazed) had preſently wheeled off, if their Commanders perſwaſions and threats, and the example of their betters, had not ſtopt them

The Standard.

Don Johns *orders.*

Parties of both ſides firſt skirmiſh.

Perotto of Saſſoferrata.

The place of battell.

Alex. Farneze's *conjecture of the enemy.*

His words to the Gentleman of his Horſe. Curtius.

He communicates his deſigne to the Officers about him.

Henr. Viennius Lord of Ceuravium. *And they following, he firſt paſſeth over the Gulph.*

They alltogether charge the enemies horſe.

And rout them.

them for a while. But having once taken a thorow-fright, their minds being conquered, at laſt they turned their backs; and flying precipitately, fell foul upon their Foot that ſtood behind, breaking their Ranks, riding over ſome, and leaving the reſt to the furie of the ſword: So as their Foot, forſaken by their Cavalry, eſpecially thoſe in the middle, that were firſt broke by the flight of their own men, and the impreſſion of the enemy, charged in the Rere and Flanks by the Kings horſe, that fiercely now purſued their Victorie, *Goigny* labouring, but in vain to rally them, were all miſerably cut to pieces. Seldome was known more bloud ſpilt, and a battel ſooner won by fewer men, and with ſo little loſſe. Seldome was better experience made, how much the ſtrength of either ſide conſiſts in horſe: For by ſix hundred Horſe (they were no more that began, and but twelve hundred when they won the battel) full ten thouſand Foot were part ſlain, part taken priſoners; and the reſt of the Armie (no leſſe then eight thouſand Horſe) in the ſpace of an hour and an half, with the loſſe of onely nine of the Kings men, were routed; thirty four Colours taken, with their field-pieces, and almoſt all their Carriages and Baggage. Their Generall himſelf, and ſome perſons of qualitie came into the enemies power; the reſt, with the greateſt part of their Horſe, that ran at firſt, got baſely off, flying, ſome to *Gemblac*, moſt to *Bruxels*. Nor ſecure at *Gemblac*, though it was fortified, upon the approach of the victorious Army, diverſe, before the aſſault, fled further into *Brabant*, the reſt promiſed to render upon certain conditions. But *Don John* refuſing to give any, they yielded themſelves and the Town to mercy. Nor was this a contemptible addition to the Victorie: For the enemie determining to make *Gemblac* the ſeat of the Warre, had victualled it for many moneths, and laid in Arms, and ſtore of Ammunition, which came all into the Conquerours hands. The Town, deſtined for a prey to the ſouldiers, by a kind of fate upon the place; (for ever ſince the year of our Lord 900, it is famous for many ſackings, burnings, and plundrings) at the earneſt ſuit of *Lambert* Count and Abbot of *Gemblac*, made to *Alexander Farneze*, and by him unto *Don John*, was preſerved both from the plunder and injurie of the ſouldier. The Garriſon being onely diſarmed, ſuch as were *Low-countrey men*, taking an oath never more to bear Arms againſt the King of *Spain*, the reſt not within a year, were all let go, ſave twelve of the principall, detained in ſtead of hoſtages, that were carried to the Caſtle of *Namure*, with their Generall *Goigny*. Who was before his departure brought to *Don John*, and (they ſay) deſiring to kiſſe his victorious hand, he gave it him with theſe words, *God thus breaks their contumacy, that impiouſly rebell againſt Religion and their King: The ſucceſſe even of this battell, wherein ſo great an Army was defeated by ſo few, ſhews how much God Almighty favours his Majeſties juſt cauſe.* But he onely anſwering, That he never took up arms againſt Religion, with the other priſoners was removed. Then *Don John* taking notice of his own Souldiers merits, graciouſly calling to him every Commander, and the ſtouteſt of the Souldiers, with great and glorious words magnificently commended their ſervice. Among them all he was not ignorant that *Alexander Farneze* beſt deſerved; yet the more he ſaw the Army look upon him, and extoll his courage, the more he thought it concerned his Love and Place to praiſe, not without care and caution, the virtue of that man whom he both feared, and affected. Therefore minding the Prince of his danger at the battell of *Lepanto*, he remembred him of the Office of a Generall, and ſaid, He was ſent thither by the King his Uncle, to advance the Warre, not with his hand, and the danger of a common ſoul-

Execution done upon the Confederates army.

Januar. 31.

The day won by the horſe. Chriſt. Aſſonv. in Relatione, ſayes, One *Spaniard* was too hard for ten Confederates.

How great the Victorie. Mar. Delr. ſayes but two were ſlain. Mich. ab Iſſelt Leo. Belg.

Febr. 2. Gemblac *beſieged by the Conquerours. Yielded.*

Mercy ſhewed to the town.

And to the priſoners.

Don Iohn's *words to General* Goignie.

The Conquerours commended by Don Iohn.

Prince Alexander *eſpecially.*

With ſome admonition.

ſouldier, but with his counſel and conduct. Prince *Alexander* replying; that he could think no man fit to command in chief, that had not firſt valiantly performed the duties of a common ſouldier, eſpecially under ſo great a Generall; was received both with the Armies applauſe, and the Generalls embraces. But the Prince of *Parma* wrote *Don Johns* praiſes (not beyond their merit) much more freely, and without any exception to the King: For together with the Generalls Letters, giving an account of the battell to his Majeſtie at *Argenton*, Prince *Alexander* gratulated the Kings victory won, firſt by Gods aſſiſtance, and in the next place by the prudence and valour of *Don John: And that as the enemy in the field found him a moſt valiant Generall; ſo when they had laid down Arms, he ſhewed himſelf a mercifull Conquerour, by his Majeſties example. And therefore it was to be hoped, that that victory, in all mens account the greateſt ever gained in the* Low-countreys, *would ſhortly draw along with it the reducement of many Cities.* And writing a Complementall relation of the ſame victory to ſome Lords of *Spain*, that were his antient friends and acquaintance, at large to his Mother, more briefly to his Father, and his uncle-Cardinall; he ſtill inſerted the like commendations of *Don John*, nothing at all of himſelf; either out of the greatneſſe of his ſpirit, hoping to do yet more glorious things, and therefore concealing this, as of no moment; or elſe aſſuring himſelf others would write to the ſame perſons thoſe very actions, much more to his glory. But at *Bruxels* where they yet heard not the mis-fortune of their men, they conſulted in the Archdukes preſence, whether *Don John* ſhould be aſſailed, or exſpected in the fields; whether they ſhould fight with all their forces, or a part? when ſuddenly the ſad news ran through the whole city, that they had fought unfortunately with *Don John*, and loſt a day where the *Spaniard* had his fill of bloud. Which being confirmed by many that at laſt had got by their fear and flight, into the Town. It being further ſaid, that *Gemblac* was taken by the enemie, who had the Generall of their army priſoner, and had put all their Foot to the ſword, ſome reporting (as fear ever fancies danger near at hand) that *Don John* with his victorious army would preſently be at the City-gates; *Bruxels* was ſo terrified, as the next day, leaving ſome kind of Garriſon in the Town, the Prince of *Orange*, with the Arch-duke, carrying along the Courts of Juſtice, and the Senate, retired to *Antwerp*. Nor was *Don John* altogether averſe from beſieging *Bruxels*, propounding it to his Councel of Warre. But being hindered by the thinneſs of his army, which could not be recruited unleſſe the King ſent money, it was thought beſt, before men recovered that fit of terrour, to carrie into ſeverall parts the Warre and Victory, conſiſting in expedition; rather then to dull the ſouldiers alacritie, with lying before a Town. *Octavio Gonzaga* was therefore commanded with five hundred choſen Horſe, and ſome regiments of Foot, immediately to aſſault *Lovain* and *Machlin*, Cities well affected to *Don John. Ægidius Barlamont* with *Charles Mansfeldts French* Regiment, and four colours of *Wallons* marcht to *Bovines*. And *Lovain*, not exſpecting a ſummons, turning out the *Scottiſh* Garriſon, rendred themſelves to *Gonzaga* of their own accord. So did *Judoignia*, a Town of more account for the healthfulneſs of air, then fruitfulneſſe of ſoil, in which reſpect the ancient Dukes of *Brabant* uſed to make it a Nurſery for their children: the like was done by *Tienen*; and a while after, not without force, by *Areſchott*. To *Machlin* and *Vilvord* (newly garriſon'd by the States) *Gonzaga* came too late. But *Bovines* (a Citie accuſtomed to aſſaults, never attempted by the enemie in vain, often ſlighted; but ever by the

Alex. Farneze's *Anſwer.*

His letter to the King in praiſe of Don Iohn.

Febr. 5.

The like Commendations inſerted in many other letters, from Prince Alexander *to* Anton. Perez, Marc. Almazar *and* Marc. Ayemont.

Feb. 15.

Feb. 13. *wherein he writes nothing of himſelf.*

The Deputies of the Eſtates, ignorant of the Victory, ſit in Councell.

Their trepidation when they heard the news. The Arch-duke and the Prince of Orange *flie.*

Lord of Hierg.

Lovain *yields to* Don Iohn. *Feb.* 5.

And Iudoigne.

And Tienen. *Feb.* 7.

And Areſchot. Feb. 17.

And Bovines.

peoples conſtancie fortified again) received the Lord of *Heirge* (but not before a great part of the walls was battered down) upon conditions.

Sichem ſummoned. *Don John*, while things ſucceed as he could wiſh, reſolving to reduce the reſt of *Brabant*, ordered *Alexander Farneze* to attaque *Dieſtem*, a Town belonging to the Prince of *Orange*. He, with part of his forces, marching thither, leſt he ſhould leave *Sichem* on his back, a neighbour Town to *Dieſtem*, and a place at that time not to be neglected, both for the Fort (which afterwards was ruined, with a great part of the Town) and for the convenience of the River *Demera*; ſends thither, with his *German* Regiment, *Lancelot Barlamont* Count of *Megen*. But they of *Sichem*, confident both in the place, which they had prettily well fortified, and likewiſe in their number; refuſing to treat, induſtriouſly prepared for their defence. *Refuſeth to treat.* When Prince *Alexander* comming up, after he had offer'd his Devotions upon a hill cloſe by the Town, where the Bleſſed Virgin works miracles out of an Oak, planted againſt the old wall of the Suburbs, ſtanding in diameter to the *Lovain*-Port, eight demi-Culverins; and beginning at day-break to make a Battery no leſſe violent then conſtant, holding till noon day, having made divers breaches in the Caſtle, he gave orders for an aſſault; which proved the ſtronger, by reaſon of the emulation between ſeverall Nations. *Alex. Farneze makes ready for an aſſault. Febr. 21.* *Ordering his Forces.* *In this manner.* The *Germans*, under Count *Megen*, he commanded to march in the middle right againſt the Port, on the right hand the *Spaniards*, on the left the *Lovainers*, under the Colonells *Mendragonio* and *Samblemont*. Some companies of *Wallons* were alſo ordered to bring ſcaling-ladders, which they, when the ſigne was given, ſhould faſten to the contrary part of the wall, for diverting the enemie. Then the word going about, and the ſouldiers animated, not ſo much with hope of glory, or plunder, (great matters being never exſpected from a little Town) as with fury at their prepoſterous confidence, and the ſhame it would be, if the victorious Army were ſaid to ſtick at *Sichem*, both parties fought moſt gallantly; *They fight.* and while *theſe*, *The Royaliſts.* not daunted at the death of ſuch as fell cloſe by them, ran up the walls: *thoſe* *The Sichemers* ſtanding upon their ruins hindred them from climing, by the interpoſition of their bodies; the event for a while was dubious: but the *Spaniards* having loſt two Captains, *Peter Henriquez, and Baraiaz.* ſuch furie and indignation poſſeſſed them, to be ſo affronted, that anger whetting their courage, they made the Defendants turn their backs, and from their quarter entred firſt the Town. *The Town is taken.* Likewiſe in other places the Townſmen being no longer able to reſiſt, and hearing the *Wallons* ſcaled the walls on the other ſide, terrified with this rumour, all at once quitted their Poſts. And the Town-ſouldiers, laying down their Arms, moſt of them yielded. But ſome of the Garriſon in the cloſe of the evening (they were about two hundred) ſuddenly got into the Caſtle. Others, almoſt an hundred and fiftie, ſtealing away in the night out at the breaches, fell upon the Horſe (for that purpoſe placed by *Alexander Farneze*, beyond the River) and were all to a man cut off. *They that flie are cut to pieces* The Pillage of the Town, as he threatned the enemy, Prince *Alexander* gave his ſouldiers, not permitting them to injure the women, and preſerving by his preſence, the Houſes of conſecrated Virgins. *The Town plundered.* He put the town to their choice of Mercie, or the Sword, according as they yielded, or ſtood out. Nothing now remained but the Caſtle, ſecured onely by the ſtubbornneſs of the Defendants, *The Caſtle holds out.* which ſtubbornneſs was fomented by a hope, that the town-port being dammed up, they could raiſe no Battery whereon to plant Cannon, and conſequently neither could the Caſtle be battered, nor they themſelves

ſelves

ſelves forced to ſurrender in ſo ſhort a time, but that Relief might come from *Dieſtem.* The beſieged were alſo favoured by the *Spaniards* want of Pioners, and workmen, to dig and bank. But Prince *Alexander's* dexteritie overcame all difficulties. For cauſing all the iron in the camp to be brought forth, and looking upon the great Commanders round about him, he himſelf firſt broke the earth; preſently, by his example, the nobleſt of them, with emulous alacritie: in concluſion, the Captains, and Common ſouldiers, who at firſt ſeemed to diſdain the work, followed it with ſuch eagerneſs, as that verie night, though wearied with the day's fight, in four hours ſpace they not onely levelled the earth-work on this ſide the Port; but caſt it up again within the Town, planting upon it their battery againſt the Caſtle. But the next morning, when they in the Caſtle ſaw the new ſconce, and thereon the Cannon, aſtoniſhed with fear and admiration, they preſently yielded, imploring the Conquerours mercy, but in vain: Becauſe they were the firſt that would not ſtoop, till broken and ſubdued; and becauſe moſt of them, contrary to their oath taken at the battell of *Gemblac*, were once more in arms againſt the King, Prince *Alexander* pretermitting unſeaſonable mercie, and reſolving to puniſh them as traytours, commanded the Governour of the Fort, with the principall ſouldiers and Boutefeues, to be hanged over the Caſtle-walls; the reſt, about four hundred and ſeventy, to be put to the ſword by night, and caſt into the River that ran below. Thus revenging hoſtile perjurie, he taught *Dieſtem* what to do by others danger. And they took warning by the example: For being ſummoned, though at firſt they refuſed to ſubmit, in hope of ſuccours from *Antwerp* and *Lyre*; Yet when the Kings Horſe were quartered beyond the River, and had fortified ſome Countrey-mens houſes, ſo, as they ſaw the enemie poſſeſſed of thoſe parts, by which they hoped relief would come: and on the other ſide the River, Batteries raiſed, and Cannon drawn thither with admirable celeritie; by their neighbours misfortune admoniſhed not to be wiſe too late, they rendred upon Articles, themſelves and their Citie to the King. And *Alexander Farneze*, that he might put a difference between their Obedience, and others Contumacy, uſed theſe of *Diaſtem* with all humanitie, protected them and theirs, not ſuffering ſo much as one houſe to be plundred. But the ſouldiers (about three hundred, moſt of them *Wallons*) with their Arms, and Baggage, not their Colours, marching out according to Conditions, the Prince of *Parma* by their firm and well timbred bodies, making an eſtimate of their military hearts, made it be ſignified to them, That they might, if they would, be received into the Kings Pay: whereto they aſſented, and taking a new Oath to ſerve his Majeſtie, had their Colours delivered them, and were diſpoſed of in the *Wallon*-Regiment. *Levia* ran the fortune of *Dieſtem*; which Town lying between *Tienen* and *Dieſtem*, Prince *Alexander* being commanded to reduce, it was the ſame day he attaqued it, yeilded upon conditions, and taking away their Colours from an hundred of the Garriſon, he diſmiſſed them; but another hundred ſwearing to be faithfull to the King, he honoured with the redelivery of their Colours, and gave them entertainment.

But Alex. Farneze *batters down their works. And raiſes new of his own.*

The Caſtle rendred.

The Priſoners executed.

Dieſtem *terrified. Feb. 24.*

Submits.

And are graciouſly uſed.

The Garriſon-ſouldiers take Pay of the King

Levia *reduced. Febr. 27.*

Theſe three Cities being rendred in ſeven dayes, *Alexander Farneze* brought back the Victorious Army to *Don John*, and marched with him to *Nivell*, a Town in the entrance of *Haynolt*, ſeated upon the

C. Mansfeld *attemps* Nivel.

Is repulſed.

The Town treats with Don Iohn

A mutinie in the Catholick Army.

Don Iohn *ſevers the Mutineers.*

Demands the Principall of them.

Makes them caſt lots for their lives.

At laſt one is hanged.

March 11.

The Nivellers *render themſelves.*

The Gariſon ſuffered to depart without their Arms, which are beſtowed upon the French.

A gift that ruins them.

Mar.Delr.l.5. Turb. Belg. ſaith 200 were loſt.

The like misfortune formerly happened to their Nation, Anno 1552. Pont. Heuter. l.3. Thuan. lib.10.

skirt of *Brabant*, which *Juſtus Villiers* with ſix Colours of Foot, and two Cornets of Horſe, kept for the States. Thither *Don John* had ſent *Charles* Count *Mansfeldt* with his *French* Tertia, who both by Battery and Aſſault had tried his fortune; but was twice beaten from the wals, rather for want of luck, then courage. But *Don John* and Prince *Alexander* coming up with the reſt of the Army, the *Nivellers* finding themſelves too weak, wrote Letters to the Generall, excuſing the delay of their Rendition, not out of contumacy towards the King, or the Kings brother; but in hatred to the *French*, unto whom in regard of the ancient enmitie between the Nations, they held it a diſhonour to ſubmit. Whileſt they treat, a tumult aroſe in the Leaguer, cauſed by the *Germans*. Some companies of them had for two moneths received no pay. Whereupon the ſouldiers took an occaſion to rant; and ſending a Meſſenger to *Don John*, unleſs for their arrears he would give them the pillage of the Town, proudly threatned to mutiny. *Don John*, who had reſolved to ſhew his clemency to the Town, diſmiſſed the meſſenger not without ſome hope. Then, to ſeparate the reſt of that Battalion from the ſeditious companies, he commanded their faithfull and valiant Colonell, Count *Megan*, with that part which was not involved in the crime (taking along divers companies beſides them out of other Regiments) inſtantly to march towerds *Bruxells* and *Antwerp*, as if from thence the enemie was feared. By which ſeparation, the Mutineers, without their fellows help, left naked, were preſently environed as enemies by the whole Army. Firſt, they were commanded to lay down their arms, then to deliver the Authours of the mutiny: Twelve they delivered up, out of thoſe were choſen eight by lots: of thoſe eight four by the ſame chance were to die; for ſo many *Don John* reſolved to puniſh. Yet at the earneſt ſuit of ſeverall Nations, petitioning for the particular men, two were, even at deaths door, pardoned: and two onely remained to ſuffer. But one of theſe an old ſouldier, and ever untill that day faithfull, going to die with one that never did ſervice, ſhewed his ſcarrs; and alledging not falſely, his deſerts, being generally pitied, was pardoned, upon the humble deſire of certain noble *Spaniards*. One ſacrifice finally expiating the offence of All, and quieting the ſedition. That done, he returned to the treaty with *Nivel*, which was ſoon concluded, in this manner. The Citizens indemnified were received into grace. The Garriſon leaving (except their ſwords) all their arms, ammunition, and baggage were permitted to depart. Which arms and baggage, *Don John* beſtowed upon the *French*, to make amends for their loſſe in the aſſault, and ſome kind of ſatisfaction for the plunder of the Town, which in their hopes they had devoured. But the Bountie was to many of them fatall. For the *French* breaking into the Palace of Juſtice, where theſe Arms were kept, and in deſpight of their Officers fighting for their ſhares, not a few were wounded; in the mean time, a ſpark by chance falling from a ſouldiers match, into a Flask of Pouder, and with the flaſh firing the priming pans of the Muskets that lay on heaps, and were by the enemie left charged; almoſt an hundred and twenty were ſlain outright, or miſerably maimed; and bloudying the Palace with an unexſpected ſlaughter, dearly paid for their raſhneſs and precipitate avarice. Renewing the memory of that misfortune, which, in this very Province, befell their countrey-men; who, the while their Generall treated with the inhabitants of *Cimace*, about the render of the Town, ſcaling the walls in hope of plunder, as they ran about the Caſtle which they had ſurprized, the pouder taking fire, almoſt two hundred of the plunderers were burnt. But at *Nivel* the

the reſt of the *French,* on what motive is uncertain, deſired the Generalls leave to depart. Whether angry with their own unfortunate miſcarriage in the ſiege of *Nivel*, ſo as they could not brook the ſight of their fellow-ſouldiers; or whether loſing their hopes of pillage (which drew them to it before the Army came up) and therefore diſcontented that the Generall had been ſo quick in giving them conditions, and had (onely that his clemency might be famed) ſpared a Town deſerving to be ſack'd: or laſtly, whether (as I rather think) induced thereto by the States Emiſſaries, which perſwading them, that the Kings brother, the Duke of *Alençon* would come into the *Low-countreys* to oppoſe *Don John*, won them to his ſervice. I am ſure the *Spaniard* found, that moſt of them, two moneths after, returned enemies out of *France*. Whatſoever their reaſons were, *Don John* willingly diſmiſſed them, whom, though gallant ſouldiers, yet impatient of military Diſcipline, eſpecially under a *Spaniſh* Generall, he could hardly govern: withall being covetous, and making high demands, he, as it often happens, to avoid their ill opinions, ſometimes gave more, leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected to give leſſe, then they deſerved. But almoſt ſix hundred of theſe men, that a while after came back from *France*, to ſerve the enemie, had as evil fortune, as advice. For ſurprizing ſome villages in the entrance of *Haynolt*, whilſt they feaſt, and think themſelves ſecure, *Camillo* a *Monte* falling upon their quarters, who for his ſpeedier march brought three hundred Horſe with every one a Musketteer behind him, preſenting death before battell, killed above two hundred of them. The reſt valiantly fighting, made good their retreat into the neghbouring Caſtle of *Avena*, under the command of *Pandulpho Cenamio* a *Lucceſe*. To whom *Camillo* ſent *Laurentio Tuccio*, *Cenamio's* old friend (for they were Comrades in the Wars of *France* with *Sana Martinengo*, and *Sacramono Birago*) in hope he might perſwade him to ſurrender. After a ſhort parley, broke off with ſome hot language, *Cenamio* in a hoſtile manner, though wounded and bleeding, ſent him away, profeſſing he would ſooner part with his life, then with the Caſtle. Whereupon *Camillo*, more enraged, had now drawn out his men to the aſſault. But not daring without Cannon to adventure upon the Caſtle, new garriſon'd by the *French*, he marched back to the Army, that was at the ſame time, with ſtrange celerity, victorious over *Haynolt*.

The Frenchmen *move for a diſcharge from the ſervice.*

Duke of Alençon.

Don Iohn *eaſily grants their ſuit.*

They return in arms againſt him.

Part of them ſlain by ſurpriſe Part retire to a Fort.

And will take no conditions.

For after the render of *Nivel*, divers ſtrong places of that Province, within fifteen dayes, yielded to the King. *Binch*, ſometimes the delight of *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, and therefore expoſed to the hatred of *Henry* the ſecond of *France*. It is reported, a ſtone was there found engraven by King *Henry* (in revenge of his Houſe, defaced by Queen *Mary*,) with theſe words, *Bedlam-Queen, remember Foblembre.* Likewiſe *Malbuge* upon the river of *Sambre*; *Reux*, *Beaumont*, *Soigniac*, *Barlamont*, and other towns, though little, yet verie commodious for quartering the Armie in *Haynolt*. *Cimace*, the Principality of Duke *Areſchot*, ſtormed, and the Caſtle rendred upon theſe conditions, That the Governour ſhould march out ſafe, on horſeback, with his ſword and dagger, the ſouldiers (that were ſix hundred) in the ſame manner, onely the Foot were to leave the reſt of their arms and baggage. But at *Philipvil*, a new city of *Haynolt*, onely thirty three years old, yet by the ſite and fortification very ſtrong, for keeping off the incurſions of the *French*, the Armie was more put to it then in any other place.

Towns ſurrendred to Don Iohn.
Binch.
1554.
Malbuge.
Reux, Beaumont, Soigniac Barlamont.
Cimace *taken by Aſſault.*
April 15.
The Caſtle yields

Philipvil ſtands in a great plain, upon ſomwhat a riſing ground; its circumference is very narrow, but defended with five ſconces, encompaſſed with high

Philipvil *beſieged.*
It's ſite.

high walls, lined thick with earth to damp the Cannon-bullets, and guarded with a marvellous broad ditch. *Don John* conſidering all this, delivered his opinion, that it was not to be aſſaulted with the Sword, but with the Spade, the old and faithfull inſtrument for taking places fortified; all our great ſouldiers (even at this day, when we are grown ſo much more ingenuous then our Anceſtours, in multiplying the engins of death) being not able to invent a ſurer way to ruine walls; which are leſſe endangered by the thunder of the Cannon, then by this ſlow and ſilent weapon of the Pioner; whence ſouldiers have a Proverb, that *'tis the ſpade and pickax, which build and deſtroy Forts.* Therefore after he had drawn a line about the town, and brought his trenches near the ditch, *Don John* commanded the Pioners, working under long and thick *boards*, in the form of a Tortois, covered with raw hides to ſecure them from Granadoes (anciently called Vineyards, and Galleries) to enter the ditch, and with their Pickaxes and Spades to undermine the foundation of the wall. Which whilſt they (guarded by the ſouldiers) ſtrongly endeavoured, the defendants ſallying out, and at the ſame time others from the walls pouring down ſtones and wild-fire, they had divers bloudy encounters, with great loſſe on both ſides. *Don John* in the mean time, omitting no duty either of a Generall, or Gentleman; ſo as at the works, he both called upon, and contended with the common ſouldier. At laſt, the hearts of the beſieged no leſſe ſhaken then their walls, partly being divided among themſelves, ſo that firſt they impriſoned *Florineus* Governour of the Town for favouring the Royaliſts, and afterwards releaſed him; partly upon news of the defeat of thoſe forces, which to relieve the Town, the Prince of *Orange* ſent for out of *France*; they began a Treatie, demanding indemnitie for the Citie; and that ſo many of their ſouldiers as would ſerve the King, might have three moneths pay, then due to them from the States: the reſt to be ſuffered to depart, with drums beating, Colours flying, and the wonted pomp of ſouldiers, that carry out the funerall of a citie. Their demands being granted, almoſt five hundred of the Garriſon changed their ſervice. As many, with one Troop of Horſe, departed: the Town reduced to the Kings obedience, was continued under the Command of their old Governour *Florineus*.

'Tis invaded

As we read in Ceſar, Livie, and others.

Don John *performing the parts of a Generall and a common ſouldier.*

It is rendred.

upon theſe terms.

May 19.

The End of the ninth Book.

The Hiſtorie of the LOW-COVNTREY WARRES.

The tenth Book.

IN the meane time Don *Iohn* of *Auſtria*, having by his daily and nightly Labour contracted a weakneſſe of Stomacke, and a Languiſhing of his whole Body; whilſt he went to *Namure* for his health, left the Army to Prince *Alexander*. But firſt holding a Councell of Warre about the beſieging of *Limburg*, which it was feared would otherwiſe do much hurt to the Province of *Luxemburg*, he commended that Service to the Prince of *Parma*. He willingly undertooke it, and the rather, becauſe he hoped to fight with *Iohn Caſimir* Brother to the Prince Elector *Palatine*, who, it was ſaid, would bring his Army that way into the *Low-countreys*, thereby to vindicate (as he told the great Commanders) the honour of the Royall Army, which in ſome men's Letters was aſperſed, as if they ſhunned the Enemy, and durſt not come to a Battaile with the States; but that declining the Encounter, they carryed the Warre up and downe, only to bug-beare Townes and Villages. Therefore Prince *Alexander*, ſending before *Gabriell Nignio* a valiant *Spaniſh* Colonell, with ſeven Colours of Musketters, and commanding *Camillo a Monte* ſhould follow with the Horſe to ſecond *Nignio*, when he ſtormed the Suburbs of *Limburg*, hee himſelfe, about Midnight, moved with the *Spaniſh* and *Wallon* Foote, leaving *Fronsberg's* Regiment to conduct ten peice of Cannon that came after. And *Nignio*, beating the firſt Companyes that oppoſed him, afterwards with ſome loſſe taking the Suburbs, got a huge booty of Cattell and Victuall. But as it was a worke of too much time to beſiege the Towne, ſo it ſeemed of too much difficulty preſently to ſtorme it. For *Limburg* ſtands upon a high Rock, the Valley about it being all craggy, and therefore, ſaue only by the higher ground towards the South, inacceſſible. Beſides, it might be relieved by the River *Vueſt* running through the Towne. All this troubled not Prince *Alexander*, who Viewing the Place, choſe a Hill whereon to plant his Cannon, betweene which and the Towne was the ſmootheſt part of the Valley. From the Hill he commanded the Pioners to run a Trench ſloping

1578. *The expedition of* Limburg *by* Don John *in his ſickneſſe committed to* Alexander Farneze.

Why he under takes it.

Part of his Forces ſent before.

June 7. The Suburbs taken.

The ſite of Limburg.

Vueſt.

Workes in order to an Aſſault.

1578.

downe into the Valley, and from thence to carry it within ſight of the Towne, thence turning againe obliquely, to bring it to the Sconce at the very City gate: whilſt the reſt of his Workmen on the other ſide undermined a Tower at ſome diſtance from the Caſtle, ſhooting out like a promontory. In both Works was more of Terrour then Danger to the Towne. For they had ſcarce broke the Earth two foote deepe, when they were hindred by Rock. Yet making blindes of Boughs they defended their Trenches againſt the Shot from the Walls: Prince *Alexander* himſelfe haſtening the men at worke, ſometimes viſiting the Diggers, ſometimes the Miners. He likewiſe uſed gracious Invitations to the *Limburgers* ſending them Letters by a Trumpetter: Wherein he forbare to reprove, but rather admoniſhed them, as aſſured of the Victory, and only carefull not to deſtroy the King's City and Subjects by the Sword. They receiving the Letter from the Trumpetter at the Gate, and reading it in publique, bade him returne at the ſame houre next day. But when he came, they told him no Reſolution could be Pitcht upon, by reaſon of the difference betwixt the Townſmen and the Souldiers, but if he would come, yet once againe, he ſhould the day following have an abſolute Anſwer. Prince *Alexander* knowing that the Beſieged uſed ſuch trifling Delayes, only to gaine time, forbade the Meſſengers to go any more: conceiving it below the Dignity of the King's Army, and that it would ſhow like a Confeſſion of ſome Weakneſſe: but was more induſtrious in advancing towards the Towne his Trenches on the one ſide, and his Mines upon the other: *Comes Cæſius* overſeeing the Workes, a bold and active man; He himſelfe (fortifying the Hill with Trenches and Palliſadoes, ſetting up Gabions to be filled with Earth and turfe, and drawing Cannon upon their Cariages in ſight of the Enemy that ſhot continually) watched two nights; both hideous ones, *that* with raine from Heaven, *this* with Thunder from the Walls. But the Battery beginning at the breake of day with nine great Cannon from the Hill: when the *Limburgers* ſaw their Walls ſhaken, and a great Part thereof, no leſſe then thirtie Cubits beaten downe in foure houres ſpace; and likewiſe a Trench brought downe the hill (a thing they held impoſſible) by which the Souldiers marched under covert and were ready to aſſault the Port: Inſtantly ſending to Prince *Alexander*, the Towne earneſtly beſeeched him a little while to reſpite the Aſſault, and grant a Ceſſation of Armes but for an houre, for their laſt conſultation. The Prince of *Parma*, though it was a welcome Meſſage, becauſe he well knew unleſſe they yielded of themſelves it would be a long Worke to force them. Yet leſt his facility in condeſcending might argue ſome diffidence in his Strength, putting on a face of Terrour he angerly told the man, there had beene now going and coming enough: nor was it neceſſary his Souldiers ſhould purchaſe that by other mens Conſultations, which ſhortly would be their owne by the Law of Armes. Howbeit to mix Clemency with Threats, he bade him tell the *Limburgers*, that he would not deny them an houre's Deliberation: but if they dallyed any longer he would come with a Miſchiefe to them, and breake off their Debate. The Cannon ſcarce left playing, when a Croud of Women appeared upon the Walls with their little ones in their armes, their hands lifted up to the furious Aſſailants, and begging Peace and Pardon on their bended knees. In the very ſame houre the *Limburg*-Commiſſioners (though the Governour would have hindred it) ſecuring the Lives and Fortunes of the Townſmen and Souldiers, rendred the City and Caſtle to the Prince of *Parma*. All the Garriſon (about

Prince Alexanders *Letter to the* Limburgers

They defer the ſending of their Anſwer,

Whereat enraged.

He haſtens the finiſhing his workes. Comes Nicolaus Cæſius.

And begins to batter from the hill.

A large Breach made.

The beſiegers come up to the City gates.

A Meſſenger from the Towne to Prince Alexander.

His Anſwer.

He grants them an houres time to conſider.

The women Supplicate from the walles.

June 16.

The Towne is rendred.

(about 1000.) taking the new Oath were entertained into the King's ſervice. Only the Governour, infinitely deteſting the baſeneſſe of his men, was ſuffered with his Wife to go for *Aquiſgrane*. But Prince *Alexander*, entring the Towne, and viewing the new Fortification, defenſive Bulwarkes and Sconces turfed and palliſadoed, ſtrong as Caſtles, with all that had been done upon the place by the ingenious Engineer: beſides 15. great Braſſe-Cannon, and many leſſe, as alſo no little Magazine of Armes and Ammunition: then, meaſuring the greatneſſe of his Victory, he himſelfe gave thanks (commanding the like ſhould be ſolemnly done by the Army) to God the God of battailes, by whoſe Favour a Towne of that Strength, not to be taken without much paines, coſt, and loſſe (as 'tis uſuall) of the beſt Souldiers, ſo eaſily, and without bloud, ignorant of its owne power, had yielded to him. 1578.

Though fortified,
And in a condition to hold out

The Conquerours give God thanks.

The ſame day the Prince of *Parma* appointed his great Officers to attacque the remaining Cities of that Province, ſome one, ſome another. And all within a few dayes obeyed his Summons, except *Dalhem*, that was ſtormed. Thither Prince *Alexander* ſent *Camillo* à *Monte* with a Letter exhorting the Towne to returne to the King's obedience. But the Souldiers of *Holland* and *Gelderland* (not above two hundred and fifty) which held the Caſtle, ſhot at the Meſſenger, and would by no meanes ſuffer a Parley, or the Delivery of his Letter. Upon notice hereof the Prince of *Parma* wondring at ſo much confidence in ſo ſmall a Towne, calling to him *Henry Viennius*, Lord of *Ceuranium*, "*Go* (ſaid he) *to Dalhem, take Cannon and* ſhoote *me a Letter into the Towne.* He ſpeedily carrying along ſix great Gunnes with his Regiment of *Burgundians*, and foure Colours of *Germans*, daunted the Towne, and turning his Cannon upon the Caſtle, into which Souldiers had retreated that would ſooner die then yield, he began a fierce, but fruitleſſe battery: for the Walls were as ſtubburne as the Men, and eaſily bafled the Cannon. Till the *Burgundians* undertaking the Scalado, ſet Ladders to two ſides, and with incredible courage fighting hand to hand upon the Walls, with various ſucceſſe, at laſt with the loſſe of ten, though many more were wounded, they ſtormed the Caſtle and the Towne; with ſuch a Slaughter of the Defendants (of whom not one eſcaped,) and Townſ-men, that no age, no ſex was ſpared, but the Army long affronted and kept off, poured their fury like a Torrent equally on all. Where an accident hapned, as ſacrilegious, as barbarous. Into a Church for Sanctuary with the reſt of her weake Sex, fled a maide of about 16. yeares old, Daughter to the Governour ſlaine in the Aſſault, and now to be regiſtred among the Examples of unfortunate Beauty. She, handſome both in her perſon and her Dreſſe, was taken notice of, and immediately ſeized, by a couple of Souldiers, one a *German*, the other a *Burgundian*; who quarrelling about the prize tugged the poor Lady, in vaine objecting the Reverence due to the place, and crying out for ſuccour (which was all ſhe could) to God and his Saints. But while they fought ſhe being in the middle, either by chance or by the malice of him that found himſelfe the weaker, receiving a cruell wound in her neck, all bloudy, ſhe fell downe upon the floore; the other was about to have revenged it, when a great ſort more coming in, the man, leſt he might loſe his prize, and ſome other ſhould enjoy her, mad with Rage, ſtruck at the maide looking about her in hope to make an eſcape, and holding up her hands to the reſt, whom ſhe thought more mercifull, and with his Sword gave her a deadly cut under the Eare; ready to

P. Alexander *ſummons* Dalhem,

His Trumpet not admitted,

The Caſtle battered,

To no purpoſe,

The Burgundians *ſcale it.*

And take both Caſtle and Towne by ſtorme
June 10.
With a great Slaughter of the Citizens:
The ſad fortune of a Maid.
Two Souldiers ſtrive for her and in their ſtruggle, uſe their priſoner moſt inhumanely,

Who wounded and halfe dead.

1578.

double his blow, if the Company (one of which was *Signior Paulo Rinaldo* a confident to Prince *Alexander*, that lifted up his voyce and ſword together) had not in time frighted the villaine. But the two Souldiers knowing *Rinaldo's* Intimacy with Prince *Alexander*, in feare of his Authority ran away.

Is taken from them,

Rinaldo carrying her to her Father's Houſe, with much humanity tooke care of the Lady, and inſtantly ſent for Chirurgeons to dreſſe her: but ſhe, paſt all cure, was ſcarce laid upon her bed, when ſhe gave up the Ghoſt, leaving indeed a foule blot upon the Catholique Army: which notwithſtanding would have been waſhed out with the bloud of both the Ruffians, if they (condemned with the generall execration, and ſearched for to be executed) had not prevented puniſhment by running quite away.

But immediatly dies.

The benefit that followed the taking of Limburg.

But the Prince of *Parma* in the ſpace of twenty dayes loſing juſt that number of his men, with ſo little damage, recovered for the King the whole Province of *Limburg*: a very great Addition at this time, to the Royall Party, not ſo much for the greatneſſe of the Province (which is indeed but little, compared unto the reſt) as for the opportunity of keeping out the enemy, which might eaſily by that way have come from *Germany*.

Thanks ſent to Alex. Farneze *by the Princes whoſe Eſtates lay neare the Towne.*

Beſides the private benefit likewiſe accruing to the Neighbour-Princes, particularly to the Biſhop of *Liege*, and the Duke of *Juliers*, both which by ſeverall Embaſſies congratulated Prince *Alexander* for the happy courſe of his Victories, either of them giving thanks in his owne behalfe, eſpecially for the deſtroying or removing the Garriſons of *Limburg* and *Dieſtem*, that daily robbed their Subjects.

To the confederates great griefe at firſt: afterwards to their great joy.

But the newes of this Victory awakened diverſe Paſſions in the States at *Antwerp*. Griefe, at firſt, when they heard *Limburg*, was taken, exceſſive Joy when it was rumoured through the Towne, and a printed Pamphlet likewiſe publiſhed, that the Caſtle of *Limburg* the Magazine being fired, was ſhattered to the ground, the *Spaniſh* Commanders miſerably and deſervedly blown up, the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragonio*, *Heirg*, and the other great Field-Officers buried in the Ruines: and that Don *John* of *Auſtria* was run mad upon it; and reſolved to make his Retreat from the *Low-countreys*.

Upon a Report, that Prince Alexander, *with diverſe more, was ſlaine.*

Coyned by the Prince of Orange.

All this appeares to be forged by the Prince of *Orange*, that he might the eaſier keepe up the people's hearts, dejected with the *Auſtrian* victories, by making a *fained*, ſince he could not make a *reall* Slaughter: and likewiſe that the reſt of the money granted to him long agoe by the Arch-Duke's procurement and command, now by occaſion of haſtning the Army againſt Don *John* (who had loſt all his Commanders) might bee ſpeedily collected.

Why ſuch kind of newes is often forged,

An ordinary artifice practiſed at this day by many, that give out the quite contrary to what hath hapned: partly to defraud the adverſe party of the firſt Heate and Spring of Joy, which afterward will come more languiſhing; and perhaps intermixed (as all things humane are) with ſome improſperous Succeſſe: partly to uſe that ſhort time wherein they are believed to have got the better, for ordering their Affaires by a fruitfull Anticipation: ſlighting the future ſhame of the lie, ballanced with their preſent profit.

What truth was in this Rumour.

Yet this invention of the Prince of *Orange* and his Faction had ſome little Truth in it. Newes and Money being never ſo adulterate, but they muſt have a mixture of right-Mettall. For the Day after the Rendition of *Limburg*-Caſtle, the powder that was kept in one of the Towers fired, by chance or upon deſigne, blowing up the Walles, the Stones which fell againe, beate downe a great part of the Tower, killed foure, and thoſe only Common Souldiers, hurting ſix or ſeven. One paſſage among the reſt Prince *Alexander* writes to his Mother

for

for a Miracle. He had left *Chriſtophero Mondragonio* with a Company of Spaniards Governour of the Caſtle and Towne; He himſelfe by God's Providence that night returned to the Campe. The Powder in the meane time tooke fire, and blew up the Tower with the building round about, *Mondragonio's* Chamber by the fall of the upper Lodgings being beaten to the ground. The Souldiers in the morning, when all feare of the Enemy was paſt, ran to behold their fellowe's fortune, lamenting the fate of their valiant and Noble Commander *Mondragonio* that lay next the Tower. A ſtrange Story and Spectacle, they finde the Seeling and Walls of the roome broken downe, but ſo much of the floore yet left as bore up *Mondragonio's* bed, with a Trunke ſtanding beſides it. The Souldiers at once trembling and rejoycing fetcht off their Colonell ſafe and unhurt, the Trunke (which I ſuppoſe *Mondragonio* himſelfe had drawne out of the fire and Ruines) they beheld full of Reliques, and conſecrated Church-Plate believing that to be the Cauſe why the fire out of reverence proved ſo innocent; and that the very Preſervation of thoſe holy things opportunely ſaved the Pious preſerver. This while at *Namure* dyed *Charles* Count *Barlamont* and *Lancelot* his Son Count of *Megen* (*this* fell ſick at the Siege of *Philipvill*, *he* was old and had lived out his time) whoſe Funeralls Don *Iohn* celebrated with the Sorrow of all good men. Indeed Count *Charles* as valiantly and conſtantly as any *Low-countreyman* whatſoever, both at home and abroad, fought for religion and his Prince; teaching the ſame Arts to his Children; whereof the Lord of *Heirg*, was Generall of the Traine of Artillery, and Colonell of the *Wallons*, *Megen* Commander of the *Germans*, *Floio Heirge's* Lieutenant Colonel, *Altapen* Captaine of a Troop of Horſe, in their Father's life time: and after his death the firſt of theſe ſucceeded him in the Governement of the Province of *Namure*, and in the Treaſurerſhip.

1578. *A Miraculous Accident.* *June 30.*

The Deaths of Count Barlamont *& Count* Megen.

C. Barlamont's *Encomion.*

Ægidius.

Lancellot Charles.

Hitherto all went proſperouſly with Don *Iohn*, which ſtruck no little feare into the Archduke: and the States openly taxed the Prince of *Orange* as taken up with other Affaires. But he was founding his Empire on the Sea-Coaſt of *Holland*, whence he might extend it over *Brabant*. To this Deſigne when he ſaw the only Rubbe was *Amſterdam*, the richeſt Towne of all *Holland*, equally faithfull to Religion and their King: all his Indeavours were bent to get it either forcibly, or by Stratagem; and to uſe Force was vaine; for in the end of the laſt yeare this City being ſurprized by the *Orangians*, and they advanced as far the Market-Place, the Citiſens taking Armes expelled thoſe victorious *Gheuſes*, with a great Slaughter of the Enemy, not without the memorable Aſſiſtance of ſome Women that privately carryed a very great Gun, which they mounted and diſcharged, killing a huge ſort of the *Gheuſes*. Afterwards the Town blockt up with new Forces by Sea and Land held out a long Siege, till the Prince of *Orange* promiſing them free Exerciſe of the Catholique Religion, they at laſt ſurrendred. Yet he, when they upon this Capitulation thought themſelves ſecure, contrary to their Articles introduced a ſtronge Garriſon, and Promoters of Hereſie, who cauſing all holy things to be defaced, their Prieſtes to be turned out, and Hereſy by conſequence brought in (a ſurer Guard then any Garriſon to keepe Cityes from the *Spaniard*) he ſecured *Amſterdam*, and revenged the men loſt a month before at *Gemblac*, with a long-continued Slaughter here. Then deſigning to bring Forces out of *Germany*, he perſwaded the Archduke and the States to make a Truce for ſome Months with Don *Iohn* of *Auſtria*. For *Iuan Sellio* was returned

Don John's *proſperous fortune troubles the Enemy.* Amſterdam, *attempted by the P. of* Orange *1577.* *November.*

Beates out his men. Mar. Del. l. 4. Turb. Belg. *For which the Women are to be commended.* *February.* *At laſt the Towne is rendered, and deceived.*

The Prince of Orange *votes for a Truce* *March 10.* Sellio *in the Kings name,*

1578. *Treates with the Deputies of the Eſtates.*

returned from *Spaine* ſent in the Kings name to uſe his utmoſt Indeavours for a Peace; and delivering Letters of this Tenure to Don *Iohn*, paſſed to *Antwerp*, where to the Deputyes of the Eſtates he imparted ſecret Commands from the King, promiſing largely to ſatisfy their deſires: and, if ſo be they would reſume their old Religion and Loyalty to their Prince, he would call Don *Iohn* out of the *Low-countreys*; and ſubſtitute in his Place either *Alexander Farneze* Prince of *Parma*, or the Arch-duke *Ferdinand* Vncle to the Emperour, or elſe confirme the Arch-duke *Matthias*; yet propoſing, like a King, many other Conditions. But the great Lords had their eares now luted againſt the ſound of Peace, both with the once taſted ſweetneſſe of the Soveraigne Authority, and by many mens Perſwaſions, That no Peace was to be hoped from the incenſed *Spaniard*. Beſides their Cenſor, the Prince of *Orange*, was buſy cavilling at the King's Promiſes, amplifying the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, the *Lowcountreymens* Patience, and their neare approaching Liberty. So as he made them anſwer *Sellio*, they would preſume upon the Kings proffered benignity, and therefore deſired, till the Provinces had conſulted about that Election, a Ceſſation of Armes. *Sellio*, before he communicated the Deputy's Anſwer to Don *Iohn*, diſcovered to Prince *Alexander* the King's Reſolution to create him Governour of the *Low-countreys*: and he himſelfe being to treate with Don *Iohn* for a Ceſſation of Armes, was earneſt with the Prince of *Parma* to uſe his Power with his uncle in advancing the King's deſigne for Peace. But *Alexander Farneze* refuſed to meddle in it, profeſſing that any Truce at preſent would be diſadvantageous both to Religion, and the King. Nay in his Letter to his Father he ſaid, "*He ſhould not like to be Governour of the Low-countreys upon ſuch Conditions, as Don Iohn of Auſtria* came *to it*, and gave the Duke theſe Reaſons. "*For that were, ſaid he, even to be delivered into theſe mens hands a fettered Priſoner, and preſcribed a life hatefull to my ſelfe, idle, inglorious, and, my Genius conſidered, moſt unhappy. Indeed I, that find the Impulſe of Nature inclines me to ſeeke by the Glory of Armes the Immortality of my name, cannot but hope, the Divine Aſſiſtance will enable me in that profeſſion above the Common ſort of men. And I ſtand upon it the more, as conceiving how much it behoves the King to ſuite all his Miniſters with fit Imployments.* Nor was Don *Iohn* otherwiſe opinioned of a Truce. Which in behalfe of the States being afterwards earneſtly preſſed by Embaſſadours from the Emperour, Don *Iohn* the more earneſtly denyed, conjecturing by the Requeſters unuſuall Endeavours their Neceſſity.

But to no end.

The Prince of Orange *will onely give eare to a Truce.*

Which Prince Alexander *likes not.*

March. 25. His Letter to his Father Octavio Duke of Parma.

Neither is it approved of by Don Iohn.

And his hope was advanced, by the opportune Arrivall of many in the Campe. For at the ſame time, beyond Expectation, were come from *Spaine*, *Pedro* de *Toledo*, Son to *Garcia* Viceroy of *Sicily*: *Lopez Figueroa*, that commanded a *Spaniſh* Regiment, which he brought with him out of the old Garriſons of *Italy*, and *Alphonſo Leva*, Son to *Sancho* Viceroy of *Navarre*, with a hundred ſelected *Spaniſh* Gentlemen, to whom the Brother of *Alphonſo*, *Sancho Leva*, was Lieutenant, & *Diego Hurtado Mendoza*, *Alphonſo's* Vncle, Enſigne. Not long before this *Gabriell Serbellonio* was releaſed from *Tunis* by *Gregory* the thirteenth (in Exchange for Priſoners kept in *Hardrians* Tower, ever ſince the Battaile of *Lepanto*) an eminent Commander, that both in regard of his perfect yeares and judgment in military affaires, was by Don *Iohn* and all the Royall Party highly eſteemed, eſpecially having levyed by Don *Iohn's* Command 2000 *Italians* in the Province of *Millaine*, and brought them along with him. But nothing

New Officers from Spaine.

Pedr. de Toledo.
Lopez. Figueroa.
Alphons. Leva.

Gabr. Serbellonio.

thing more incouraged the Army, then the returne of the Lord *Bill* out of *Spaine*, ſent thither by Don *John* after the battaile of *Gemblac*, to move his Majeſty for new Supplies, which he obtained. For the King made Don *John* an Exhibition of 300000. Ducats a moneth, to pay 30000. Foote, and 6000. Horſe, letting him know, this was the ſumme he could and would ſpare for the *Low-countrey*-Warre, and cutting off all hope of an enlargment. To the Prince of *Parma* his Majeſty once more offered, which he commanded him to accept, a yearly penſion of 12000. Crownes and 2000. for his Friends and ſervants; ſending him the Arreares thereof ſince the day of his coming into the *Low-countreys*. He likewiſe confirmed *Octavio Gonzaga* Generall of the Horſe, with a ſtipend of 500. Crownes *per* Month. *Chriſtopher Mondragonio* and *Franceſco Verdugo*, *Spaniſh* Colonells, had an Aſſignation, that of 800. Crownes, this of 500. and *Anthonio Olivera* chiefe Commiſſary of the Horſe was to have 300. yearely: Beſides he gave *Charles* Count *Mansfeldt* 16000. Crownes, and diſtributed many Donatives to others. But at the ſame time Don *Iohn* underſtood, that by orders from the King new Forces were raiſed in *Italy* for the *Low-countrey*-ſervice. The Governour of *Millane* nominating for their Commanders, *Alphonſo* Count de *Somai*, a Millaneſe; *Vincentio Carafa*, Prior of *Hungary*, a Neapolitan; *Pyrrho Malvezzi* a Bononian, and *Stephano Mutino*: all men of quality, and able Souldiers. Yet it ſtung Don *Iohn* to the quick, that Officers of his Army ſhould be choſen at the pleaſure of the King's Miniſters. Therefore diſpatching away Letters to the King, after his humble thanks for the Money and Men ſent into the *Low-countreys* by his Majeſty, he ſhewed him. There would be no uſe of more Souldiers out of *Italy*; becauſe he had already ordered the Counts, *Altempſe* and *Polvillerio*, old and faithfull Commanders to bring men from the neareſt parts of *Germany*, ſome of which were arrived: & his allowance, being limited, could hardly maintaine the Army now raiſed, much leſs that to be raiſed. So he ſtopt the Levies of *Italy*; yet in the *Low-countrey*-Army ſtill kept afoote the once believed Report of new *Italian* Recruits, to diſcourage the enemy, and to animate his own forces. Indeed the King's men needed no leſſe Incouragement, conſidering what preparations were made againſt them. For an Army raiſed in *Germany* for the States had paſſed the *Moſe*, and was now before *Nimmenghen*; and Duke *Alencon* Brother to the King of *France*, of whom we ſhall ſpeake much hereafter, was with a *French* Army come to *Mons* the chiefe City of *Haynolt*: and *John Caſimir* with a very great ſtrength marched towards *Nimmenghen* through *Gelderland*; certaine intelligence whereof was brought from all parts to Don *Iohn*, who calling a Councell of Warre, reſolved to fall upon ſome Quarter of the Enemy, and immediatly inforce them to fight. But either by his delay, or the Enemies expedition, it hapned, that the *German* Auxiliaries joyned with the States Army, neare *Lyre*, and *Mechlin*, before Don *Iohn* could bring his men to their Colours, and muſter them. Yet hee had loſt the opportunity, not the Deſire of fighting, eſpecially when at another Councell of Warre, he ſaw all the reſt of the Commanders deſirous of a battaile, onely the Prince of *Parma* diſſented, to the generall Admiration; which he himſelfe obſerving, gave his reaſons in this manner, and almoſt in theſe very words, which he wrote into *Spaine* to *Samaniego*. "*I ſee, Grandees of the Warre, you wonder I ſhould not concurre,* "*as one that many have taxed of Confidence, none yet of Feare: you may* "*therefore imagine I am induced by ſome great conſiderations, that contrary* "*to*

1578. *June* 22. *New ſupplies of money from the King to Don* Iohn.

To Alexander Farneze.

To Octavio Gonzaga. *To* Mondragonio. *To* Verdugo. *To* Ant. Olivera. *To Count* Mansfeldt. *New levies in* Italy. *Under theſe Commanders.*

Don Iohn *troubled at it; Stops their proceedings.*

Three Armies of the Enemy. The States Forces. The Duke of Alencon's, *July* 19. Iohn Caſimir's. *July* 17.

Don Iohn's *Councell of Warre.*

Alex. Farneze *votes againſt fighting them* *Auguſt* 18.

1578. "*to my cuſtome I thus decline a Battaile. Which conſiderations, though I* "*am better at* Action *then* Diſcourſe, *I ſhall in ſhort explaine. We invade* "*an Enemy ſtrong in number, ſafe in their ground, and conveniences for re-* "*liefe, intrenched and palliſadoed by the adjoyning woods. If they, when we* "*come to face them, knowing themſelves ſecure, and therefore ſlighting us,* "*ſhall keepe within their Trenches, by what Force, by what Art can we draw* "*them out into the Field? But if we only ſhew our Army, and having given* "*them a ſight of us, retire, what ſhall we gaine by our troubleſome March hi-* "*ther, and the leaving our Garriſons naked, and conſequently expoſed to* "*the danger of the* French: *Yet their backwardneſſe to ſight will make them* "*appeare the weaker, why rather ſhould not our fruſtrated indeavours and* "*our Retreate ſhew them to be invincible? Beſides, never without loſſe did a-* "*ny Army fall off, and give the Word for a Retreate, though never ſo skil-* "*fully and Souldierly. But ſuppoſe the Enemy, as we wiſh, draw out, and* "*give us Battaile of their owne accord. Or ſay our valour force their Tren-* "*ches? ſhall we preſently promiſe our ſelves the Victory? Truly a wiſe Ge-* "*nerall is concerned not only to conſider his owne, but likewiſe the Enemies* "*ſtrength and Inclination, and induſtriouſly in his heart to caſt up a juſt ac-* "*count of what benefit will reſult to himſelfe, what to the enemy by the fortu-* "*nate or improſperous chance of Warre. Indeed my opinion is, that our con-* "*dition and theirs at the preſent differs very much. In the Royall Army, here* "*in the Field with us, all our ſtrength conſiſts; that being defeated (which* "Omen *God turne upon the Enemy) where ſhall we raiſe men to defend our* "*Remainder of the* Low-countreys *againſt the Conquerour? But they will* "*not be ſo much indangered by the loſſe of a Battaile. For if that Army we* "*march againſt be routed, they can recruit, aſſiſted on the one part by Duke* "Alencon *and his* French-men, *on the other by Prince* Caſimir, *and the* "*ſtill increaſing* German *Succours. But in caſe (which is to be hoped from* "*God's goodneſſe and our Souldiers Courage) the Catholique Army ſhall with* "*a better Cauſe likewiſe have the better Fortune; with how much bloud, with* "*what exchange of Gold for Droſſe muſt we buy the victory, fighting before* "*their Campe, with their freſh and intire Forces? But when we have thus* "*weakned our ſelves by conquering, if the* French, *that watch all occaſions,* "*fall upon us; how I feare our Conqueſt will be followed with a farre greater* "*misfortune; we indeed ſhall have the Honour of the Day, but others reape* "*the profit. In ſumme, we may be victorious in the Battaile, and vanquiſhed* "*in the Warre. Wherefore ſince in this our voluntary expedition, we may* "*in reaſon feare almoſt the ſame Diſaſter, whether* conquered *or* conquering, "*my opinion is, that we ſhould give off the attempt, and at preſent check this* "*Courage rather great, then fruitfull.* Don *Iohn* thought this ſpeech of the the Prince of *Parma's*, more *true* then *gallant*: and therefore beſides *Gabriel Serbellonio* (one that Don *Iohn* uſed to call Father, and to preferre his judgement before the reſt) none of all the Councell of Warre was of Prince *Alexander's* mind. And the Generall carried it for aſſaulting of the confederates Campe, before they ſhould be reinforced with new ſupplies. Count *Mansfeldt* the Campe-maſter held it a point of Honour for the Royall Army to rouſe the enemy within covert, that truſted more to the place, then either to their Armes or Valour. The Generall of the Horſe, *Octavio*, ſaid, the Souldiers Alacrity muſt be uſed before Delay had dulled it, and that they were to follow the happy preſage of victory expreſſed in their unanimous conſent to fight: and a ſucceſſe was to be hoped, eſpecially at this time, by reaſon of the enemi's Diſcord. For *Fe-*

Only Serbellonio *concurres with Prince* Alexander.

The reſt, viz. Gonzaga. Mansfeldt. Olivera Montin. *and* Mondragonio *were of Don* John's *opinion.*

derick

derick Perenot, Lord of *Campin*, by the Prince of *Orange's* Command was ſent Priſoner to *Gant*, and his Houſe at *Bruxells* plundred, becauſe he was reported to be making his Peace with the King, by meanes of his Brother Cardinall *Granvell*: and indeed he was diſcontented that the Prince of *Orange* ſlighted him in Compariſon of *Aldegund*. The like was by the Prince of *Orange* attempted upon *Heſe*, and *Glimè* both which they ſay upon a rumour of the Prince of *Oranges* Murder (Spread by his owne Miniſters and Direction, very ominouſly for himſelfe, only to try the faith of others) expreſſed no dubious ſignes of Ioy. And therefore in imitation of the Battaile at *Gemblac*, they having now intelligence of like diviſions among the Confederates, their Army factious and deſtitute of theſe Commanders, ſhould be forthwith aſſaulted, and no doubt but the like Succeſſe would follow, as Don *Iohn* concluded. The Battaile therefore being now reſolved on, *Mutio Pagano* and *Amator* of *Abadien*, Officers of Horſe, ſent Spyes to diſcover the Enemyes Campe and to Chuſe the ground where they ſhould fight, brought back word, That the Confederates Army was intrenched not farre from *Machlin*, the Rere guarded by the Village of *Rimenant*, the Flanks with a Wood and a Fen, their Front with a Trench and a Line drawne betweene both the Flanks. Before that Trench was an open Plaine very commodious for drawing out the Enemy to Battaile, but they found no Avenue to the Village, but one, neare the Wood, on the left hand, a way that would only hold ſix or ſeven men a breaſt. Vpon this Diſcovery, Don *Iohn* ſending back ſome Companyes to garriſon the Frontire-Townes for keeping out the *French*, moved from *Tienen*, and paſſing over his Army at *Areſchott*-Bridge, the ſecond dayes March he came within ſight of the Enemy: and knowing the Plaine, by the Deſcription his Scouts had made, he preſently imbattailed his Army conſiſting of 12000 Foote and 5000 Horſe. Then the Prince of *Parma*, whilſt Don *Iohn* put his men into Battalia, was a very earneſt Suiter, in caſe they fought that day, that he might lead up the *Spaniſh* Infantry ordered to begin the Battaile, to demonſtrate, as I conceive, that his Courage to advance the Expedition was no leſſe active, then his Counſell formerly to retard it. Don *Iohn* admiring the Greatneſſe of his Spirit, and Contempt of Danger, at firſt put him off, at length conſented, becauſe he knew it would be of great Concernement under whoſe conduct that Battalion ſhould march, which muſt give the *Omen* to the Victory. But till they joyned Battaile he would have Prince *Alexander's* Company to ride about the Field with him. In the interim his Army was drawne out in the entrance of the Plaine, and by the ordinary ſound of Drums and Trumpets challenged the Enemy to fight. Where expecting for three houres, and the Enemy not moved, with any kinde of Invitation to the Field, ſtill keeping within their Trenches; Don *Iohn* called *Alphonſo Leva* that commanded an extraordinary Regiment of Muſketters, & ſaid to him, "*Go*" Alphonſo, "*put thy ſelfe and thy men in-* "*to that narrow way betweene the Wood and Trench, as if thou hadſt a deſigne* "*to enter the Village in deſpight of their Army: no doubt but they will oppoſe thee, when they come on, do thou retire, to draw them into the Field.* Withall he commands the Marqueſſe a *Monte* with three Troops of Curaſſiers and Lanciers to bend that way, and be in the Rere of *Leva's* Foote. The Enemyes whole Army under the Arch-duke and the States was commanded by *Maximilian Hennin* Count of *Bolduc*, an experienced and wary Souldier. He intending to fruſtrate Don *Iohn's* indeavours, either by ſitting

1578.
Eſpecially hearing the Prince of Orange *was falne out with* Campin.
And with Heſe and Glimè
Marr. Delr. l. 4 Turb. Be'g.
Don Iohn *reſolves to fight.*
The ſite of the Enemy's Campe deſcribed by the Kings Scoutes.
Don Iohn *moves towards them.*
Marſhalls his Army.
The number of his forces.
Alex. Farneze *ſues for the honour to command the Van.*
Don Iohn *of* Auſtria *challenges the Enemy to a Battaile.*
They anſwer him not.
He ſends one to anger and rouſe them.
The flying Squadron.
Giovanni Baptiſta a Monte.
The Generall for the confederates
Vſes the ſame artifice to deceive the Royaliſts.

1578 ing ſtill, or acting with ſome Stratagem, commanded *Iohns Norreys* an Engliſh Colonell, who defended that Poſt, to meete the Enemy, but ſo as not to fight at too great a diſtance from the place. The Battaile was therefore begun, betwene the *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh*, very gently at firſt, for neither *Leva* nor *Norreys* meant to ingage very farre, till to relieve the *Engliſh*, becauſe many of them were ſlaine, Count *Egmont* coming in with his Reſerve of Horſe, A *Monte* likewiſe immediately advanced with His. Againſt *Robert Stuart* alſo bringing up with him ſome *Scotch* Foote Don *Iohn* ſent *Ferdinando* de *Toledo* with the reſt of thoſe active Foote under his Command, and *Camillo* a *Monte* in the Rere of them, with two Cornets of Horſe, he himſelfe moving forward in Battalia with the whole Army in hope of a generall Battaile with the now irritated Enemy. The Prince of *Parma* alſo leaping off his Horſe, tooke the place which he had ſo earneſtly deſired among the *Spaniſh* Infantry, and appeared in in the head of them with his Pike in his hand. And now the Forlornes of both Armyes fell on, not like Skirmiſhers, but as if the Summe of Affaires were in diſpute. When *Leva* having happily lined the thickets with his Muſketiers, poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Wood on the left hand, and *Toledo* entring the Paſſe which had few left to defend it, both, with great Violence, backed by the Horſe aſſailed the Trenches, & at laſt beat the Enemy, ſometimes retiring, ſomtimes facing about & fighting, even into the Village. Nor did their Flight ſeeme to be ended there, but foraſmuch as they fired the Hutts they left behinde them, it was undoubtedly believed they meant not only to leave their Campe but the Village too. But then *Toledo* and A *Monte* ſending *Comes Cæſio* to Don *Iohn*, beſeeched him preſently to diſpatch away freſh men, for the Victory was his own. But Prince *Alexander*, becauſe he had obſerved, that the Enemyes without much Diſpute quitted their Campe, & fled orderly, as if it were upon Deſigne, began to ſuſpect it was not done by Neceſſity, but on Purpoſe. He therefore inſtantly mett Don *Iohn*, and finding him unreſolved about ſending in Supplies, increaſed the Generalls Doubts, profeſſing his owne Opinion was, that the Campe which the Enemy had ſo eaſily parted with, and not formerly ſecured, as the cuſtome is, with Field-Pieces, was only choſen by way of Stratagem to deceive the Royall Army with vaine hopes of Victory, and under colour of Flight to bring them into the danger of an Ambuſcado. Wherefore it would be good, till the Place were diſcovered, to call off his men that purſued the Enemy. And *Cæſio* went from Don *Iohn*, with whom the Iealouſly wrought very much, to command them to make a Stand. But they had already paſt the Towne, (chaſing the Enemy that fled ſcatteringly, & were entred the Plaine towards *Machlin* hemmed in with the River *Demera* on the one ſide, and on the other with a thick Wood: and ſuch a military heat tranſported them, that being blinded with a Cloud of duſt, before they underſtood the Myſtery, they ſaw themſelves come to the Enemye's true Campe lying between the River and the wood, intrenched round, and ſtrongly guarded on the Front with Cannon. There the Enemy had pitched; being no fewer then 12000 Foote, and 7000 Horſe, diſtributed into ſeverall Diviſions, ſo as they reached as farr as *Machlin*. All this daunted not the Royaliſts, but making a Halt (for *Norreys* now ſupplyed from the Neighbouring Campe, had rallyed his flying men) they put themſelves (as well they could) in order, ſuddainly imbattailed, and with new Ardour began the fight. Theſe were 5000 Foote, all Muſkettiers, and moſt of them *Spaniards*, the

The fight At firſt little increaſeth more and more.

Alexander Farneze *in the Head of the Foote.*

The Kings men beate the ene-Enemy.

Take their trenches and the village.

They ſend to Don Iohn *for more men to make good the Chaſe.*

Co. Nicol. Cæſio.

Alex. Farneze *doubts a ſtratagem.*

And perſwades Don Iohn *to call backe his men.*

But firſt they were come to the Enemies true Campe.

The ſite of the Enemies Campe.

Their number.

The fight renewed.

the Horſe were *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *Low-countrymen* about 600, armed with Lances and Piſtols. The Enemy was equall in Foote, ſuperiour in Cavalry. Yet both Armyes fought with ſtrength above their numbers, and with Courage aboue their Strength: *thoſe* the Succeſſe of their plott and neareneſſe to their Campe; *theſe* the ſhame of being cozned and a kind of Deſperation precipitated to a Battaile, and made them joyne with farre more animoſity. Some Companyes of *Scots* made themſelves remarkable, who either in bravery, or not able to indure the heate of their Running, and the Day, the Sun putting the whole Sky into a Flame, ſtript themſelves, contented only with their Shirts, ſome caſting off thoſe too, and tying them about their middles, came on naked among the armed men. Yet many of them were no leſſe ſafe then others that wore Armes which made them unweldier, not ſo nimble to avoid a hurt, ſlower to riſe when they were down, laſt in a Retreate, and often either ſlaine by the Enemy, trod under their horſes feete, or taken Priſoners. But the Enemy's Cannon often and ſafely thundering from their Trenches, cruelly ſhattered the Kings men, from which deſtruction not able to defend themſelves, becauſe no part of the Plaine was free from the Shott, they found but one Remedy, which was with their laſt indeavours to aſſault their Trenches. But thoſe were likewiſe fortified, and they themſelves hardly could ſtand a Charge, much leſſe aſſaile others, So that *Cæſio* returning to Don *Iohn* with a true account of their Condition, beſeeched him, ſince they could not retire without being purſued and ruined, nor yet much longer ſuſtaine the fury of the Cannon, that he would ſend Ayde which might incourage them with aſſurance of Succeſſe, to invade the Poſtes of the Enemy. Don *Iohn* tranſported with Griefe and Anger, though he denyed to ſend ſo much as one man to thoſe, that ingaging beyond the limits of his expreſſe Command, had brought themſelves into thoſe Straites and Intricacyes; yet he was pleaſed briefely to heare the Judgment of *Alexander Farneze*, *Octavio Gonzaga*, and Count *Mansfeldt*. All which concurred in opinion, that it was not ſafe to ſend others, who rather would partake their danger, then come to their reliefe; yet that ſuch men ought not to be deſerted with ſo great a loſſe both of Souldiers and Reputation: but that the place at a nearer diſtance ſhould be viewed, and a Reſolution taken according to the preſent Exigence and Expedient. This Charge was committed to Prince *Alexanders* Care, who galloping thither, and taking a ſtrickt Survey both of the Danger of the party that fought, and of all the Advantages of the Field for their Retreate, obſerved, that in the hollow of the Plaine betweene certaine hedges and well-planted Orchards, lay a Paſſe, by which he deſpaired not to bring off the Foote. He adviſed about it with Don *Iohn*, and *Gonzaga*; not denying, but it was a dubious and almoſt a raſh Attempt: yet he ſaid, that in acute Diſeaſes ſomtimes deſperate Remedyes are not unſkilfully applyed by the Phiſicians. His deſigne being approved, he himſelfe undertooke it, the reſt eaſily giving way that he ſhould fetch them off; which he did in this manner. At the Avenues of the hedges, planting Muſkettiers, he ordered them with a ſuddaine haile of Shott to ſtop the Advance of the Enemy; and commanded *Gonzaga*, that rallying and animating the Horſe, he ſhould bring them to guard the Rere whilſt they retreated, and when the Foote were ſafe among the hedges, give the Enemy a hot Charge, and by the way they firſt entred, betwene the Village and the Wood, narrow indeed, but faire and commodious for horſe, retire to his Poſte.

1578

What forces fought on both ſides.
The Confederates.
The Royaliſts.

The Scots fight naked.
Auguſt 1.

The Royaliſts in a ſad condition lying open to the Enemies Cannon.

They ſend to Don Iohn *for Freſh men.*

Who in his Anger at firſt denies them.

Then adviſeth,

And reſolves to have the place conſidered.

Alex. Farneze *goes to view it and contrives a way to fetch off the men.*

Which he executes.

1578. *Don* Iohn *exhorts his men to keepe their ranks.*

Nor with leſſe care the *Auſtrian* Generall in the meane time, riding about the Army, exhorted the Colonells and Captaines, that keeping their men firme in ranke and file, they ſhould receive their fellowes returning from the fight, without Diſorder, which was deſtructive to the enemy at the battaile of *Gemblac:* where their Horſe fied ſcatteringly, and routed their owne Foote: which very misfortune might befall the Royall Army, if upon the Approach of their fellowes amazed and diſtracted, the Enemy, animated by others Feare, ſhould then invade them. Things thus diſpoſed, Prince *Alexander* before he called off thoſe that fought, commanded the foote, partly as if they gave ground, partly as if they meant to wheele about and fight againe, by degrees to fall back, till they came to that part of the plaine which he had ſhewed to *Alphonſo Leva*: then hee gave a private Signe for the Retreate, and *Gonzaga* with his Horſe ſtopped the enemy by renewing of the Fight*:* Don *Iohn* ſtill ſending in freſh ſupplies *: Toledo* lining the hedges with his Muſketeers: in the meane time *Leva's* men gave back ſo happily, that, at firſt, they were too quick for the eye of the confederates. But when they found the *Spaniſh* Foote to be upon their Retreate, then the Battaile, if ever any, was a fierce one, and it appeared, both what courage and what neceſſity could do. The Royaaliſts (and they were but a very few, moſt of them Foote) being now without the danger of purſuite, had the Cannon turn'd upon them from the Campe, and were ſhot at both afarre off, and neare at hand. Yet their valour more then the place befriending them, 700. Horſe alone commanded by *Giovanni Baptiſta* à *Monte*, and his brother *Camillo*, not only ſtood againſt many thouſands that charged them, but ſometimes beate them back, and fought in their Rankes ſo firmly, as they forced Colonell *Norreys* the ſtouteſt enemy they had that day, after three horſes had been killed under him, to fight afoote; the reſt of the confederate Cavalry not too much preſuming upon themſelves, and tired, with a Fight ſo long doubtfull; at firſt all the *Spaniſh* Infantry, and at laſt the Horſe, in face of the Enemi's Cannon, were brought ſafely off. Among which Horſe, no doubt but that Troope of *Camillo's* merited moſt Commendations, that was laſt in the field, commanded by Captaine *Perott :* being a Troope of Reformados, namely, *Hanniball*, *Gonzaga*, *Flaminio Delphino*, *Giovanni Mauriquio*, *Lepido* de *Romanis*, *Laurentio Tuccio*, *Nicolao Cæſio*, and others only Souldiers here, elſe where Commanders. The memory of all which men, for example ſake ſhould be with their names extended to poſterity, if I could as readily know their perſons, as I doe admire their valours. Theſe, leſt the enemy ſhould breake in, oppoſing themſelves and crowding together like a bulwarke, covered the reſt of the Cavalry, with ſuch conſtancy and contempt of Death, that when any of them fell, as if a piece of a worke were beaten downe, the place was preſently made good by a freſh man that ſtood behind. That which befell *Lepido* killed with a ſhot, and *Delphino*, who going to aſſiſt him was taken priſoner, could not yet deterre *Cæſio* from taking *Delphino's* place; either by feare of Death, or of captivity*:* till at length they themſelves, when all the Horſe were ſafe, left the Field laſt *:* and like excellent Actors in the Tragedy of *Mars*, came off with infinite Applauſe. So Generall *Bolduc* ſounding a Retreate, for feare his men might fall into a Counter-Ambuſcado, the Battaile ended; begun with farre greater preparation, then it was followed by either ſide, with Execution. For in all not above 400. men miſcarried, the loſſe of both parts being in a manner equall *:* only more

Alex. Farneze *makes the Foote give ground upon. Deſigne,*

And the Horſe to make it good

Who were ſore put to it.

The rare valour of the King's Horſe in their Retreate.

I. Norreys, *who commanded the* Engliſh,

Particularly of Camillo à *Monte's Troope*

The Names of the principall Horſe-men.

All of one Reſolution, And one courage,

What loſſe on both ſides.

more of the King's Army were hurt and taken, more of their's ſlaine And the Generalls that day merited a quite contrary cenſure. For Don *Iohn* redeemed the raſhneſſe of fighting with his judgement in ordering the Battaile; *Bolduc* was cautious in the beginning, but loſing the opportunity of purſuing with all his Forces, ſpoyled the concluſion of his Victory. Wherefore, in regard of his greater prudence and valour the Prince of *Parma* was famed through all the Royall Army, who by a miraculous foreknowledge of Events premoniſhed them of all that concerned the expedition: and when the Army was ſo dangerouſly ingaged, and the reſt eaſie to be involved in the ſame Ruine, with like Judgement and courage fetcht them off. Inſomuch that truely *Alexander Farneze*, who ever till then wrote very ſparingly in his own Commendations, could no longer containe himſelfe, but in his Letters to his Mother *Margaret* of *Auſtria* inſerted, "*How he could not but thinke he had that day deſerved more then* "*ordinarily of the King, whoſe Army the nearer it was to deſtruction, the* "*more he merited that ſaved it. Indeed the oldeſt Commanders ſeeing their* "*danger that were catched in a Trappe by the Enemy, openly gave them for* "*loſt, ſo as not one would undertake to make good their Retreat whoſe con*-"*dition they accounted deſperate. Therefore he held it a greater Honour to* "*himſelfe, by whom it was ſo willingly and fortunately attempted. But this* "*only her excellence might pleaſe to looke upon, as the glorying of a Souldier* "*to his Mother: and he could not but thinke it fit to give her an account of* "*thoſe generous Spirits ſhe had infuſed into him.* This while, Don *Iohn* marched with his recovered Forces towards *Areſchott*, prepared, if the enemy ſhould follow him in the Rere to fight. But when the confederaces either aſtoniſhed at the extraordinary confidence of the Royaliſts, or fearing to be anſwered with a ſtratagem, appeared not, Don *Iohn* free from further care returned to *Thienen*, having won more glory among *others* with taking their Townes and Campe, then among his *owne*, that had run a hazzard, and well knew their danger. While theſe things were acted in the *Low-countreys*, at the ſame time the *Portugeſes* fought unfortunately, upon the Coaſt of *Africa*. The newes of which overthrow Prince *Alexander* firſt received from *Spaine*, accompanied with a Relation of what exceeded the Loſſe of that whole Army, the King of *Portugal's* death: and therefore ſending *Fabio Farneze* to *Henry* Cardinall of *Briganze* Uncle to King *Sebaſtian*, he *condoled* with him, out of the private intereſt of Affinity the publique Misfortune, and withall *congratulated* his Succeſſion to the Crowne: preſenting him a change of Affections, as ſuddaine, as that of Cloathes in a Play.

1578.
The Generalls cenſured.
The Royall Army highly praiſe Alex. Farneze,
Who conceives that he merits no leſſe commendations as appeares by his Letter to his Mother
Auguſt 7.
Don Iohn *very carefull in making his Retreate.*
Newes of the death of Sebaſtian *King of* Portugal.
Auguſt 4.
Whereupon Alex. Farneze *ſends a ceremonious Embaſſage into* Portugal
Septem. 13.

But now the States having recruited their Army out of *Germany* and *France*, Don *Iohn* alter'd his opinion: and hearing that *Areſchot* was betraied, the Governour whereof *Mutio Pagano* a valiant and faithfull man, ſick a-bed roſe notwithſtanding to quiet the Tumult, and was ſlaine upon the place: *Camillo Schiaffinate* a Lieutenant of an undaunted Spirit in vaine reſiſting. He began to feare, that many other Townes would be guilty of like Treaſon, which he could not yet relieve without weakning himſelfe by dividing of his Army. He therefore thought it his beſt, to diſmentle ſome Caſtles, ſlight ſome Garriſons, and calling away the Souldiers to bring into one place all his Forces: till ſuch time as money came from the King, and Recruits from *Italy* and *Germany*. But inſtead of men and money Don *Iohn* receiving Letters from *Spaine*, that commanded him to try all wayes and meanes for an Accommodation, Com-

The Towne of Areſchot *loſt by trechery.* Mutio Pagano *ſlaine.*
The Straites whereto Don John *was reduced.*

miſſioners

1578. *A Treaty of Peace.*

miſſioners on both ſides being choſen, the buſineſſe of Peace was ſet a foot againe. But when they had delivered to Don *Iohn* three Heads, which the States inſiſted on, That he ſhould ſurrender the Government of the *Low-countreys* to the Arch-duke *Matthias* upon the ſame conditions which they had formerly ſworne; That Duke *Alencon*, and Prince *Caſimir*, ſhould be comprehended in the Articles of peace. That the province of *Limburg*, and whatſoever Don *Iohn* had taken, either by Force or Rendition in *Brabant* and *Haynolt*, ſhould before the end of *Auguſt* be reſtored to the States; extreamely offended at theſe inſolent demands, Don *Iohn*, as he uſed to do, communicated his Reſentment to the Prince of *Parma*. He, though he denied not the conditions to be indeed very unjuſt, yet ſaid, "*It would* "*be much worſe, if the States deſpairing of a peace with* Spaine, *ſhould put* "*into the hands of the King of* France *the Frontier-provinces, which he had* "*ſo oft attempted. It was to be conſidered, that even* Charles *the fifth (and* "*how great an Emperour was he!) could hardly cleare thoſe Provinces of the* "French *only. What ſhould the King's Forces do at the preſent (commanded* "*indeed by a Son to* Charles *the fifth, but with a leſſe number of men) both* "*againſt the* French *Nation and two other powerfull Armies? His opinion* "*was therefore, that the Commiſſioners ſhould be put in hope of peace, till* "*the King's pleaſure was knowne, as to thoſe propoſalls, which if he accepted,* "*no doubt but in his wiſdome he would provide another place worthy of his* "*Brother: but if looking upon their baſeneſſe he rejected them, then, in caſe* "*the Confederates were proſecuted with more ſeverity hereafter, his Majeſty* "*could not accuſe his Brother and the Army, as deſirous to keepe the Warre a-* "*foote.* Don *Iohn*, though he did not much feare the Confederates, knowing them to be oppreſſed with their own multitude; and underſtanding that Prince *Caſimir's* Army marched in a body by themſelves, becauſe they refuſed to obey Count *Bolduc* Generall for the States: Yet conſtrained for want of men, and money, beſides his Sickneſſe both of body and mind, which is able to breake the greateſt Spirit, and forcibly to caſt it downe upon conſiderations, at other times contemptible; He reſolved to follow *Alexander Farneze's* Counſell. Though in his Letters to the King, certifying their Propoſitions, he with ſome bitterneſſe complained, "*That the Rebells confidence received Incouragement out of* Spaine: "*and the Aſſiſtance promiſed to him by his Majeſty, was from time to time put* "*off: and when he intreated money, only a returne was made of words;* "*wherewith a Warre cannot be managed; unleſſe they imagine, that he is* "*able out of Words to extract Gold. He therefore humbly beſeeched his Ma-* "*jeſty, either to ſubdue the Enemy, or at leaſt not to ſuffer the Generall of his* "*Royall Army ſo unhandſomly to conclude a peace.* In the interim he commanded *Serbellonio* ſpeedily to advance the Trenches which he had a while before deſigned not farre from *Namure.* Don *John* had choſen that ground upon the Hill of *Buge*, cloſe by the River *Moſe*; induced by convenience of the place, and his Father's example, who being purſued by *Henry* of *France* with three great Armies, brought his Forces then very ſmall to this ground, and here intrenching ſecured them. And now *Serbellonio*, quick both at raiſing and defending workes, had finiſhed moſt of the Redoubts, and drawne about a line, (by the directions of *Scipio Campio* of *Piſaura*, an Engineer not inferiour to his Father, *Bartholomeo*, ſlaine at the Siege of *Harlem*) where overtoiled with haſty labour, or ſtruck with a peſtilentiall aire, he fell dangerouſly ſicke. At the ſame time, Don *Iohn* having now brought all his Army within the Trenches, except the

The conditions propoſed by the States.

Alex. Farneze's *opinion touching thoſe Propoſals.*

Don Iohn *makes ſome difficulty to approve of this Counſell, but preſently after followes it,*

Writes to the King,

And fortifies his Campe Auguſt 19.

The Emperour Charles the fifth 1554.

With workes deſigned by Serbellonio, *And made by* Campio.

Serbellonio *falls ſick.*

Don Iohn *brings his whole Army within the Workes, and comes himſelfe ſick to them.*

the Horſe which *Octavio Gonzaga* had quartered upon the neighbouring Villages, his owne ſickneſſe increaſing, would needs be carryed into the Campe. Both of them kept their beds, and their Fitts tooke and left them in the ſame manner. But the Phyſitians made farre different Iudgments of their two patients. For they all (and there was a whole Colledge of them) either deceiving others, or deceived themſelves, pronounced that Don *Iohn* would certainely recover, but *Serbellonio* could not poſſibly eſcape with life. And what they ſaid was credible enough, this being aboue 73 yeares old, he not yet 33: and yet when the young man dyed, the old man was perfectly well againe. Whereupon *Hippolyto Pennonio* grew into great Eſteeme (formerly commended by Duke *Octavio* for Phyſitian in Ordinary to his Son Prince *Alexander*) who durſt againſt the whole pack of thoſe Doctours affirme, that *Serbellonio* would live, and Don *Iohn* die of that diſeaſe. For which a long while being jeered and ſcorned, he became thereby better knowne to the People, and finally more honoured.

1578.

The Phyſitians opinions of Don Iohn *and* Serbellonio.

Falſe in both.

Doctor Pennonio *growes famous for his judgement.*

Vpon the day of Saint *Matthew* the Evangeliſt (on which very day was twentie yeares dyed the Emperour *Charles* the fifth) Don *Iohn*, as if by remembring of his Fathers death he were minded of a time alike fatall to himſelfe, caſting off all humane Cares, transferred the whole Power of Peace and Warre upon *Alexander Farneze* Prince of *Parma*, and (in caſe he ſhould dye) declared him Governour of the *Low-countreys*, and Generall of the Army, till the King ſhould otherwiſe determine. And truly Prince *Alexander* doubted for a while whether he ſhould undergo the Burthen, not ignorant how miſerable and broken a Province he muſt have, and withall how much it would reflect upon his Honour, if perhaps the King did not confirme upon him that Aſſignement. It being more Diſreputation to fall from a place of Eminence, then never to have beene advanced. Yet that he preferred his Faith to God and the King, he writes to his Mother; calling God to Witneſſe, that he ſhould juſtly thinke him ſelfe a Traitour, if when they had ſuch an Increaſe of Enemyes, and no Generall, he ſhould have deſerted the Kings Army in that Conjuncture of time, wherein undoubtedly all the remaining Catholique Religion and Allegeance to his Majeſty would have beene indangered. And, foraſmuch as the Duke of *Parma* did not very well like this Reſolution of his Son's, nor gave Aſſent to his Acceptance of the Regency, but reproved him for his overmuch confidence; Prince *Alexander* at length anſwered his Father in theſe Words. "*Sir, Whereas in your Wiſdome your Excellence* "*thought fitt to admoniſh me, as if I were gone too farre in accepting of that* "*Governement, which by my endeavours ſhould rather have beene transfer'd* "*upon the Royall Senate of the* Low-countreys; *it is no more then I my* "*ſelfe imagined, as when I wrote of Don* Iohn *of* Auſtria's *Sickneſſe, I ſignifyed to your Excellence. But when I called to minde, that after the death* "*of the greate Comendador, the* Lowcountreys *were undone by that very* "*Truſt of the Royall Power in the Senates hands, which Ruine in all mens* "*opinions had never hapned to the Provinces, if his Succeſſour had beene* "*forthwith nominated. And when I plainly ſaw the Loſſe of this Catholique* "*Army, without a Generall, to be inevitable, by reaſon of the feuds among the* "*Lords, and their diſcordant mindes, ſome drawing one way, ſome another,* "*and daily more ſlack in aſſerting the Kings Right: and, which is yet more* "*conſiderable, one or two of the greateſt in the Army not obſcurely wavering* "*in their Fidelity to the King, which would perhaps, if things among us* "*were*

Septem 21. Don Iohn *declares* Alexander Farneze *Governour of the* Lowcountreys.

Who cannot well reſolve whether he ſhould ſo burthen himſelfe, yet at length condeſcends. And gives his Mother an Account of his reſolution. *Octob.* 6.

And his Father diſliking it ſatisfies him thus *Octob.* 6.

1578 "*were troubled, go over to the States: I, for theſe Reaſons, firſt making my* "*Prayers to God, reſolved, as to the point of my owne Honour, to run the* "*greateſt hazard (which I ſaw impending) if either the King unmindfull* "*of me ſhould beſtow the Place upon another, or that the Warre ſucceeding* "*unfortunately ſhould be cenſured by the Event: rather then to refuſe the* "*burthen layed upon me, and for my owne Security and Iealouſly, to quit that* "*Remainder of the* Low-countreys *which none ſufficiently defending muſt* "*needs have come into the Enemyes Power. Nor do I ſo much as doubt, but* "*God, that only knowes I have therefore adventured upon this doubtfull* "*Chance, to ſhow my ſelfe actively faithfull to my King (now when he wants* "*my Service, and that for his ſake I contemne all dangers) will in his di-*"*vine mercy ſo regulate my affairs, that in the* interim *I ſhall doe nothing* "*unworthy your Excellence's prudent Care, or my owne infinite affection to* "*my Prince.* Yet he ingenuouſly confeſſed, that, beſides theſe Motives, he found himſelfe not a little toucht with a ſcruple; Leſt in that juncture of difficultyes, when the Confederates in their higheſt Iollity ſurrounded the Army, and were Maſters of the Field, he might have beene cenſured out of feare to have declined the Governement. He was likewiſe wrought upon by the paſſionate love of the Army, unanimouſly profeſſing, that without any Deſignation, they would of their owne accord have ſubmitted the Militia only to Prince *Alexander*. He himſelfe, in this *interim*, divided with ſeverall Cares, now waited on his Vncle, and was ſerviceable to him, not only in Ceremony but Effect; for I finde that he furniſhed Don *Iohn* at that time with ſome thouſands of Ducats: now he looked to the Souldiers military Dutyes, ſounded the Enemyes Deſignes, induſtriouſly performed all the parts of a Generall, gave the King alſo an account of Don *Iohn's* Sickneſſe, having commanded all that was therein of moment to be obſerved and ſet downe in a Diary, (or Ephemerides) with ſo much paines and exactneſſe, as if the ſick man were not (ſo Prince *Alexander* writes) a particular perſon, but that military Vertue it ſelfe, and the All of a Generall's Indowments, were in one man indangered. But now Don *Iohn* by little and little gathering ſtrength, when they conceived him perfectly recovered, relapſed upon the ſuddaine, and the 28 of September, having disburthened his Conſcience, and from the hand of the Prieſt, that ſaid Maſſe in his Anti-Camera, received the heavenly *Viaticum*, preſently his braine turning, began to rave, and like a Generall in the Field, to place his men in battalia, to call upon the commanders, to ſend forth Partyes of Horſe, ſomtimes to be angry that his men were ſuch fooles as to be circumvented, ſometimes with his eyes, hand, and voice crying, *Victoria.* It was obſerved when no induſtry of his Friends, no art of his Phyſitians could put out of his head thoſe Images of Warre, at the only naming *Ieſu Maria* he would be ſo huſht and ſtill, as he tooke reſt immediately: and whatſoever for their ſakes was deſired of him (otherwiſe imperious and inexorable) he would do it, not unwillingly. Of ſo great concernement it is, to get a habit of Piety, while thou haſt thy underſtanding, that being not thy ſelfe thou canſt not but be pious. Finally on the firſt of *October*, in which Month he ever celebra- the memory of his Victoryes at *Lepanto* and *Tunis*, being reſtored, beyond all hope, to his ſenſes, once more remembring and confeſſing his ſinnes, about noone-day with great expreſſions of Piety, he died.

Another reaſon that induced him.

And another.

Alexander Farneze's *extraordinary care of Don* Iohn

Of ordering the Army.

And of certifying every particular accident of Don Iohn's *ſickneſſe to the King. By* Doctor Ramir.

Don Iohn *paſt hope of life* *Septem.* 28. *is prepared with the Sacraments, Growes rageous,*

Comes to himſelfe at the names of Ieſu Maria.

And dyes religiouſly.

The ſumme of his life.

His Country, St Matthew's day. *Feb.* 24. 1545.

Don *John* of *Auſtria* was borne at *Ratisbon* in *Germany*, having the very ſame birth day, which the Emperour *Charles* the fifth his Father had

His

1578.

His Mother was Barbara *Blomberg* of *Ratisbon*, no leſs noble in beauty, then in quality, who therefore being preſented to the Emperour to allay his Melancholy with the ſweetneſſe of her voice, for ſhe ſang rarely, had a Son by him, long a Widower, having loſt his wife *Iſabella* 7. yeares before; for while ſhe lived, they ſay, he moſt religiouſly obſerved his matrimoniall Vow. Nay he was very carefull the City ſhould know nothing of the child, and therefore within the yeare tooke it from the Mother, delivering it to *Aloyſio Quiſciada* Lord Steward of his Imperiall Palace, whom he had found very truſty, to carry it into *Spaine*, that his Wife *Magdalena Vlloa*, a nobly-borne and modeſt-carriaged Lady, might breed up the Infant: charging *Aloyſio*, that no creature living ſhould have cauſe given to gueſſe who ſhould be its Father. Which truſt he ſingularly well diſcharged: and when he brought the Infant to *Villa-Garçia*, a Towne of his owne, he only commended it to his Wife, as the child of a ſpeciall Friend of his. Which for a good while made her ſuſpect it might be her Husbands, and ſhe was therefore the more tender of it. Yet ſhe began to thinke the Father a greater man, when ſhe ſaw her Husband to have a more then fatherly care of the child's Education. A part of the houſe by accident taking fire, where the Lady and little *Jack* lay together; the flame now crackling about the bed, and waking *Aloyſio* that lay in the next roome, he preſently ranne thither in his Shirt, and catching up the Child, carried him out of the danger. That done, as if he were now ſecure, he returned to fetch off his Wife, ſtruck with admiration at his carriage; for knowing, that her husband loved her above all the World, ſhe conjectured by this Action, that the Child's Father was ſome more eminent perſon. And indeed his Princely diſpoſition, his naturally grave Courtſhip, his Meene, and Aſpect, expreſſed him more then a private perſon. He applied himſelfe to the boyes his Companions, but like their Superiour or commander. You would thinke him to be *Cyrus* among the Shepheards. He would wreſtle with them, or run, or pitch the Barre, or uſe any other exerciſe in the Field, only ſo long as he was getting of the maſtry, till his victory was ſecured. He was therefore much delighted in Horſeman-ſhip, becauſe therein he eaſily excelled them all. In the morning when he roſe, the firſt thing he did, was to get on Horſe back, to traine the boyes, to breake Speares to Truncheons, or at full ſpeed to take the Ring. At which exerciſes becauſe he continually had the beholders Acclamations, the emulation of the boyes prevailed ſo farre, as by common conſent and at the publique charge the Towne entertained a Riding-maſter to teach their Sons, in hope they might one day conquer this Conquerour. And *Aloyſio*, being himſelfe a Souldier, exceedingly rejoyced at the child's warlike propenſion, and laying the foundation (as *Aloyſio* called it) of higher Actions. Till he received the Emperour's Command, to prepare him with ſofter breeding to the love of holy Orders. But as the firſt age, after the tincture of pleaſure, ſeldome or never takes another die: the boy was hardly drawne to leave thoſe Sports, and a while after, *Charles* the fifth deceaſed. A little before his death, the Emperour diſcovered to his Son *Philip* King of *Spaine*, (which till then he had concealed from him) that *Philip* himſelfe and this *Iohn* had both one Father, and therefore charged the King, to ſend for him, and to love and regard him as his naturall Brother.

His Mother.

He was conveyed into Spaine in his infancy by Aloyſio Quiſciada *that only knew the ſecret of his birth.*

Mag. Vlloa Quiſciada's *Wife Governeſſe to the child,*

Nor knowes ſhe who is Father to it.

The Infant in danger of fire Magdalen Vloa her ſelfe made this relation.

Whereat Quiſciada *is much troubled.*

The child was afterwards in like perill at Madrid.

His nature and garbe,

His manner of Play with the Boyes.

Herod. l. 1.

His love to Horſeman-ſhip

Wherein he was ſtill victorious.

The Emperour deſignes him for a Prieſt, But too late,

Charles *the fifth, on his death-bed reveales his Son* John *to King* Philip

To whom he commends the Child.

The owning of Don John.

But King *Philip* deferred to do it, two yeares after the Emperour's death, till his Son *Charles* Prince of *Spaine* was growne up. Then reſol-

1578. *The King goes to hunt. And bids* Quiſciada *bring the Boy to him upon the field.* Quiſciada *ſhewes himſelf not to bee Father to Don* Iohn *by the new Title he gives him.*

ving to acknowledge his Brother, he went to *Validolid* to the Abbey of of *Spina* with a great traine of Lords to hunt: commanding *Aloyſio* to bring the Boy, and meete him in the Field. *Aloyſio*, when his Doggs were in a readineſſe, mounted a Horſe richly trapt, and carried along little *Iack*, on an ordinary Horſe among the croud of hunters. When they came to the hill *Torosſe* (where he diſcovered the King a-hunting) he then leaped off his Horſe, and bad *Iack* doe ſo too: Which done, preſently *Aloyſio*, falling on his knees, "*Giue me*" *ſaid he*, "*your Highneſſe's Hand to kiſſe. What this unuſuall Honour I now do you ſignifiyes, the King, that hath ſent for you,* "*will explaine. Now get upon this Horſe, that had not ſhone in all this bravery but for you.* The Boy ſtood amazed at the novity, yet gave him his hand to kiſſe, and got upon the Horſe; the lookers on admiring and longing, as upon a Stage; to ſee how that Scene would end. When behold King *Philip* with thoſe that waited on him to the Chace comes in. Immediately little *Iack*, preſented by *Aloyſio*, bowes himſelfe, and handſomely honours the King upon his knee. His Majeſty raiſed the boy with his hand, and ſmiling, aſked him if he knew his Father? And when he doubted what to reply, becauſe he ſaw himſelfe now diſclaimed by him he formerly thought his Father, the King alighting ſaid, "*Alegramente, boy, thou art* '*Son to a man of Honour, the Emperour* Charles *the fifth, that dwells in heaven, is Father to us both*, uttering theſe words he imbraced him as a Brother, ſet him upon his horſe, and appointed Servants to attend him, as became one of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Son to an Emperour; the whole Plaine ringing with the joyfull Halloes of the Hunters, and Gratulations of the Lords cheerfully wiſhing that day happy to the King, happy to the King's new Brother: his Majeſty himſelfe often proteſting, "*that* "*in all his Life he never had better hunting Fortune.* Thus Don *Iohn* of *Auſtria* being acknowledged was brought to Court, there bred with *Charles* Prince of *Spaine*, and *Alexander* Prince of *Parma*, who not long before was ſent out of Italy by his Parents to the King his Vncle, as I have in its place remembred. And they were allmoſt all three of one yeare, the eldeſt being not aboue 14. But they were not al of one diſpoſition, Feature, or Manners. Prince *Charles*, ſaving his haire and Complexion, in all the other parts of his body was deformed: for one ſhoulder was higher, and one legg longer then the other, nor was he leſſe deformed in his furious and hauty mind. Prince *Alexander* was indeed of a paſſionate and military Inclination, but full of Courtſhip, whereto his ſweete and pleaſant Countenance ſeemed to be naturally compoſed. But Don *Iohn* of *Auſtria*, as well in the habit of body, as Generoſity of Deportment farr tranſcended both. His face was not only faire, but excellently featured. His haire yellowiſh; his eyes quick & ſhining: with a lovely proportion of all his limbs, anſwerable to each other. His manners infinitely ſet off his Louelines, & his Louelineſſe his manners. Civility, Induſtry, and Integrity, were eminent in the Youth, and, as in one newly come to his Honours, Modeſty. Which Vertue and Beauty of his, compared with their Contraries in Prince *Charles*, at firſt made him beloved, afterwards envyed, as eclipſing the Prince in his Fathers Court. And King *Philip* was ſomewhat diſtaſted at Don *Iohn's* Averſion from holy Orders, to which he had beene preſſed, upon his Fathers Deſignation, but too late His Majeſtyes Diſpleaſure was increaſed by his ſuddaine leaving of the Court, when, inflamed with a deſire to fight in *Malta*, without the King's Leaue (which if he had hoped, he would never have declined) he tooke Poſt for *Barcelona*, with a great traine of Gentlemen, being then

The Child's Aſtoniſhment. The beholders Expectation.

The King queſtions the boy about his Father.

And imbraces him as his Brother.

Aſſigning him houſhold-ſervants. The hunters hallow out their joy. The Kings expreſſion. Don Iohn *brought to Court is bred up with Prince* Charles *and* Alex. Farneze

In the beginning of this yeare. Prince Charles, Don Iohn, and Alex. Farneze, compared. *His perſon.*

His Manners.

The King offended with him for refuſing to enter into holy Orders. And for ſtealing away to go for Malta

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then 18 yeares of age. And this Levity he aggravated with his Pride, not vouchſafing to heare what meſſage *Aloyſio Quiſciada* brought, who followed him by his Majeſtyes Command. But as he was going abroad at *Barzelona* receiving the Kings Letters, which threatningly commanded his Returne: ſwifter then imagination, he rode back to *Vallidolid*, and by his ready Obedience not a little qualifyed his Majeſtyes Indignation: which a while after he clearly cancelled, when he firſt diſcovered to the King, his Son Prince *Charles* his new deſigne.

But he makes his peace with riding back post, And with the discovery of Prince Charles *his journey.*

For this Service, his Majeſty in the Warre of *Granado*, made Don *Iohn* his Generall againſt the *Moores*; which held him play for a long while, but at laſt he fortunately defeated them.

He commands in chiefe against the Moores.

And that which ſeemed to be his Remuneration, was but a ſtep or Earneſt of more Honour. For when the *Chriſtian* League was concluded, he was made Generaliſſimo of the Fleete, that carryed the Forces and Hopes of *Chriſtendome*, and joyning battaile with the *Turkes* at *Lepanto*, gained upon the common Enemy a Victory, ſince the memory of the *Othoman* Name, the greateſt. Thence from the Eaſt turning his Armes into *Africa*, he conquered *Tunis*, that commands the *Libyan* Sea, the *Mahometans* flying before him; ſtormed *Biſerta*, and tooke priſoner their King *Amida* with two of his Sons, which he brought in triumph back to Italy.

Winnes the battaile at Lepanto, *Stormes* Tunis, *And* Biſerta, *Takes the King priſoner.*

Here the of *Spaine* was highlyer offended, becauſe Don *Iohn* had not only, contrary to the Commands ſent him from *Spaine*, not diſmantled the City, but had likewiſe furniſhed it with Munition, put in a Garriſon, and made *Gabriel Serbellonio* Governour, as if he had reſolved in that Towne to fix himſelfe a Royall Seate.

King Phillip *againe diſpleaſed,*

As the King then eſpecially believed, when in that very point of time he ſaw the Pope's Legate in the name of *Gregory* the 13 move him to honour Don *Iohn* for his Victoryes in *Africa*, with the Title of King of *Tunis*. Which made King *Philip* jealous, that the youth, proud of his Conqueſts, would not long brook a private Fortune: and now only *requeſted* Kingdomes, but hereafter would *invade* them.

And jealous,

Therefore removing from Don *Iohn* all ſuch as he thought adviſed him to thoſe courſes, he placed new Servants about him, and made *Iuan Eſcovedo* his Secretary, that is, he changed the names, but not the Natures, of his Brother's Followers.

Placeth new ſervants about Don Iohn,

The King likewiſe obſerved, that his Brother grew to a greater Animoſity. Becauſe, when he was called out of *Italy* into *Spaine*, to go from thence to the Governement of the *Low-countreys* then deſigned him, he would not ſo much as come to Court: but went to the houſe of *Anthonio Perez* to linger there, till he found whether the King would allow him place, as a Prince-Infanta within the Cloth of State.

Who expects to take place as an Infanta.

But the King that went out of Towne leſt he might diſcontent his young Brother with the Aſſignation of his Place, ſtayed on purpoſe in the Countrey; receiving him more affectionately, then magnificently, at *Villa Pardo*. And from thence, exaggerating, indeed not falſely, the Neceſſity of the Provinces, ſent him preſently into the *Low-countreys*.

The Kings goes out of towne purpoſely to decline the Grant.

His Majeſtie's Suſpicion alſo appeares by the Inſtructions he gave Don *Iohn*, at his Departure. The firſt and laſt whereof was, that he ſhould quiet the Provinces upon any Conditions whatſoever, but a Warre: ſo as he did it with a Salvo to Religion and Allegeance. For, though the King now weary of the infinite Expences of that Warre, wiſhed this might be the only Meanes of ſettling the *Belgick* Tumults: yet howſoever, I believe his Majeſty, who thought nothing *ſecure* unleſſe *ſuſpected*, would not have continued the Command of an Army to one perſon, leſt he ſhould at laſt have eſtabliſhed a Power irrevocable. For the ſame reaſon, when there was Neceſſity of a Warre,

And would have him governe the Lowcountries *without an Army.*

Not aſſured of his temper.

1578

The Prince of Orange reports that Don Iohn *is to marry Queene* Elizabeth.
Al. Cabrera in Philip the 2d. l. 12. c. 3.
Iuan Vargas Mexia
The death of Eſcovedo.

Money to pay the Army came very ſparingly from *Spaine*. For this very reaſon the King's eares were open to the *Low-countreymens* Complaints, accuſing Don *Iohn* as longing to be in Armes. Nay to confirme this Suſpicion of the King's, I doubt not but the Prince of *Oranges* Deſigne was layed, when he wrote Letters to a Friend in *France*, which allured him, that Don *Iohn* was to marry the Queene of *England*, adding that for his perticular Service therein, Don *Iohn* had given him hope of the free Exerciſe of Religion in the *Low-countreys*. Which newes *Vargas*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour in *France*, that carefully pried into all Occurrences, privately ſent poſt to King *Philip*. Whereupon followed the death of *Iuan Eſcovedo*, as the man that put him upon it. I cannot believe this of Don *Iohn*, though ſometimes troubled, and croſſed even to deſperation. Many Arguments rather induce me to thinke it a Fineſſe of the Prince of *Orange*, to alienate the King from his Brother. But the Cauſes of *Eſcovedo's* Death, and the Tragedies inſuing thereupon in *Spaine*, as fitter for the Stage, I leaue to Writers covetous of ſuch Subiects. Nor to any other end, a newes which they heard in *Spaine*, was the Principallity of the *Low-countreys* lately offered to Don *Iohn*. For one of the *Low-countrey* Lords, as an expedient for quieting the Provinces, exhorted Don *Iohn* to take upon him Soveraigne Authority; offering to ſerve him in it with the Nobility, and enſuring the Event. Which though it ſo highly diſpleaſed him, that he drew his Stilletto, not as once *Germanicus Cæſar* did, who turned the point upon himſelfe, but to have ſtabbed that perfidious and fraudulent man, who with ſuch impudent Counſell tempted his Loyalty. Yet becauſe this paſſed without Witneſſes, it was liable to the Cenſure of thoſe that ever thinke the worſt. And ſome kinde of Suſpicions no Innocence can abſolutely cleare. But I believe this bold and ſubtill Invitation was made, not to bring the *Lowcountreys* into Don *Iohn's* Power, but to fill the King's eares liſtning after ſuch Rumours, and to make him jealous, that his Brother would not allwayes retaine that Modeſty, and that it therefore concerned the King in Wiſdome to provide, that what his Brother once modeſtly refuſed, might never more be in the Power of his Acceptance. Nor was King *Philip* now to be taught the Art of Iealouſy, being no leſſe prudent in keeping, then fortunate in amplifying his Dominions. And Don *Iohn* daily found by new proofe, how jealous the King was of him, not ſatisfied by the compliance of the private life which he had ſo long indured. Hearing likewiſe of *Eſcovedo's* death (whom he had ſent into *Spaine* to procure Money and other warlike Neceſſaryes) for whoſe returne he had ſo often and ſo anxiouſly ſollicited, and every day finding himſelfe in greater Straits deſerted, as he openly complained, by the King; and expoſed to the Scorne of his Enemyes: this Prince, of great Spirit and hope, too much remembring his bloud by the Father's ſide, languiſhed into a Conſumption. But whether, beſides his *Griefe* a poyſon ſtrong enough to kill him, there might be another Doſe given (for they that ſaw his Corps, found ſhrewd Signes of poyſon) I will make no Determination, as in a thing commonly obnoxious to Preſumptions of that Nature. Though there wanted not ſome that watched to murther him, as I am well aſſured by *Alexander Farneze's* Letters to his Father Duke *Octavio*. And it was ſufficiently evident, two *Engliſhmen* being apprehended, that had undertaken to kill him, that very Month wherein he dyed: which, a while after, examined and convicted of the Crime, were by the Prince of *Parma* put to death. But by what meanes ſoever his fate was brought about, it was

Don Iohn *tempted with an offer of all the 17. Provinces.*
Ready to kill the adviſer.
Tacitus l. 1. Annals.
Al. Cabrera in Phil. 2. l. 11. c. 15.
Sayes that Don *Iohn* did wound the man.
Why hee was thus courted.

His griefe upon the Kings diſpleaſure,
And for Eſcovedo's death,

Breakes his heart,
If it were not broke by poyſon
Mar. Delr. l. 5 Turb Belg.
Auguſt. 20.
Thoſe that ſought to murther him puniſhed.
Decemb.
The Armies Lamentation for his death,

1578.

was deplored with extraordinary Commiſeration. And ſeldome was it knowne, that any Army with higher praiſes of his vertue, mourned for their Generall. There were that compared Don *Iohn* and *Germanicus* together; For their Beauty, for their Yeares, being 33, for the many battells they had fought in Places neighbouring upon *Holland*. For the Court-Iealouſyes upon them, and for the Rumour of their approaching Death. Others paralleld him nearer with his Father *Charles* the fifth. Both had the ſame Birth-day, almoſt the ſame Day of Death; and like Expeditions by Sea and Land, againſt the *Moores*, and *Turkes*. The Kingdome of *Tunis* was conquered by them both. King *Muleaſſes*, was reeſtabliſhed in his Throne, and *Barbaroſſa* outed by *Charles* the fifth. King *Amida* Son to *Muleaſſes*, but the Depoſer of his Father (depoſed himſelfe and *Mehemet* crowned) was by Don *Iohn* carryed away among his Spoiles and Priſoners. The Father had ended more Warres, for he had lived more Yeares. The Son in one Navall Victory equalled all his Father's Triumphs. And no doubt, but if he had injoyed his Fathers Power, and alone commanded Kingdomes and Armies, he would have made his Fame as glorious. They likewiſe added things for the moſt part triviall, and obvious to all Comparers: That both by like artificiall Courteſyes quickned their Followers Hopes: but *he* by beſtowing Titles of Honour much increaſed the Nobility: *this* remunerated the merits of his Souldiers, becauſe he had no other Meanes of Satisfaction, with magnificent Words, ſomtimes with a ſuddaine Expreſſion of Ioy, giving his Hatt or *Stilletto* to a Souldier. Indeed calling every common Souldier by his name, his Memory ſerved inſtead of a Reward. Both of them brought up faſhions that added to the handſomeneſſe of the Body, eſpecially of the Head. *Charles* the fifth, when he came into *Italy* to be crowned Emperour, was the firſt that to eaſe himſelfe of the head-ach, cut off his haire: the great Courtiers following his Faſhion and Example: So as the wearing of long haire, eſteemed ſo much for many Ages in one man's Imitation was by all left off. And alſo firſt Don *Iohn*, becauſe the haire on the left ſide of his temples grew upright, uſed with his hand to put away all the haire from his fore-head; and becauſe that baring of the Fore-head looked handſome in him, thence came the Faſhion of combing and keeping the haire up, in ſomuch as that kind of Foretop is in ſome places called an *Auſtrian*. Finally in the laſt Scene of his life, Don *Iohn* himſelfe wiſhed to be like his Father, and as He, reſigning his Kindomes, hid himſelfe in ſolitude among the *Hieronymites* at Saint *Iuſtus*: ſo Don *Iohn* a few months before his death would have done among the Hermits of Mount *Serrat* in *Spaine*, for ever after to ſerve God, who, as he ſaid, would and could do more then his Brother *Philip*. Which Determination, whether it was the iſſue of Piety, or of the improſperous Succeſſe of his Affaires, I cannot eaſily diſtinguiſh; Nor muſt omit that, wherein Don *Iohn* of *Auſtria* farr exceeded his Father *Charles* the fifth; the Purity of Mind, which his Governeſſe the Lady *Vlloa* had ſo inamoured him of, from his Infancy, that all his Life long he perſevered in it, and could not reſt quiet, if never ſo little a Sinne lay upon his Conſcience. Therefore twice every Month (which was his conſtant courſe) he came to Confeſſion: his Soule being a true Prince, that could not brooke the baſeſt Servitude. Nay he never undertooke any Expedition, or fought battaile, but firſt by an exact Confeſſion of his Sinnes he implored God's Mercy. Which Care of himſelfe, in a Prince tempted to greateſt licenſe by his age, handſomeneſſe, and Place of Generall, I ſuppoſe

Whom they parallel with Germanicus Cæſar,

And with his Father Charles *the Fifth, In the day of their Nativities & deaths, In their Military expeditions*

In the intreating of their Souldiers, Charles the 5. Don Iohn.

In wearing of their haire,

1529.

In their deſire to live a ſolitary life.

Don Iohns conſtant cuſtome to cleare his Conſcience. Magdalen Lady of Villa-Garcia.

Eſpecially before a day of Battaile.

1578

His vertues as a Generall.

Not inferiour to any.

Severall Nations contend for precedency in carrying of his Corps.

Alex. Farneze *contents them all.*

The funerall Pompe.

Ex litteris Com. Maſii ad Picum from the Campe *Octob.* 6.

Why a Crowne was ſet on his head.

Mar. Del.l.5. Turb. Belg.

Colonels and Captaines are the Bearers.

Foure great commanders at the foure corners of the Herſe

Souldiers march before

Alex. Farneze *followes.*

A Sepulcher onely for the preſent.

His three laſt requeſts to the King.

Don Iohn *Father of two daughters.*

1570.

poſe will be ſo much the more eſteemed, by how much this. Piety is rarer amongſt Souldiers: and by how much a Circumſpection of this nature uſes not to be alone, nor unattended by a traine of many Vertues. Moreover, if one ſhould adde this to his military Praiſes, and diverſity of Warres, that before he had beene trained a Souldier, he commanded as a Generall; and to the Immenſeneſſe of his Courage, that he was never daunted by any Enemy, either greater in number, or reported by Force to be invincible; and to his Felicity in all battailes, that he came off perpetually a Conquerour, at leaſt never conquered; truly wee may juſtly number Don *Iohn* among the moſt valiant and fortunate Generalls that ever were.

The day after his Death, the Colonells of ſeverall Nations, contended which of them in the funerall Pompe ſhould have precedence, as Bearers of the Corps. The *Spaniard* pretended, becauſe they were the Kings Countreymen. The *Germans*, becauſe Don *Iohn* was their Countreyman. The *Low-counteymen* diſputed the Prerogatiue of the Place; But the Prince of *Parma* inſtantly decided the Controverſy, in this manner. That his mæniall Servants ſhould carry the Body out of the Court, where it ſhould be received by the Colonells of that Nation whoſe Quarters in the Field uſed to be next the Generalls: they were to deliver it to others, and thoſe againe to others that quarter'd farther off. In this Order (the Horſe and Foote marching on either ſide) the Corps in compleat Armour was carryed from the Campe at *Buge* to *Namure* with a Crowne upon his Head according to the funerall Ceremonies of the ancient Princes of the Houſe of *Burgundy*. Though others, becauſe diverſe *Iriſh* Lords, with the Popes Conſent, had offered him the Kingdome of *Ireland*, which he would not accept till he knew whether it would be approved of by King *Philip*, imagined out of that reſpect this Marke of a King was given to his Modeſty. His bed was ſtill ſupported by Colonells and Captaines of that Nation, whoſe Horſe followed the Corps, freſh men ſtill eaſing the wearyed of their burthen, till it came to the Magiſtrate of *Namure*. Foure Mourners attended the body, *Peter Erneſt* Count *Mansfeldt* Campe-Maſter, *Octavio Gonzaga* Generall of the Horſe, *Pedro de Toledo* Marqueſſe of *Villa-Francha*, and *Iohn Croi* Count of *Reuſe*, this a principall Commander among the *Low-countreymen*, he among the *Spaniards*, each of them holding in their hands a corner of the Herſe-Cloth. A Regiment of Foote, as the cuſtome is, went before, with their Pikes and Muſkets reverſed, colours furled, and all the other Complements of Sorrow. *Alexander Farneze*, Prince of *Parma*, followed in cloſe Mourning, with a heart ſadder then his Robes: excepting only ſo farre as the care of the diſtreſſed Army, delivered to him, diverted the current of his Griefe. The funerall State ending in the great Church at *Namure*, and Don *Iohn's*, bowells being there buryed, Prince *Alexander* laid his Vncles body in a temporary Tombe, expecting what Commands the King would ſend from *Spaine*. For at his Death Don *Iohn* deſired three things might in his name be moved to his Majeſty, That he would command his body to be buryed in in the Sepulchre of Charles the fifth, That his Mother and brothe r by her might be received into his Royall Protection, And that he would remunerate the Service of his Followers (whom he had long ſuſtained with hope) with ſome reall Bounty, he himſelfe having not had wherewith to pay them. He made no Mention at all (which is wonderfull) of his Daughters. For Don *Iohn* had two Daughters, *Anne* and *Ioane*, this at *Naples*, by *Diana Phalanga a Surrentine* Lady; that at *Madrid*, by *Maria*, *Mendoza* a

Maide

Maide of an illuſtrious Family, and Beauty. *Anne* was privately bred by *Magdalena Ulloa*, Don *Iohn's* owne Foſter-Mother: and went from thence, after ſhe was ſeven yeares old, to a Nunnery of holy Virgins at *Madrigall*. *Ioane*, for allmoſt as long a time, was educated by the Dutcheſſe of *Parma*, Siſter to Don *Iohn*; after whoſe death, ſhe ſent her to be bred up in a Monaſtery of the Order of Saint *Clare*, at *Naples*; But She by Command from the King was tranſlated from *Madrigall* to *Burgo's* a Houſe of *Benedictin* Nunnes, whoſe perpetuall Abbeſſe ſhe was choſen. This, after ſhe had lived twentie yeares in the Cloiſter at *Naples*, was at laſt married into *Sicilie* to Prince *Butero*. Both theſe Ladyes in one yeare, in one Month, only not upon one day, deceaſed. But I believe Don *Iohn* among thoſe Particulars which at his death he commended to the King, ſaid nothing of his Daughters, becauſe he thought the King knew not of them: for they were ſo privately and cautiouſly brought up, that *Alexander Farneze* (to whom he imparted all his other Secrets) knew not of *one* of theſe. The other had long ſince beene diſcovered to him, not by Don *Iohn*, but by his owne Mother *Margaret* of *Auſtria:* which was the Cauſe that, when Don *Iohn* lay upon death-bed, Prince *Alexander* durſt not deſire him to commend that Daughter to the King, leſt he might put him to the Bluſh, or ſeeme willing by ſuch Commendations to free his Mother of a Trouble. But now *Alexander Farneze* acquainted his Majeſty with thoſe three laſt Requeſts made by Don *Iohn*, and earneſtly ſollicited the King's Grant. Of himſelfe and of the Governement intruſted to him he wrote little, rather like one declining, then ambitious of the Honour. Only he exaggerated the danger of the Catholique Army, the *French* being entred into *Haynolt*, and the States Army ready to beſiege their Campe: ſo that in this deſperate Condition of Affaires, only his Fidelity to the King compelled him rather undauntedly, then ambitiouſly to receive that burthen. Although, as I conjecture, not ſo much the preſent Danger, which was indeed very great, as his doubtfullneſſe of the King's mind held *Alexander Farneze* in ſuſpence. For he feared leſt his Majeſty, laying aſide the care of Armes, ſhould call back his Mother into the *Low-countreys*, where ſhe was popular, and therefore fit to conclude a Peace, or that, upon certaine Conditions which were now in Agitation, he ſhould confirme even the Arch duke *Matthias* in the Governement. To which He might be eaſily perſwaded, by ſome that were no frends to the glory of *Alexander Farneze*. And truly (as *David* Secretary to the Duke of *Parma*, wrote from *Spaine* in Cypher to Prince *Alexander*) there wanted not ſome at Court, that objected many Conſiderations to the King, for breaking off that Deſignation. I believe, becauſe they thought it Imprudency to truſt *Alexander Farneze* with an Army, at that time, when his Son (a boy of a great witt, and it seemed capable of the greateſt fortune) pretended to the Crowne of *Portugall:* eſpecially, when not without an Affront to *Spaine*, that proud Nation deſired to be governed by an *Italian*. But the King, looking upon the Vertue of *Alexander Farneze*, and conſidering him as his Siſters Son, cut off the Subiect of this diſcourſe, praiſing the choice & Counſell of Don *Iohn*. And preſently by Letters to Prince *Alexander*, his Majeſty firſt gave him, without any Exception, the Governement of the *Low-countreys*, and *Burgundy*, with the Militia of thoſe Provinces: all which he prolixly commended to his Nephew's Faith, and Worth. To Don *Iohn's* laſt Requeſts he breifely anſwered, That he would not be unmindefull of his houſehold Servants, when *Alexander Farneze* ſhould certify him too (as afterwards he did) of

Margin notes: 1578 — *Anne.* — *Ioane.* — *Feb.* 1630. — *Why he named them not, upon his death bed.* — Alex. Farneze to his Mother Marg. of Parma. *Octob.* 6. — Alex. Farneze *writes to the King about* Don Iohns *Petitions.* *Octob.* 1. *and ſomewhat concerning himſelfe,* *But very much touching the danger of the preſent State of Affaires.* *He is not ſure the King will confirme to him the Governement.* C. Maſius ad Equ. Blondum. *Octob.* 6. *Which ſome in* Spaine *diſſwade.* *Novem.* 5. — Ranucio. — *Yet the King ſends him Commiſſion.* *Novem.* 29. — *And anſwers to the particulars requeſted by* Don Iohn.

1578. *For his Mother.*

of every particular man's Deſerts, That he had long reſpected his Mother, which ſhould be done more publiquely hereafter; As indeed it was; For his Majeſty that yeare, ſending for her into *Spaine*, very graciouſly received her, and within a few Months honourably diſpoſed of her, in the Royall Cloiſter of Saint *Cyprian*. Where after ſhe had lived foure yeares among the Nunnes, nobly attended by Maides of her owne, going for her health to take the ayre at *Laredo*, ſhe there religiouſly dyed Although I

Who was indeed no more but his ſuppoſed Mother. Card·a Cueva.

muſt not conceale from the Reader, What a man of Eminence diſcovered to me, touching the Mother of Don *Iohn*, not *Barbara Blomberg*, as to that day the World believed, but a farre more noble Lady, to ſay the truth, a Princeſſe, for ſaving of whoſe Reputation, *Charles* the fifth would have another named, and getting *Barbara Blomberg* to act the Mother's part, and take upon her the glorious Title of the fault, it was afterwards followed by King *Philip* to maintaine the Scene. So King *Philip* himſelfe

Clara Eugenia Iſabella.

told his Daughter *Iſabella* (to whom he imparted all his Secrets) which ſhe at diverſe familiar Conferences communicated to that Perſon of whom I had it. If this be true, I muſt confeſſe there is no truſting humane Knowledge. When ſo great a Prince, that uſed to diſcover the very thoughts of his Enemyes, ſhould live and dye ſo blinded in his owne Parentage, and in himſelfe, and being twice deceived in his Mo-

In Mag. Vlloa and Blomberg. *For his brother.*

ther, ſhould ſtill aske Bleſſing of a wrong Woman, never of her that bore him. Concerning Don *Iohn* of *Auſtria's ſuppoſed* Brother (his name was *Pyramo Conrado*) the King wrote back, that *Alexander Farneze* ſhould obſerve the inclination of

Ja.7.1579.

his mind, and how he demeaned himſelfe. He did ſo, and replyed, That the youth had beene ſent into *Burgundy* to follow his Booke: but that within a few dayes, leaving his ſtudy and falling into ſome Deboſhes, he was by Don *Iohn's* Command committed to the Tower; from whence (after his Brothers Death) the Youth wrote him a Letter, that ſince he was not made for a Scholler, neither his Fancy nor Abilityes agreeing with that courſe of Life, he would pleaſe to ſet him at Liberty, and make a Souldier

March 18. 1579.

of him, and then he hoped to give a fruitfuller account of himſelfe: and Prince *Alexander* certified the King, that he thought no leſſe, therefore beſeeched his pleaſure might be ſignifyed, where the Youth ſhould be imployed in his Majeſtyes Service. It pleaſed the King that he ſhould learne his firſt Elements of Warr under *Alexander Farneze*, aſſigning to the young Souldier 50 Ducats a Month. Laſtly, the King conſented to

Don Iohn's *body privately conveyed through* France In. Vargas Mexia.

the tranſlating of Don *Iohns* Body into *Spaine*, by what Way, and in what Manner Prince *Alexander* ſhould appoint. The Prince of *Parma* committed that Charge to *Gabriel Nignio Zuniga*, Maſter of the Horſe to Don *Iohn*, commanding him to convey the Corps through *France*, and by meanes of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour at *Paris*, to get a Paſſe from King *Henry* for ſome of Don *Iohn's* Servants that were to returne into *Spaine*, without any mention of the Body; which he would have ſecretly carryed, to avoide thoſe vaſt Expences, and ceremonious Contentions of Magiſtrates and Prieſts at City-Gates; that vſually way-lay the Progreſſes of Princes, whether alive or dead. And therefore made it be given out, that the Body went with the reſt of Don *Iohns*

Being firſt taken to pieces.

Houſehold through *Italy*. Nay to avert the leaſt Suſpicion, he cauſed him to be tooke in pieces; and the bones of his Armes, Thighes, Leggs, Breaſt and Head (the Braines being taken out) with other the ſevered parts, filling three Mailes, were by *Nignio* and

Afterwards ſet together in Spaine *and ſhewed to the King.* *At laſt interred.*

the principall of the Convoy (being about 80) brought ſafely into *Spaine*. Where the bones being ſet againe, with ſmall wiers, they eaſily rejoynted all the Body, which being filled with Cotton, armed, and richly habited, they preſented to the King Don *Iohn* intire, as if he ſtood, only reſting himſelfe upon his Commanders Staffe, looking as if he lived and breathed. This Sight having for a while renued Court-Sorrow, the Corps was carryed thence into the Church of Saint *Laurence* at the *Eſcuriall*, and buryed according to his laſt Deſire by his Father the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. *Alexand-*

Alex. Farneze *takes upon him the Government of the* Lowcountries.

der Farneze likewiſe in the Church at *Namure*, where his Vncles body had beene depoſited, leaving a Monument thereof to Poſterity; applyed his whole minde and indeavours to keepe the remaining Provinces in the King's obedience. Then, he ſent Agents & Letters to the Catholique Princes of *Europe*, holding it requiſite to let them every one know, that Governement was conſigned to him by his Majeſty; minding them of the danger of the Royall Party: not too ſollicitouſly, leſt he ſhould raiſe the hopes of ſuch as were diſaffected to the *Spaniard*; nor too ſparingly, leſt it might take off the Honour of his Laurell, as the eaſy purchaſe of a Generall, that muſt hereafter *triumph* over the Enemy.

FINIS.

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Note that the figures without *l.* relate to *l.* next before.

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Adolph of *Naſſau* brother to the Prince of *Orange* enters *Friſland l.*7.*p.*46. Fights the *Arembergians p.*47. kills Count *Aremberg*, *ibid.* and is ſlain by him, *ibid.*

Adrianus Comes Taurello. *l.*9.*p.*45

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Artois a Province of the *Low-countreys* *l.*1. *p.* 15. invaded by *Cocquevill*, *l.* 7. *p.* 46. defended by *Coſſé*, *ibid.* aſſociated with the reſt of the Provinces againſt the *Spaniards*, *l.*8. *p.* 20. its Governour, *l.*1.*p.*16

Arthur Coſſé Commander in chief upon the Marches of *France*, forbids the Prince of *Orange* to enter the Kingdome *l.*7.*p.*63. ſent by the French King to aſſiſt the

the Duke of *Alva*, *l.7.p.*46. 47. beats *Cocquevils* Army into the town of S.*Valery* and ſtorms it *ibid.* takes the Commanders *ibid.*
Aſſonvill vide *Chriſtopher*.
Aſper *l.8.p.9*
Ausburg vide Confeſſion of *Ausburg*
Auguſtino Barbarico *l.9.p.46*
Auguſtus Duke of *Saxonie* ſucceeds the Prince Elector *Maurice*, *l.* 3. *p.* 53. Chriſtens the Prince of *Oranges* ſonne, *l.4.p.*87. joyns with the *Low countrey* Rebels, *l.* 5. *p.* 138. threatens the Governeſſe, *l.* 5. *p.* 140. makes warre with *John Frederick* ſonne to the late Elector *p.* 141. ſends to *Margaret* of *Parma* an Embaſſage in Favour of the *Low-countrey* Hereticks *l.6.p.*18,19.
Avila vide *Sancho*.
Auſtrian, what *l.10.p.21*
Autruxius *l.3.p.61*
Ayala vide *Martin*
Ayamont vide *Antonio* Marqueſſe of *Ayamont*.

Sentences in *A*.

WE may ſafely ſuſpect thoſe for Authours, that are ADVANTAGED *by the Deſign* l.5.p.102
They are moſt ſenſible of ADVERSE *fortune, that have been in moſt felicitie* l.9.p.48
The firſt AGE *after the tincture of pleaſure, ſeldome or never takes another die* l.10.p.17

B*Aden* the Marqueſſe ſends an Embaſſage to the Governeſſe *l.6.p.18*
Baion *l.4.p.87,88*
Balduin ab *Angelo* a Jeſuit refuſeth the Oath preſſed upon him *l.9.p.*40. is turned out of *Antwerp* with the reſt of the Societie *ibid.*
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Barbarino vide *Franciſco* and *Raphael*
Barlamont ſurrendred to Don *John* l.9.p.57
Barlamont vide *Ægidius*, *Florus*, *Lancellot*, and *Philip*
Baronnius one of the Covenanters *l.5.p.*101
Bartolomeo Campio l.7. p. 80. the famous Engeneer, in the ſiege of *Harlem* *ibid*
Bartholmew Enteſe, one of the firſt water-*Gheuſes l.* 7. *p.*71. turns Pirat *ibid.* is committed to priſon *l.7.p.*80
Bartolomeo Miranda Archbiſhop of *Toledo* *l.1.p.*8
Bartolomeo Portia the Popes Legate to the Emperour *l.9.p.*39
Bartholmew-Eeve in *France* *l.7.p.76*
Baſta vide *Nicholao*
Batemburges the Brothers, vide *Gisbert* and *Theodorick*
Bavaria the Duke, vide *Albert*
Bavier vide *Chriſtopher* and *Henry*
Beavor vide *Philip Lanoi*
Belgium, why called *Flanders*, *l.1.p.*14. the lower *Germany*; and the ſeventeen Provinces *ibid.* its ſituation, opulency, cities, towns, Villages, Militia, Navy, and Manufactures, *ibid.* their Government was ever like a free-ſtate *l.2.p.28*
Belgick Provinces how they were all joyned under the Government of one Prince *l.* 1. *p.* 15. out of them *Charles* the fifth thought to erect a Kingdome *l.1.p.15* he transferres them to his ſonne *Philip l.1.p.*4. their diviſion *l.1.p.15*. to what Perſons the King intruſted them, *l.1.p.16*. they petition the King to take off the tenth part, *l.7.p.67*. they waver upon the news of the ſurprize of *Brill* by the Covenanters, *l.7.p.*72. they conſpire againſt the *Spaniards l.8.p.*19,20. they adhere to the States, onely two continuing faithfull to Don *John*, *ibid.* *l.9.p.*37.48.50
Beaumont, rendered to Don *Iohn* *l.9.p.57*
Bearne, the refuge of Delinquents *l.3.p.63*
Benedictus Arias Montanus, *l.7.p.64*.
Bergen vide *William* and *Iohn Glimè*
Bergen op Zoom l. 8. *p.* 10. comes into the hand of the Eſtates *l.9.p.*48. the Garriſon ſouldiers betray their Colonel *p.* 49.
Berlinguerio Requeſenes Admirall for the King of *Spain* in *Sicily* *l.8.p.15*
Bernardo Freſneda, a *Franciſcan*, Confeſſar to King *Philip l.6.p.*23. votes againſt a warre with the *Low-countreys* *ibid.*
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Binch ſometimes the delight of *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, yields to Don *Iohn l.9.p.57*. a ſtone upon the place engraved by King *Henry* the ſecond of *France* when he demoliſhed *Binch* *ibid.*
Birth of *Alexander Farneze l.9. p.* 42. of *Granvell l.2.p.* 39. of *William* Prince of *Orange l.2.p.*43. of Margaret of *Parma l.1.p.*20. of Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau l.4.p.*87. of *Odoardo* Cardinall *Farneze l.4. p.* 95. of *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain l.1.p.9*. of *Ranucio Farneze* Duke of *Parma* *l.4.p.95*.
Biſcain man of warre *l 7.p.65*
Biſerta ſtormed *l.10.p.19*
Blanch Queen of *France* *l.5.p.*
Blanca Sforza daughter to *Maximilian* Duke of *Milain*, and wife to the Emperour *Maximilian*, killed by a fall from her horſe, as ſhe was hunting *l.1.p.21*
Blazer vide *Iohn*
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Bobadilla, a Captain *l.7.p.75*
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30, 31, 32. *l.5.p.98.* the head of that Province, *ibid.* the towns there taken by the Prince of *Orange* reduced by the Duke of *Alva l.7.p.77.* their Deputies bought by the Prince of *Orange l.8.p.17.* are ſent for to *Bruxels* by *Requeſenes l.8.p.18.* its Governour *l.1.p.17.* *Brabanters* refuſe the Inquiſition *l.2.p.32.* and new Biſhops *l.3 p.65.* ſend Agents privately to *Rome* and *Spain p.66.* deny to obey the Governeſſe's Edict propoſed unto them, *l.5. p. 98.* Create the Prince of *Orange*, *Ruart* of their Province, *l.9.p.36*
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Bruges affronts the Inquiſitors *l.4.p.84*
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Bolduc or *Bus*, one of the chief Cities of *Brabant l.5.p. 98.* refuſeth Count *Megan*, *l.6. p.2.* a tumult in the town *ibid.* they force their Biſhop to flie *l.5.131.* they detain the Governeſſes Embaſſadours *l.6. p.2.* they releaſe and ſend them to her, *p. 16.* they threaten to revolt from the King *p.2.* they are declared enemies *p. 16.* they crave pardon and render themſelves, *p. 17.* they recive a Garriſon, *ibid.*
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Sentences in *B.*

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When men fall from their hope, whatſoever comes ſhort of their wiſhes looſeth the title of a BENEFIT l.2.p.38
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Campin, vide *Frederick* Lord *Perenott*
Cannon, *l.7.p.76.* ſix taken by the enemie that had their names from the firſt ſix elements of muſick, recovered *l. 7. p.56.* nayled, *l.8.p.8.* attempted and taken, *l. 7. p. 55.* Maſter of the train of Artillery, *vide Gabriel Serbellonio*, *Creſſonerio*, the *Barlamonts*, *Philip Staveley*, and *Valentine Pardieu.*
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Charles the fifth goes from *Spain* to *Germany* to be crowned Emperour, and ſo into *Italy*, *l.2. p. 27, 33. l. 10. p. 21.*

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John Blaſer, *l.3.p.62.*

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Theſe, many of them his Miſtakes to whom the Engliſh of this Hiſtory was dictated, the noble Reader is deſired to excuſe and correct: and to examine the meer literal Errours, with the Table.

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